

Russell Middleton

History of Sociology at the University of Wisconsin-Madison

Volume 1:
Challenges, Ups, and Downs, 1874-2016



Anthropocene Press
Madison, Wisconsin
2017

Comments of Present and Former Colleagues and Graduate Students on This Book

“What a completely wonderful, beautiful book! I look forward to reading it. I was really moved by the inscription you wrote. Thank you so much. It is hard for me to believe, but I am now the most senior member of the department. I’m doing my best to keep the spirit of intellectual pluralism and adventurousness alive, but sometimes it is hard given all of the pressures the department is under. Your book, I think, will do much to remind people of values and spirit which have sustained us.”

- **Erik Wright**, colleague, University of Wisconsin (deceased Jan. 22, 2019)

“I have recently joined what I suspect are the exclusive ranks of those who have read the entirety of your 1200 plus page colossal, encyclopedic history of the UW Sociology Department (and its Rural Sociology and Anthropology offspring). When I embarked on the Political Science history, I tracked down most of the dozen or so departmental histories then in existence; I can attest that none of them remotely compare to yours in their scope, the richness of their detail, or the extraordinary scope of the research that you undertook. The accomplishment becomes all the more impressive if, as you suggest in the foreword, you were entirely on your own in this venture, and did not have the funding that I did to hire several research assistants. The amount of material you gathered, and the rich biographical detail you provide about the generations of Department faculty as well as many of the graduate students is truly breathtaking. You also take the trouble to explore many corollary byways and issues related to the evolving academy program of the Department. I hope that your colleagues as well as newly recruited faculty and graduate students will explore its contents. It will be an invaluable resource whenever another update of the Curti/Carstenson & Cronon/Jenkins UW histories is undertaken. My fond congratulations on a truly epic contribution in your Sociology Department history.”

- **M. Crawford Young**, former Dean of College of Letters and Science and Chair of Dept. of Political Science, University of Wisconsin

“You have made all of us (meaning all those associated with the Department) proud. . . . The Department of Sociology at Wisconsin is a unique place, but we needed a book like yours to make this crystal clear to ourselves and to others.”

- **Alejandro (Alex) Portes**, former graduate student, recipient of UW Honorary Degree, Princeton University

“Your book will inform and enlighten all of us. We are in your debt. I began at the beginning with the chapters of the 19th and early 20th century founders, but have also read a good chunk of the modern history of graduate training in volume 2. I plan to read both volumes in their entirety, but the clear organization of both volumes and the self-contained chapters have allowed me to skip around. In addition to learning so much about the history of the department, I really like your informal style and personal interpretations. Like so many of the individual voices of past graduate students, I consider myself very lucky to have spent my formative years in Madison with dedicated teachers and mentors.”

- **Charles Hirschman**, former graduate student, University of Washington

“Thank you so much for kindly sending me a copy of your two volume set. Your inscription was too kind, and I will cherish this gift. Congratulations on this tremendous achievement. The definitive history of the Wisconsin Sociology department is such a special and storied chapter in the story of American Sociology as a whole. With admiration, Matt”

- **Matthew Desmond**, former graduate student, Princeton University, MacArthur Fellow, winner of Pulitzer Prize, National Book Critics Circle Award, Carnegie Medal, and PEN/John Kenneth Galbraith Award for Nonfiction. Named by *Politico* as one of the top 50 people in the nation influencing political policy debate.

“We just got back from three weeks in Hawaii and there was a load of stuff waiting for us here including your history of the sociology department. I didn’t really have time to read it, but I picked it up and started reading and had difficulty putting it down. In your usual style it is a thoroughly researched presentation, clearly and interestingly presented. It’s a lot better than most university histories I’ve read. All us Wisconsin folks owe you much gratitude for taking this on and doing it so well. It was an enormous undertaking. I look forward to getting back to it but I did read a fair bit, It reactivated many memories. I should first thank you for your very generous note in the book and many of the kind things you had to say about our program in volume 2. They are much appreciated. I want to acknowledge your detailed email and particularly Beverly’s sad experience with Parkinsons [actually the Progressive Supranuclear Palsy variant]. You were a very caring and wonderful husband who must have been a great comfort to her as she went through this awful experience. I have a close friend who is now in the later stages of Parkinsons and its painful to watch. Your care was quite extraordinary.”

- **David Mechanic**, colleague from the 1960s, Rutgers University

“Returned from Yom Kippur services with my wife this evening to find that your two-volume work arrived. After a long fast and a day of reflection what could be more appropriate than a history that takes me back almost fifty years and reminds

me of how lucky I have been to travel this road. To put it in Yiddish/Hebrew your work is a 'MITZVAH'.....Thank you."

- **Samuel Bachrach**, former graduate student, Cornell University

"I received your books in the mail a few days ago, and am so impressed by their quality, expansiveness, and level of detail. To think I spent a full decade in Madison, but learned only a tiny fraction of the histories of the department and the gifted scholars who passed through it! I am keeping the books on my bedside table, to make for enjoying and interesting bedtime reading."

- **Hanna Grol-Prokopczyk**, former graduate student, University of Buffalo, SUNY

"I was so excited to receive today your two-volume history of the sociology department. It was my great honor to be a member of the department for 3 decades (and an emeritus member still today). The books represent a massive amount of work and are a great credit to your efforts and commitment. Congratulations!"

- **Adam Gamoran**, former colleague, President, William T. Grant Foundation

"Thus far I've succeeded in not putting all else aside to make it my only reading source (unlike Charlie Hirschman, who is already deep into it). But I know that I won't be able to hold out much longer. My wife (Barbara Reskin, whose only contact with WI is that she lived in Milwaukee when she was 5 - 6 years old), started reading the Howard Becker chapter and can't put it down either. So I can hardly wait to start too."

- **Lowell Hargens**, former graduate student, University of Washington

"[I] wanted to let you know how much I enjoyed reading Chapter 11 in your book this morning. I had decided I would start with the chapter on the sociology of sport, but I noticed the chapter on Charlotte Gower Chapman and, once I started reading it, couldn't put it down until I had finished it. You write beautifully! And, of course, her story itself was compelling! Thank you for this."

- **Carol Compton**, former colleague in Southeast Asian Studies,
University of Wisconsin

"I am preparing my midterm exam for tomorrow, but I put it aside to browse over the volumes. Oh, the memories, and look at the sections of my dear professors, and see how warmly is Doris Slesinger remembered, I was so fortunate to have her as my advisor. It brought a big smile, warm memories. Thank you so much for an incredible work you have done, I appreciate you included administrative assistants and all the people that are invisible to many, but things work and are smooth thanks to their work. It was lovely to see the photos! A big, warm hug for you. "Fall" in Madison? I could not believe the beauty of the changing colors around me."

- **Pilar Parra**, former graduate student, Cornell University

"I started reading [the two volumes] and found your history of the department so interesting. It took a tremendous amount of work on your part. I am glad I could provide material about medical sociology. Your list of PhDs is particularly helpful to me. I will use it to start soliciting donors to the scholarship I recently endowed to support students doing health research at UW Madison. Impressive work!"

- **Janet Hankin**, former postdoc, Wayne State University

"I was so pleased today to receive the two-volume history of the Wisconsin Department of Sociology. Congratulations!! I paged through it and am eager to "dig in" way deeper. But I am so impressed with what you have done by digging into the earliest years and taking things right up to 2016. Honestly, when I think of all the primary material you must have gone through plus the conversations and correspondence you had with folks like me, I marvel that it took only six years to do. You have put together a real treasure trove of information in these two volumes. (As an aside, I love the pictures you have included). Thanks from one UW grad for putting together these volumes. They will be very important for future UW faculty and graduate students as well as bringing joy to those of us who lived some of that history. Finally, I need to mention that I was very touched by the personal note you wrote in the front cover. It meant a lot to me and I shall treasure that."

- **George Bohrnstedt**, former graduate student,
Senior Vice President, American Institute for Research

"You have produced an outstanding piece of scholarship. You have captured many wonderful moments of our Department's life. Jo and I are deeply grateful. You have produced a wonderful book."

- **Joseph Elder**, current colleague, University of Wisconsin

"Received your two volume set today! In the brief time I have had with it, I have already learned a lot and had a nice trip down memory lane as well. Thanks for your work on this—it is quite an accomplishment and I know, a labor of love."

- **Daniel J. Myers**, former graduate student, Provost, Marquette University

"I was so honored to receive your labor of love and scholarship. I enjoy dipping into the books. I wish I had known so much when at the UW!! What a gift to all those who came and have had the privilege of being there. Thank you for your support throughout my graduate career. You really were an inspiration. I remember your encouragement on so many occasions. As well as your compassion for the vulnerable people across the globe. Take care and thank you for your dedication."

- **Clare Tanner**, former graduate student, Michigan Public Health Institute

"Amazing book! I came home yesterday to find a copy of your history of the Wisconsin Sociology Department on my doorstep. It is absolutely fantastic. This was a

huge undertaking, and it was such a generous thing for you to do for all of us who love the Department. I picked it up and began to skim it, and I was immediately drawn into it. I read the chapters about Hans Gerth and Bill Sewell. In both cases, you did a fine job capturing the personalities as well as their work. While I can't claim to have finished it in 24 hours, I am hooked. You captured the people and the events that made UW very special, and I am proud to be a part of this wonderful tradition. Thank you.... I am still enjoying your book. Last weekend, while reading the section on Senator Proxmire's Golden Fleece Award, I came across a quote from my colleague, Joel Widder. He is no longer at NSF, but he serves as a consultant to many scientific organizations, including FASEB. He was very pleased to see the citation. I was struck by the fact that we are still fighting similar battles today. [RM: Widder was exactly right that Proxmire weakened NSF and public respect for science.]”

- **Howard H. Garrison**, former graduate student,
Federation of American Societies for Experimental Biology

“Yesterday, your two volumes arrived in my post. They are quite amazing, though I have only read about 100 pages. This is a real testament to your commitment to and your leadership of the leading sociology department in the nation. The detail of the text and the judicious samplings of others' writings and opinion are quite amazing. I cannot imagine the thousands of hours required to order and assemble all of this detail. Thank you for that commitment and pressing in your 80s to complete this monumental work.”

- **David Wiley**, former colleague, Michigan State University

“I cannot thank you enough for the great job you did. It is such an honor for me to be included in the history of sociology at UW. This, in my view, is as important as the PhD diploma itself. CONGRATULATIONS for the book. I shall say also that I feel ashamed for not having followed up properly on your suggestions to expand on specific points in my piece although I agree that would have made a big difference in the story. There are compelling reasons for not having done it. I hope you can understand. Russ, you are a towering role model for me. I was privileged to have you as a teacher. (RM: He obviously does not feel it is safe to discuss the violence and conflicts that forced him to become a refugee.)”

- **Abdelhani Guend**, former graduate student, University of Blida 2, Algeria

“I saw the table of contents and realized that it was a much more massive project than I had imagined. Congratulations! All I can say is WOW! You did a real service for all of us, and hopefully the current and future faculty will read it and have an appreciation of our history. A great job. And thanks for the ‘shout out.’”

- **Howard Erlanger**, current colleague, University of Wisconsin

“I read both volumes of the history you wrote—and was extremely impressed. I appreciate what you included about me and the personal note you prepared. I just read the announcement of the forthcoming Conversation with Russ and regret deeply that I’ll have to miss it. I appreciate the insightful history and admire the effort it required. But I have an out-of-town meeting on Thursday and Friday. I hope that the attendance will reflect what is truly a ‘magisterial work.’”

- **Cora Marrett**, former graduate student, colleague, and administrator,
University of Wisconsin, and Associate Director and
Acting Director of the National Science Foundation

“What a special gift you have given to the department, students, staff and others whose lives were impacted so much by our days there. Bless you for sharing your time and perspective. I can’t imagine how many hours you spent!!”

- **Bonnie Svarstad**, former graduate student and colleague,
School of Pharmacy, University of Wisconsin

“I got the books and I have been really enjoying them! Not just looking up the folks I knew together with you but also reading the fascinating histories of people like Gerth (and the Gerth-Mills episodes)... But I do look back fondly on the time and think about the formative things I got from working with you and Steve. Thanks for being there.”

- **Denis O’Hearn**, former colleague, Dean of the College of Liberal Arts,
University of Texas-El Paso

“Last night I got so interested in your book that I kept reading until about 1:00 a.m. And this is just Book One. Thanks.”

- **Arch Haller**, former colleague, University of Wisconsin (deceased Jan. 24, 2018)

“Thank you for your talk today, it was enlightening. And thank you for your book, I will read it! Who would have thought that a history of a sociology department would be a page turner!”

- **Joan Fujimura**, current colleague, University of Wisconsin

“I received a copy of the two volumes of your history of sociology at UW Madison a couple of weeks ago. I am deeply impressed at the depth of information you have compiled for the book. I also was very appreciative of the comments you made about me in the book. This book will be treasured by all of us who played a part in the success of sociology at UW Madison. Congratulations.”

- **Michael Aiken**, former colleague, Retired Chancellor,
University of Illinois-Champaign-Urbana

“Russ, it was a wonderful talk! [about the book]. Several grad students told me later how much they learned and how much they enjoyed it. People were hanging on your every word—remember, they wouldn’t let you stop and asked for more stories! I am sure there is much more to tell, but what you presented was wonderful. Thanks for this!”

- **Jane Collins**, current colleague, University of Wisconsin

“Your books arrived. They are wonderful. It is fun to see old friends and you write so beautifully.”

- **Elaine Hatfield**, former colleague, University of Hawaii

“The books arrived last night, thank you so much. This morning, as I was having coffee and preparing to leave for my office at the US Department of Education, I opened the package. I flipped through the second volume at random and saw George Bohrnstedt’s photo and your marvelous description of his relationship to Professor Borgatta. Just to add to the stories you collected. I was George’s statistics teaching assistant when he was teaching undergraduate statistics while he was still a graduate student. As a graduate student taking statistics from Borgatta, Borhnstedt, David Heise, Marwell, Hal Winsborough et al, Howard [Garrison] and I along with some other students, Harry Travis, Bill Bielby, would meet for lunch to follow up on what we were learning about path analysis, confirmatory factor analysis, log-linear models, LISREL, GLM, time series etc. George and I have remained personal friends and professional colleagues over all these years. Again, thank you so much for the books and all your work on them. I am looking forward to reading both volumes. I know Howard is busy reading them too--he has been sending me snippets about some of the faculty.”

- **Joseph Conaty**, former graduate student, US Dept. of Education

“Thank you very much for the copy of your new book and the beautiful inscription. Rob [Mare] and I are looking forward to reading it. There is a lot we did not know, although we did know to treasure you and our other colleagues at the UW. We did not know until reading the dedication that Beverly had passed away. We are so sorry for this devastating loss. Rob and I always appreciated her warmth and grace. She made everyone feel comfortable with her generous spirit.”

- **Judy Seltzer**, former colleague, UCLA

“I received your two-volume set on Friday and I must say I was (and remain) amazed at your accomplishment. It is an impressive undertaking. I enjoy that it is not only a history but a personal history from your point of view. This approach makes the book so much more interesting to read. Has the department or the university contacted you with comments? I would think that they would see your work as a valuable contribution to the mission and identity of the sociology program at UW.”

I must say that I will take the books to work on Monday just to show off what can be accomplished as an emeritus professor once retired. And to impress them with the UW sociology department. Truly an amazing accomplishment. You must have been incredibly focused to put so much effort into your project. Impressive is all I can say.”

- **Jack Thornburg**, former graduate student and advisee, Benedictine University

“Sending you lots of love and Happy Birthday wishes this Friday, Nov. 10th. May you celebrate this birthday in full recognition of the extraordinary legacy you have bequeathed to all who love you and UW-Madison’s Sociology Department. I cannot find words to express my appreciation for your remarkable gift, the History of Sociology at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. You have put forth a two-volume masterpiece! I so wanted to finish both volumes, thinking that I would be able to do so before your birthday, before writing to you to tell you that I’m impressed beyond words, simply in awe and forever grateful for this treasured gift. But I fell short. Quite short. I’m only three-quarters through Vol. 1. And although I’m only able to sneak in about 15-20 pages per night, I always begin by returning to your hand-written message on the inside cover, then to the picture of you and Beverly and your moving tribute to her. I weep, every time. I can only hope that you know the depth to which I admire and honor both you and Beverly. I thank you from the bottom of my heart for the extraordinary gift of these two, brilliantly written volumes, for the beautiful message you wrote to Barry and me, and for the legacy you have left for all those who have and will pass through the halls of the department of sociology at the University of Wisconsin-Madison.”

- **Alicia Liss**, former graduate student, Raritan Valley College

“A million thanks for writing and sending the books--and for your generous inscription. I started reading Volume 1 when it arrived but had to put it down til the holidays. Too much grading to do. That said, however, I found your dedication to Beverly especially moving, or more to the point inspiring, and wanted to offer my condolences. I hope you’re doing ok, or as ok as possible under the circumstances, and that 2018 is easier than 2017. I very much look forward to reading the books soon and hope to see you in the not-too-distant future.”

- **Andrew Schrank**, former graduate student, Brown University

“I am glad to know there is a Kindle version of the history of sociology at UW Wisconsin available. I was a Phd student in the program from 1966-1970 and am just finishing my last year on the faculty of the Department of Sociology at California State U. Long Beach. I have been thinking of doing some memoir writing (or at least remembering) when my schedule frees up from teaching and will be interested in seeing what information is there about those intense but important years I was in the department.”

- **Norma Chinchilla**, former graduate student, California State University-Long Beach

“I’m ordering the paperback version; I can’t wait to read it. It’s so great that you wrote this.”

- **John Levy Martin**, former colleague, University of Chicago

“Congratulations for finishing and publishing this history. It would be a prominent contribution to UW-Madison and American sociology. Good Luck on your other academic efforts. Happy your 87 years of fruitful academic life. I was in Madison last year and tried to contact you and see and talk to you and tell you about my research there; but you were occupied with your wife’s passing over. I emailed you my condolences too, but unfortunately I could not participate in her ceremony. Anyways, I always remember you and your teachings and outstanding manners.”

- **Mohammad Panahi**, former graduate student,
Allameh Tabataba’i University, Tehran, Iran

“Thanks so much for your contributions to our field. I plan to buy the print edition. Your class on development has continued to influence my outreach work at the University of Kentucky. I remember it with great fondness.”

- **Ron Hustedde**, former graduate student, University of Kentucky

“How wonderful to receive this announcement! I have recently been in touch with Ann Orloff, who mentioned that she had a copy of the history. Also, I am spending the 2017-18 year at the KITLV in Leiden, and Jonathan London is here in Leiden in his new position at Leiden University. He also said he had been in touch with you about the book. I am hopeful that I can produce my own book at last this year as a culmination of 20 years of looking at forestry and other extractive commodities and development issues in Indonesia. I am also collaborating with Paul Ciccantell on research on coal and we have produced a couple book chapters already. So the Wisconsin work and networks continue.”

- **Paul Gellert**, former graduate student, University of Tennessee-Knoxville

“I am very glad and happy to get your message that you had published an e-book of the history of Sociology at UW-Madison. I cannot thank you enough for your endurance and great integrity, in spite of your sorrow. Early this week one of my Ph.D. advisees had passed away. I had kind of hard times in order to get over down-feelings. After having gotten your email, I feel much better and can take a start to go back to every normal work. As soon as I can, I will read your e-book. My present priority is to finish the report on the development of National Universities in Korea, issued by the Ministry of Education of Korea. I have never forgotten your kindnesses and graceful favor to me and my family. It is a shame on me that I have not done my best to be like you as much as you have done to us. I pray for your health and strength, with all my heart. Please take a good care of yourself.”

- **Gyu-Won Kim**, former graduate student, Kyungpook National University, Daegu, Korea

“Thanks for passing this along, Russ--and even more for your generosity in sharing copies of the bound volumes with me, along with your very thoughtful (and generous!) inscription. I'm very grateful. CONGRATULATIONS for bringing this immense project to such successful fruition! These days, I'm mainly collecting digital books rather than physical ones, so may well purchase the Kindle volumes.”

- **William Cronon**, current colleague, Frederick Jackson Turner and Vilas Research Professor of History, Geography, and Environmental Studies, UW-Madison

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History of Sociology at the
University of Wisconsin-Madison

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Volume 1
Challenges, Ups, and Downs, 1874-2016

Russell Middleton
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In Loving Memory of Beverly Hall Middleton
September 25, 1930 – January 14, 2017

My Wife and Partner for More Than 64 Years



Brilliant musician, gifted epidemiologist,
and the greatest teacher I have ever known.
A loving and devoted wife, mother, and grandmother.
The greatest privilege of my life has been to be her
caregiver for her last few years.

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**The History of Sociology at UW-Madison is
continued in Volume 2 and includes**

- Wisconsin's record as the second largest producer of sociology PhDs
- Theresa Schmid McMahon, an ardent feminist and labor activist, who was the first Wisconsin sociology PhD in 1909
- Reminiscences of 44 PhD graduates over the last 50 years about their experiences in graduate school
- The undergraduate education program and the controversy over "grade inflation"
- Outstanding teachers, advisors, contributors of service, university and academic staff
- The important but short, unhappy life of the Social Systems Research Institute
- The development of strong specialty areas and training programs, including
 - Demography and Ecology
 - Demography of Health and Aging
 - Wisconsin Longitudinal Study and social stratification
 - Computing and quantitative analysis
 - Methodology
 - Survey Research
 - Medical Sociology and Health Services
 - Law and Society
 - Economic Change and Development
 - Social Organization
 - Class Analysis and Historical Change and the Havens Center
 - COWS and Economic Sociology
 - Gender Studies, given birth by women graduate students
 - Race and Ethnic Studies and its failures
 - Sociology of Sport—a minor but interesting specialty, greatly neglected
- A complete list of all the regular faculty who have taught in Sociology or Community and Environmental or Rural Sociology from the very beginning
- A complete list of the 1,133 PhD graduates in sociology, going back to the first in 1909

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am indebted to a large number of people in writing this history of sociology at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. The major debt is, of course, to the principal subjects themselves, who produced an impressive body of scholarly work. They sometimes wrote autobiographies and often left abundant documents for the archives. Another major debt is to the historians and writers who have come before me and written about the Wisconsin sociologists and about the historical development of American universities. They are listed in the references.

When I first started this project I received encouragement and advice from my colleague in Political Science, M. Crawford Young, who came to Wisconsin the same year I did. He edited and wrote much of the centennial history of the Wisconsin Department of Political Science (Crawford Young, 2006). Political Science was one of the first departments to break away from Richard T. Ely's social science empire in 1900, so their centennial year came up fairly early. Sociology did not become an independent department until 1929, after Ely had left for Northwestern, but as an octogenarian, I knew I would never make it to our centennial in 2029. The political science history was also supported by a generous bequest from Professor Clara Penniman, whereas I had only my own resources. Nevertheless, Crawford urged me on, and I innocently took up the challenge, not realizing that it would occupy me for the next six years. I cannot wait for the centennial year. There are too many interesting stories that need to be told or retold before they are completely forgotten.

I am indebted to the outstanding staff at the UW-Archives for help in locating documents and pictures, notably David Null, Vicki L. Tobias, Samantha Abrams, and Cathy Jacob. Similar staff at other institutions have also provided help.

I am also indebted to the forty-four PhD graduates from our program who have provided brief accounts of some of their memories of their experiences as a graduate student at Wisconsin. Their names are listed with their contributions in Chapter 2, vol. 2, "Graduate Student Voices."

I have also received invaluable help and suggestions when consulting with colleagues, former colleagues, former colleagues' families, former and current graduate students, and former and current staff members. They have been able to correct some of my errors and contribute additional information not available in published or archival sources. They should not be blamed for any remaining errors; I am fully responsible. They are listed alphabetically here:

- Abbott, Andrew D.
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Bohrnstedt, George
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Borgatta, Marie L.
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Brenzel, Patrick J.
Bright, Michelle V.
Bumpass, Larry L.
Camic, Charles M.
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Campbell, Suzann K.
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Clear, Janet S.
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Dechter, Aimée R.
DeLamater, John D.
Demerath, N. Jay III
Deneen, Janice A.
DeVos, Susan
Dimond, Russell L.
DiTomaso, Nancy
Eaton, William W.
Edelman, Lauren B.
Elder, Joann F.
Elder, Joseph W.
Elliott, Gregory
Emirbayer, Mustafa
Erlanger, Howard W.
Featherman, David
Felmlee, Diane
Ferree, Myra Marx
Fligstein, Neil D.
Flinn, William L.
Frascona, Charlotte
Friedland, Roger
Fuguitt, Glenn V.
Fujimura, Joan H.
Gamoran, Adam
Garrison, Howard
Gedicks, Al
Gerth, Nobuko
Gilbert, Jess C.
Goldberg, Chad Alan
Goldstein, Herman
Green, Gary
Greenley, Dianne
Guillot, Michel
Hagstrom, Warren O.
Halaby, Charles W.
Hall, Rodney
Haller, Archibald O.
Hankin, Janet Ruth
Hanna, Alex
Hansen, David
Hargens, Lowell
Hauser, Robert M.
Heberlein, Thomas A.
Hecht, Elena
Heise, David R.
Hemken, Douglas E.
Hirschman, Charles
Howard, Judith
Jakpor, Jibiana
Jakpor, Karen
Jorstad, James A.
Justice, Alice
Kalleberg, Arne L.
Kaufman, Robert L.
Kessler, Ronald C.
Kim, Jinho
Kisielewski, Michael
Kleinman, Daniel L.
Kloppenburg, Jack
Kuo, Hsiang-Hui Daphne
Ladinsky, Jack
Ladinsky, Morissa
Lastarria-Cornhiel, Susana
Levinson, Richard
Lewis, Herbert S.
Li, Yifei
Lincoln, James R.
Liu, Chung-En John
Liu, Sida
Logan, John Allen
Macauley, Stewart
Mare, Robert D.
Marrett, Cora Bagley
Marwell, Barbara E.
Marwell, Gerald
Maynard, Douglas W.
McLanahan, Sara S.
Mechanic, David
Merli, M. Giovanna
Middleton, Beverly H.
Min, Bo Hee
Moermond, Timothy C.
Montgomery, James D.
Nadeau, E. G.
O'Brien, Robert M.
O'Hearn, Denis
Oliver, Pamela
Orloff, Ann S.
Palloni, Alberto B.
Perrow, Charles
Piliavin, Jane Allyn
Quillian, Lincoln
Ramer, Sandra H.
Rasmussen, Dana
Raymo, James M.
Rogers, Joel
Salomon, Frank
Sandefur, Gary D.
Schaeffer, Nora Cate
Schimmel, Joshua P.
Schneiberg, Marc
Scholz, John Karl
Schulze, Toni
Scott, Ken J. Drew, Mary
Seidman, Gay
Seltzer, Judith A.
Sewell, William H. Jr.
Smith, Steven K.
Silver, Allan A.
Solock, Jack
Stoltman, James B.
Streeck, Wolfgang
Streiffer, Robert K.
Summers, Gene F.
Svarstad, Bonnie
Sweet, James A.
Szasz, Andrew
Taeuber, Karl E.
Thomson, Elizabeth J.
Tienda, Marta
Tigges, Leann
Jacobson, Ellen M.
Tinney, Lee
Veroff, Daniel
Voskuil, Leah Emilie A.
Wallace, Ann K.
Wellman, Jeanne L.
Wiley, David
Wilson, Franklin D.
Winsborough, Halliman H.
Woelfel, Joseph
Wortzel, Dena
Wright, Erik Olin
Wrigley, Julia
Wrigley-Field, Elizabeth
Zeitlin, Maurice
Zimmerman, Eric

PREFACE

This project started as a memoir recalling my own experiences and observations as a member of the Wisconsin Department of Sociology since 1963, but after pursuing this goal for a time, I began to realize that what was needed was a more general history of sociology at the university going back to the very beginning in the 1870s and 1880s and tracing the ups and downs of the discipline at Wisconsin throughout the 140-year period. I had no intention of doing this when I started. It was as if I stepped into literary quicksand and was inexorably sucked into the task.

Obviously, this is not an “official” history of Wisconsin sociology, sanctioned and approved by the department or the university. It is my own idiosyncratic take on the development and ups and downs of the discipline at Wisconsin. It reflects my own particular interests and concerns, and it freely pursues digressions when I think they may be revealing about the social context at Wisconsin and in the history of American graduate education in sociology. It does not attempt to gloss over the negative and tries to be brutally honest, particularly about the racism of some of the most eminent figures in the story. The discussion of events and issues coming after my arrival in 1963 is still very much in the form of a memoir, reflecting my own perspectives, though I have attempted as much as I can to correct my view by searching out documentary evidence and consulting with present and former colleagues. In its memoir form it inevitably emphasizes my own interests and experiences and even opens the door to digressions into general history in certain areas. I hope this unconventional approach will rescue the reader from the boredom of a straight academic history.

John Gillin wrote a short unpublished history of Wisconsin sociology in the early 1940s for the use of Curti and Carstensen in writing their history of the University of Wisconsin, but he had little knowledge of developments prior to the arrival of E. A. Ross and himself, and it contains many inaccuracies. In more recent times Odin Anderson and Gerald Marwell each talked of writing a departmental history, and Anderson interviewed twenty-three sociology faculty and two staff members between 1989 and 2003, recording them on cassette tapes. He never transcribed the tapes or produced any manuscript pages, and when he retired, he passed the collection of tapes on to Marwell. I had been interviewed by Anderson twice myself, but I was unaware of what had happened to the tapes after Anderson’s death. When I began to work on this history I began a futile search for the tapes but could not find them in the department files, the UW Archives, or the American

Hospital Association archives, which had received most of Anderson's papers. His daughter and sons did not know what had happened to them either. A few months after Marwell's death, however, I was surprised to receive in the mail a box containing all of the interview tapes. Barbara Marwell discovered the box of tapes in her husband's office at New York University, and, knowing that I was working on the history of Wisconsin sociology, she had the tapes shipped to me. Most of the relevant parts of the book were already written by that point, and I did not have time to make extensive use of the interviews. I shall deposit the tapes in the UW Archives for its oral history collection.

I arrived at Wisconsin as a 32-year-old tenured Professor of Sociology in 1963 at a transitional time for the department and for the field of sociology as a whole—a strategic point from which to look backward and forward. I came to feel that I had an obligation to tell the story of Wisconsin sociology while I am still able and while a few of my old colleagues from the 1960s are still around to be consulted.

This is not a complete history of sociology at the University of Wisconsin in Madison. It focuses in large part on the notable personalities in the early history of the discipline at the university, and it does not attempt to make detailed assessments of the many fine scholars who have been members of the department from the 1960s onward. Instead, the second and third parts of the first volume and the second volume are mainly concerned with the reasons for the decline of sociology at Wisconsin during the 1930s to 1950s and its recovery after 1958, emphasizing cultural and organizational changes.

I examine in Part 1 the contributions of the early sociologists who were responsible for Wisconsin being ranked as one of the leading centers of sociology in the nation in the early decades of the twentieth century. When I began this project I knew relatively little about the distinguished sociologists from the early years, apart from some colorful stories about E. A. Ross and Howard Becker. The only ones I knew personally were Hans H. Gerth and William H. Sewell, since they were still on the faculty when I arrived. I have not done extended biographical sketches for any sociologists appointed after 1946, though Gerth continued in the department until his return to Germany to become Professor of Sociology at Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main in 1971, and Sewell remained active until his death in 2001.

As I started reading about our Wisconsin sociological "ancestors" I soon was engrossed in their stories. I decided to feature the stories of fourteen notable scholars: John A. Bascom, Richard T. Ely, John R. Commons, Edward Alsworth Ross, John Lewis Gillin, Charles J. Galpin, John H. Kolb, Kimball Young, Ralph Linton, Charlotte Day Gower, Samuel A. Stouffer, Howard Paul Becker, Hans H. Gerth, and William H. Sewell. I also wanted

to include shorter sketches of a number of other early teachers of sociology. They are now largely forgotten, but many were very interesting characters. It has been a rewarding experience for me getting to know the early sociologists, even at a distance. I want to share with others what I have learned about their lives, their contributions, their strengths, and their foibles and weaknesses.

Part 2 examines the decline of sociology's reputation—and the reputation of all the social sciences—at Wisconsin between the 1930s and the late 1950s. The reasons for the decline are complex, but I argue that the lack of financial support for research in the social sciences from the private foundations and from the university administration played a major role. Rural Sociology was less affected, because it received significant research funding from the US Department of Agriculture and several New Deal agencies, and there were far fewer departments in this subfield competing for recognition. I also examine the cultural context of the era—the pressure of the private foundations for interdisciplinary social research, the interdisciplinary experiments of leading universities, and the failure of the Wisconsin administration to support interdisciplinary research and training. Examination of the differing fortunes of the leading departments during this period provides a useful lens for understanding the evolution of the field.

In Part 3 I tell the story of Wisconsin sociology's turnaround, starting around 1958—its rise in quality and eminence to become once more one of the top programs. Actually, I wrote much of this part first based on my own recollections of events starting with my arrival in 1963. Then I worked backwards to the earlier periods, attempting to understand how sociology at Wisconsin achieved its original reputation and why it fell so far. The most critical period in the recovery was from about 1958 to around 1980, when there was rapid growth in size and major changes in organization and departmental culture. Much of this account is based on my own recollections and those of colleagues from the period. I have chosen to make this section an informal and highly personal take on developments during my time here.

In the last part of the book I generally do not attempt to assess the intellectual contributions of individual scholars, but focus on organizational and cultural changes in the department that led to its rapid recovery and rise in reputation after 1958. A major role was played by specialized training programs, many funded by the federal government or private foundations. The training programs and judicious hiring of the most able young faculty we could find, regardless of field, led to the development of strong programs in many areas. It is thus more of a collective story than a series of accounts of individuals and their accomplishments. How was it that a less than stellar department was able to attract such a gifted group of young research oriented sociologists? There have been many remarkable leaders

in both departments, but it has really been a group effort that has enabled Wisconsin sociology to resume its place in the sun. Most of those who came after 1958 are still living, and perhaps it is too soon for the proper historical perspective. Tappan Wilder, the nephew and literary executor of Thornton Wilder, once said “In order to write a biography, people must die. Death is the great gift to biographers.”

Some of our sociological forebears at Wisconsin had negative facets that, looking back, we find disappointing and repellent, but they all made substantial contributions to social science and sociology. I want to tell the whole truth as I see it, so I have not hidden or glossed over the bad and have tried to present them in all their humanity and in historical context. To further humanize them I have sometimes included revealing anecdotes about them. However, these are brief accounts, even for the featured baker’s dozen—not full-scale biographies reviewing all their intellectual contributions.

Though some of the early scholars discussed in the first part are usually identified with other disciplines, each was also a sociologist—at least to some considerable degree. Disciplinary lines in the 1890s and the early part of the twentieth century were fluid, and it was not at all unusual for scholars to move back and forth between related disciplines. The line between sociology and economics was nearly invisible in the area of labor studies and labor history, which became the main focus of the Wisconsin Department of Political Economy (later Economics) during its early decades. E. A. Ross was trained in political economy but was forced to shift over to sociology after his run-in with Mrs. Leland Stanford at Stanford University. John R. Commons started out as a sociologist but later shifted to political economy and economics after being fired from two jobs and then gaining practical experience in economics working outside the academy for a few years. Ely considered himself both an economist and a sociologist, especially in his early years when his primary interest was labor history, but in later years his chief identity was as an economist. Ralph Linton started out as an archeologist but soon broadened out as a cultural, social, and psychological anthropologist, and his most important book also became a standard text in sociology. Charlotte Day Gower was also trained as an anthropologist, but she taught sociology as well and she was one of the first American anthropologists to carry out a community study in a Western society similar to those done by sociologists. All of these had broad intellectual interests that encompassed many fields. John Bascom had the broadest interests of all, working at a time before disciplinary lines in the social sciences and humanities had solidified, but from the time he served as President of the University of Wisconsin until his death he was most interested in developing the new field of sociology.

The prestige rankings of the graduate program in sociology at Wisconsin

are based on the joint efforts of both the Department of Sociology and the Department of Rural Sociology—renamed in 2009 the Department of Community and Environmental Sociology. The two departments have worked together closely on the joint graduate program from their very beginning as independent departments—Sociology in 1929 and Rural Sociology in 1930—but they each have their own independent histories too. In Part 3 of the first volume I focus more on the Department of Sociology, which I know best, but Part 1 includes the two founding fathers of Rural Sociology at Wisconsin—C.J. Galpin and John Kolb—as well as others who have played significant roles in the development of that department.

I regret that I am not able to review many of the other specialty areas that have been strong over the years. There are many of them, but the book is already overlong. I also regret that I am unable to undertake reviews of the many centers and institutes that have been especially important to sociologists, including the Institute for Research on Poverty, the Nelson Institute for Environmental Studies, the Land Tenure Center, the Industrial Relations Research Institute, the Wisconsin Center for Education Research, and the various Area Studies Centers. Finally, I regret that I am unable to provide an index to the book. I do not have the resources or technical expertise to undertake the arduous task at this time in my life. I am 86--and not afraid to tell the truth in this history.

Russell Middleton
Madison, Wisconsin
June 16, 2017

PART 1

Early History—the Rise to Prominence of Wisconsin Sociology, 1874-1930s

Though sociology at Wisconsin was in a down period from the late 1930s through the 1950s, it was one of the stronger programs in the nation prior to that time. The first dominant programs in sociology were established by Albion W. Small at the founding of the University of Chicago in 1892 and by Franklin H. Giddings at Columbia University in 1894. Martindale argued that sociology developed more quickly and vigorously in the Midwest than in the East, partly because the region was more recently settled and was more open to innovation and change, and partly because there were more state supported land grant universities that were focused on research, graduate training, and practical innovation in science, agriculture, and mechanical arts. The private universities in the East were addressed primarily to the needs of the elite and training people for the clergy. William Graham Sumner at Yale epitomized the Social Darwinism and *laissez-faire* orthodoxy of the eastern intellectuals, but populism and progressivism were strong in the Midwest and greatly influenced the intellectual direction of the universities, especially in Wisconsin. Sociology was a new discipline, but it was able to become established immediately at universities in the Midwest with little opposition, whereas it had to fight for a place in the curriculum at most eastern schools (Martindale, 1976, pp. 138-140).

CHAPTER 1

John Bascom (1827-1911)

When I ask my sociologist colleagues and friends who they think was the first sociologist at the University of Wisconsin, they invariably respond E. A. Ross. If I then tell them that Richard T. Ely, John R. Commons, and a few others taught some sociology courses even before Ross, they are mildly surprised. But when I reveal that the first person to teach sociology at the university was John Bascom, President of the university between 1874 and 1887, they are astonished. In fact, he was one of the first university scholars to teach sociology anywhere in the United States, perhaps preceded only by William Graham Sumner at Yale. During the latter part of his career he was most dedicated to advancing the new discipline of sociology, and he wrote two sociology textbooks toward that end. Today he is forgotten as a pioneer sociologist, but is revered as one of the most influential Presidents in the history of the University of Wisconsin.

Early Life and Career

John Bascom was born in Genoa, New York, May 1, 1827, the son and grandson of clergymen. His father had been a Congregational minister of strict Calvinist persuasion, and though he soon rejected Calvinist doctrines himself, under the influence of his widowed mother he retained the strict moral idealism of Puritanism throughout his life. The family was extremely poor, and almost destitute after his father died when he was a year old. With the help of an elder sister he was able to get the necessary schooling to prepare for college. He really wanted to go to Yale, but at the urging of his family settled for Williams College where his father and uncles had studied. He complained of poor teaching at Williams, but he enjoyed his college years there. After graduating from Williams in 1849, he studied law in Rochester, New York, but he was quickly disenchanted with the field:

Law is a brake on the wheel rather than steam in the engine. The moral conflicts of the law are not the best, because they are indirect, perplexed, mixed with personal interests, and often futile. . . . The law would have been to me crucifixion by a rabble of bad boys (Bascom, 1913, p. 52).

He then enrolled in the Theological Seminary at Auburn, drawn by the celebrated philosopher Laurens P. Hickok, who became a major influence on Bascom. He found there the freedom for "critical and speculative study" that he had been seeking. He did not finish there, because Williams College offered him a position as tutor, which he accepted, perhaps because he married Abbie Burt at about that time. She died within two years in 1852, and he then went to Andover Seminary to complete his ministerial training. In 1856 he married Emma Curtiss. At that time he accepted a position as Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory at Williams College, even though he had little interest in those two fields.

It was partially distasteful to me, as I was not interested in oratory, nor did I particularly enjoy rhetoric. I introduced as much philosophy as possible into my instruction, and went conscientiously through the drudgery of the remainder. I introduced the study of English literature and aesthetics, both of which helped to widen the rhetoric (Bascom, 1913, p. 58).

English literature was rarely taught in colleges at that time, and Bascom found that the subject did not interest students very much at first. His desire to teach philosophy, however, was blocked by the redoubtable incumbent Mark Hopkins, whose philosophical and theological views were stolidly conservative and quite different from his own (Pyre, 1920, p. 197). Bascom's theological views had begun to change due to the influence not only of Laurens Hickok but also writers such as Laurence Bushnell, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Thomas Carlyle, John Start Mill, John Morley, and the new scientific and empirical work that was beginning to appear, especially the work on evolution. Bascom was a diligent worker and prolific publisher, and he came to be recognized nationally as an eminent scholar with an impeccable reputation.

Bascom Comes to Wisconsin

Paul Chadbourne was an affable man who had been quite popular with the Wisconsin Regents when he was President at the University of Wisconsin in spite of his mediocre reputation as a scholar, his strong views against coeducation, and his only halfhearted approval of public state universities. When Chadbourne resigned in 1870 to go back to Williams College as President, he was succeeded at Wisconsin by John H. Twombly, a relatively undistinguished Methodist minister from Massachusetts. Twombly soon antagonized the Regents and was hamstrung by them, with the result that most of the Regents wanted to remove him. Even four-fifths of the senior class

signed a petition asking for his removal. In spite of his vigorous defense against the charges against him, finally, in January, 1874, he was fired (Curti and Carstensen, 1949, vol. 1, pp. 243-245).

Regent Hamilton Gray had secretly traveled to Williams College the previous month to explore whether John Bascom would be interested in succeeding Twombly as President at Wisconsin. Chadbourne warmly recommended Bascom to Gray, though it is not clear whether this was an act of magnanimity on his part or the desire to remove a formidable rival to himself and Mark Hopkins at Williams. Bascom was clearly the most outstanding scholar at Williams, and Pyre quoted a Williams faculty member as saying “John Bascom could put twenty Chadbournes in his breeches pocket and walk off and not know it (Pyre, 1920, p. 192).

Bascom was interested in Wisconsin, because he had become increasingly frustrated at the lack of opportunity at Williams to teach philosophy, which he regarded as a key subject for students—the basis for ethics, social action, and a rational life. Bascom wrote in his autobiography, “As I despaired of a favorable change of work at Williams, and found that my growing freedom of religious thought was making my presence less agreeable to the college, I accepted the invitation” (Bascom, 1913, p. 60). His official duties were to begin in the fall of 1874, but he was so eager to get started in his new job that he secured a release from Williams and traveled to Madison in the early spring so that he could begin during the spring term, leaving his family to come later. In the early months he lived at the foot of the hill that later bore his name in the house of Professor John W. Sterling, a mathematician who had been the first professor appointed at the university in 1849 and the chief executive officer from 1861 to 1867.

Bascom’s contract specified that he would reside in the President’s House located on what later came to be known as Observatory Hill. Bascom Hill (originally “College Hill”) and Observatory Hill represent two crests of a single glacial drumlin. The house was originally built by a local merchant on a private lot on the hill about 1855, and after passing through the hands of several other families it was purchased by the university in 1867, along with about 60 other private lots in the area. It was designated the President’s House, and Presidents Chadbourne and Twombly lived there prior to Bascom. Bascom was later joined by



JOHN BASCOM, CA. 1880-1888
(UW ARCHIVES, A. C. ISAACS)



PRESIDENT'S HOUSE ON OBSERVATORY HILL —
RESIDENCE OF JOHN BASCOM, 1874-1878 (CURRENTLY
ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE SCHOOL OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS)
(R. MIDDLETON, 2012)

his wife, and five children, and they moved into the house in the summer of 1874. The site offered a magnificent view overlooking Lake Mendota, and Bascom later wrote of it as “a spot not to be surpassed in beauty . . . a point at which the beauty of earth and the peace of heaven touch each other.” The house was only a five-minute walk from

the main classroom building that was later to bear his name. Bascom and his family, however, moved to a new house on State Street in 1878, partly because of the need for more space and partly because Bascom was seeking a way to draw the university and the town closer together. Thereafter the house on Observatory Hill was occupied successively by the Director of the newly constructed Washburn Observatory a short distance away, the Departments of Social Work and Preventive Medicine, the Program in Health Administration, and today by the Robert M. La Follette School of Public Affairs. (Pyre, 1920, p. 167; “Observatory Hill Office,” University of Wisconsin web page.)

Bascom’s Presidency

Bascom served as President for thirteen years. The university was hardly a distinguished institution when he arrived. It had an enrollment of only 312 students, and it showed only modest growth during his tenure. Many of the students were taking preparatory courses well below the college level and many others were irregular students who attended only for brief periods and were not in degree programs. Previously many had been taking utilitarian courses in teacher training rather than in liberal arts subjects, but this changed when the Normal Department was abolished by President Chadbourne in 1868 and was transformed into the Female College. Then the Female College was absorbed into the regular university in 1874 when Bascom arrived. Prior to this a large proportion of the women students were pursuing courses that did not lead to a degree. Bascom had little interest in utilitarian courses in teacher training, agriculture, and mechanical arts, and strongly

emphasized more rigorous liberal arts courses, including many courses in Ancient Classics (e.g., Livy, Cicero, Herodotus, Thucydides, Tacitus, Aeschylus, Plato) and Modern Classics (e.g., Schiller, Horace, Cicero, Goethe). Bascom's neglect of vocational or utilitarian training probably slowed the growth of the university and angered many of the regents.



VIEW OF LAKE MENDOTA AND PICNIC POINT FROM JOHN BASCOM'S PRESIDENTIAL MANSION ON OBSERVATORY HILL (R. MIDDLETON, 2014)

Enrollment also was limited by the poverty of the general population, for many students were too poor to pay for college, particularly during the "Long Depression" of 1873-79. In 1866 tuition was only \$6 a term, and the cost of a room in a college dormitory was only \$3 a term, but this was still too expensive for many students. Many of those who did attend the university supported themselves by working on the university farm or by taking jobs in the city. The legislature responded by abolishing tuition for all state residents, but it did not appropriate additional money for the university, and the Regents had to impose a \$10 "incidental fee" on all students in order to continue operations (Curti and Carstensen, 1949, vol. 1, pp. 364-367).

Bascom continued to teach through his presidency, as well as perform administrative duties. He taught a course in philosophy that all seniors took that emphasized the importance of both science and religion and maintained the essential harmony of the two spheres. He also gave additional talks to students on a variety of subjects on Sunday afternoons, and many students were greatly influenced by these. His famous baccalaureate sermons were highly influential and widely circulated in published form.

Bascom's tenure as President at Wisconsin was handicapped by the hard times of the worldwide Long Depression of 1873-1879. It began with the financial Panic of 1873, but it had a devastating effect on the price of agricultural commodities and hence on the Wisconsin economy. In spite of this Bascom was proud of the growth and improvement of the university during his administration: "The University, in the years that I was connected with it, shook off its preparatory work, greatly improved the quality and increased the variety of its instruction, and fairly planted itself on a university basis" (Bascom, 1913, p. 64). When he arrived in 1874 there were

11 professors and 9 instructors, with 244 students in regular college classes, plus 37 students in law, and 31 special students (*Annual Report of the Board of Regents, 1875*). During his last year in 1886-1887, there were 34 faculty (26 full-time equivalents) and 539 college level students (*Biennial Report of the Board of Regents of the University of Wisconsin for the Two Fiscal Years Ending Sept. 30, 1888*).

Wisconsin's First Sociology Teacher

Bascom loved teaching at Wisconsin. Though students in the West were less well prepared for college than those in the East, Bascom found them more interested and attentive, more open and eager to learn, and not as lazy, cynical, and antagonistic toward their teachers. "My experience as a teacher in the University of Wisconsin left little to be desired" (Bascom, 1913, p. 60).

Of particular interest in the present context, Bascom taught classes in sociology while he was President at Wisconsin. In fact, one of the books he wrote while serving as President was *Sociology* (1887), which grew out of his lecturing on the subject. Like Auguste Comte, who preceded him by 34 years, Bascom conceived of sociology as the grand overarching social science that incorporated and synthesized the other social sciences, and for this reason it seemed to dominate his thinking and his teaching in the latter part of his career. In his autobiography he wrote about how his thoughts developed on the subject of sociology:

The work on *Sociology* is preliminary and theoretical. I found a much fuller, and more practical presentation shaping itself in my thoughts. I have had occasion, for several years, to lecture on sociology, and a field so wide and fertile overwhelms one with the multitudinous processes of reaping and of storing the harvest. All culture of mind and heart, all gains of science and faith, all inherited forms of law, and all renewed forces of life are united and completed in sociology. One can hardly be adequately furnished for this work. My instruction, on this subject, began with Sunday afternoon lectures in the University of Wisconsin. . . . I hope to make the next few years effective on the side of social theory (Bascom, 1913, p. 176).

Sociology (1887) was apparently intended as a textbook, but it goes little beyond sketching the domain of the field and making conceptual distinctions. There is little empirical content or analytic depth, but about one-fourth of the book deals with social problems. Eight years later he published *Social Theory: A Grouping of Social Facts and Principles* (1895), a much better and fuller textbook, more than twice as long, "designed for the

general student of Sociology.” It was published in Thomas Y. Crowell’s series, Library of Economics and Politics, edited by Richard T. Ely. Once again he emphasized the comprehensiveness of sociology: “We may well study Sociology, therefore, because, more than any other branch of knowledge, it gathers up and knits together our various attainments” (p. 4).

Bascom was one of the pioneers in the development of sociology in the United States. He was born before the other significant pioneers—William Graham Sumner, Lester F. Ward, Albion Small, Franklin H. Giddings, and Charles Horton Cooley—but was essentially a contemporary of the earliest, Sumner and Ward. Sumner is said to have been the first professor to teach a course entitled “sociology” in 1875 at Yale, focusing on the writings of Auguste Comte and Herbert Spencer, but Bascom was teaching courses in sociology at Wisconsin just a few years later—long before Small and Giddings founded the first sociology departments at the University of Chicago and Columbia University. Bascom’s two books on sociology, however, never received widespread attention, and they failed to introduce novel concepts or catchy new terms that passed into the popular culture, like Sumner’s “folkways,” “mores,” and “ethnocentrism.”

Though sociology may have commanded the greatest amount of his attention in his later years, Bascom was a leading figure in many other fields as well. He sought to uphold the old tradition of the cultured man with a wide-ranging knowledge of many different fields, and he wrote an astonishing number of books in different fields during his academic career—at least 22 major books and almost 200 articles and published addresses and sermons. In spite of his many administrative and teaching duties, the thirteen years of his tenure at Wisconsin was also his most productive period, with eight books and numerous articles and baccalaureate sermons published (Pyre, 1920, p. 198).

We claim him as Wisconsin’s first sociologist, but the Wisconsin Department of Political Science’s Centennial History also cites him as an important precursor in the development of the field of political science at Wisconsin (Crawford Young, 2006, pp. 3-5). He wrote extensively on psychology, philosophy, theology, aesthetics, and literature as well. The breadth of his learning is suggested by the variety of titles among the more important books he published:

Esthetics; or, the Science of Beauty (1862)

Philosophy of Rhetoric (1865)

Natural Theology of Social Science (1868)

Principles of Psychology (1869)

Science, Philosophy, and Religion (1871)

Political Economy: Designed as a Textbook for Colleges (1874)

Philosophy of English Literature (1874)

Philosophy of Religion, or, The Rational Grounds of Religious Belief
(1876)

Principles of Psychology (1877)

Comparative Psychology (1878)

Growth and Grades of Intelligence (1878)

Ethics, or Science of Duty (1879)

Natural Theology (1880), *The Science of Mind* (1881)

Words of Christ (1883)

Problems in Philosophy (1885)

An Historical Interpretation of Philosophy (1893)

Evolution and Religion (1897)

Growth of Nationality in the United States, A Social Study (1899)

Bascom was also well versed in mathematics and physical science, though he did not publish books on those subjects. Perhaps because of his rather turgid and prolix writing style, his books did not sell well, and he complained that he spent more money in publishing them than he ever received in royalties. Up to 1892 a total of only 15,000 copies of his many books had been sold (Bascom, 1913, p. 179).

Bascom's Campus

North Hall was the first building on the campus, constructed in 1851 at a cost of \$19,000. In the beginning from 50 to 65 male students lived on the first three floors, and classrooms and public rooms were on the fourth floor.

Students had to use outdoor privies and haul water from a nearby well. During the Civil War they even had to scavenge for their own firewood

and build fires in their own rooms. A second building, South Hall, was added in 1855. When enrollment jumped by 50 students in 1856, the Regents decided to build a larger "main edifice" to provide classrooms at the top of the hill. The construction was not without significant



UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN CAMPUS, 1888 AT THE END OF JOHN BASCOM'S PRESIDENCY (UW ARCHIVES)

financial misadventures and conflicts with the legislature, but the building was finally finished in 1859 at a cost of over \$60,000. The Regents congratulated themselves on their achievement in florid prose:

[It is] a noble structure, ample in its proportions, pleasing and impressive in its outline, well adapted on the whole to its uses, conspicuous from afar in every direction, to all who approach the capital of this commonwealth, and serving to remind alike the stranger and the citizen, that Wisconsin recognizes and accepts the truth, that the education of the people is the highest interest of the State. . . . It is the best building for educational purposes that has yet been created in the West; and . . . it is a structure, not for this year, nor the next, nor mainly for this generation, but is fitted to be what it was designed to be, the central point of educational interest in Wisconsin, for generations to come (*Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the University of Wisconsin*, 1860, pp. 5-6).

The judgments of students, professors, and university officials in the subsequent years, however, were far different. It soon became apparent that the heating and ventilation systems for the building were something of a disaster. In the winter students found it impossible to keep warm in the classrooms, and they huddled over open fires they built on the basement floor. The building later came to be called University Hall, and it served as the main center of classroom instruction, but even twenty years later students and professors were still suffering from the inadequacies of the building. When he was President, John Bascom was particularly critical of the building and its deficiencies. In 1880 Bascom requested funds from the Regents to renovate the building:

University Hall was never a fortunate building, and the University has long since outgrown the accommodation this hall offers. Its recitation rooms, which are in constant use, and with which the comfort of the great majority of our students is closely involved, are very small, are ill-furnished and ill-ventilated. . . . These rooms are not only unworthy of a University, they are inconsistent with the most ordinary conditions of health (*Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the University of Wisconsin*, 1880, p. 27).

Many years later in 1918 Florence Bascom, the daughter of John Bascom, wrote to President Edward A. Birge complaining that among the young Wisconsin alumni in Philadelphia the name of her father was entirely unknown, whereas the name of Paul Chadbourne, who had been President for



BASCOM HALL, CAMPUS KEYSTONE BUILDING SINCE 1859 (R. MIDDLETON, 2011)

only a short time, was universally recognized because it was attached to the women's dormitory. She asked whether a building might be named in honor of her father. Birge, who had been responsible for re-naming Ladies Hall to Chadbourne Hall earlier when he was Acting President, obliged by recommending the

renaming of University Hall to Bascom Hall. Perhaps this was another case of Birge's ironic sense of humor, given Bascom's bitter complaints about the building. The renaming took place in a formal dedication ceremony in 1920 (Curti and Carstensen, 1949, vol. 2, pp. 138-139). Over the years a number of additions and renovations remedied most of the building's defects, and it did come to play the role originally envisioned by the 1860 Regents. Its original dome was replaced with a new dome in 1898, but the second dome was destroyed in a fire in 1916. Today the building is domeless, though more imposing with its added north and south wings. It has been the keystone building on the campus for more than 150 years and is a fitting memorial for John Bascom.

Bascom's Advocacy Role

Bascom was a moralist and a leading figure in the development of the Social Gospel Movement. He abandoned economic individualism and began to emphasize the doctrine of human brotherhood in approaching social problems—quite the opposite of the Social Darwinist views of William Graham Sumner, the Yale political economist and sociologist, and Herbert Spencer, the dominant intellectual figure of the era. He asserted that “self-interest also tends to create an irresponsible ruling class incapable of understanding and providing for the needs of the masses (Curti and Carstensen, 1949, vol. 1, p. 286). He was not, however, a socialist—or even a Christian socialist. He did not reject capitalism, private property, and accumulation of wealth. He only sought the introduction of a stronger moral element in economic behavior:

The moral element must thus begin early to permeate society, that the productive element may reach full expression. Only as selfishness is steadily softened into a just and generous regard of the good of others, will the friction of society cease. . . (Bascom, 1868, pp. 674-675).

In his parting baccalaureate in 1887, Bascom advocated legislation to help the larger society, including a graduated income tax, controls on business speculation, strict regulation of railroads and other monopolies, and steps toward a more equitable division of wealth. He supported women's rights and workers' rights to organize. Finally, he repeated the admonition that he had constantly directed toward his students throughout their undergraduate careers: "I look to you to put foremost in your thoughts, and foremost in your actions, the welfare of the state to which you belong, liberally conceived and wisely pursued" (Bascom, 1887, p. 30).

Bascom recognized that all this implied an extension of state control, but he rejected the argument of the intellectually dominant laissez-faire advocates that this would undermine liberty:

. . . Liberty stands for the use of powers, not for their abuse. . . . If we allow the individual to seek what he regards his own liberty without relation to that of others, or indeed to his own permanent advantage, we reach the result spoken of by Burke: "The commonwealth itself in a few generations crumbles away . . . and is at length dispersed to all winds of heaven" (Bascom, 1887, p. 25; cf. Bascom, 1871, pp. 41-46).

Coeducation

Bascom had four daughters, and one of the causes dearest to his heart was women's rights and suffrage. He was a champion of coeducation at both Williams College, which nevertheless remained exclusively male until 1970, and Wisconsin. In this he was the very opposite of Chadbourne. His lectures and books were filled with pleas for women's rights. He was writing articles in favor of women's equality as early as 1869—well in advance of most liberal opinion in the country. At a Woman's Rights and Suffrage Convention held in Madison in 1886 Susan B. Anthony expressed publicly her appreciation and gratitude to Bascom for his support, and he then proceeded to address the group (Curti and Carstensen, 1949, vol. 1, pp. 290-291).

Even before Bascom arrived at Wisconsin there had been a movement to grant women students greater equality in the university. As soon as President Chadbourne—the sworn enemy of women's higher education—departed, the restrictions on women students began to break down, and as a matter of convenience women were admitted to some of the same classes

as men. Pyre reported, “Co-education was warmly discussed in all quarters, throughout this year: by the students in their debating societies and in the columns of the University Press; by the board of visitors in their annual report; by the faculty and regents” (Pyre, 1920, pp. 188-189). The Board of Visitors even recommended the abolition of the Female College and a move to complete coeducation, but the Board of Regents was not prepared to go this far. President Twombly’s support for coeducation, in fact, was one of the reasons why he was fired by the Board of Regents (Curti and Carstensen, 1949, vol. 1, p. 239). When Bascom became President, however, he immediately started dismantling all the discriminatory policies and restrictions on women. In his 1875 report to the Regents, he wrote

During the past year, the young women have been put, in all respects on precisely the same footing in the University with the young men. No difficulties have arisen from it. There were eight young women among the graduates at the last commencement. Their average scholarship was certainly as high as that of the young men, and they were apparently in good health (*Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the University of Wisconsin for the Fiscal Year Ending Sept. 30, 1875*, p. 29).

John and Emma Bascom had five children—one son and four daughters. Florence, the second youngest daughter, was 12 years old when the family moved to Madison. She graduated from high school in Madison and entered the University of Wisconsin in 1877 when she was 15. She received two bachelor’s degrees and a Master of Science degree in 1887 in geology, one of the strongest departments at the University of Wisconsin. She wanted to do graduate work in geology at Johns Hopkins, but as a woman she was refused admission. Some geology professors at Hopkins, however, permitted her to



FLORENCE BASCOM
(UW DEPT. OF
GEOSCIENCES)

attend classes without being officially enrolled, but they hid her behind a screen in the corner of the classroom so that male students would not be “disrupted.”

Later she was permitted to register secretly, but she had to work alone. She carried out solitary field work and managed to produce a brilliant dissertation. Her father strongly encouraged her in her advanced studies, and in a letter he wrote to her in 1891 he advised, “... you better put a stone or two in your pockets to throw at those heads that are thrust out of windows” (Arnold, 1983). In 1893 she became the second woman ever to receive a PhD in geology in the

United States and the first woman to be granted a PhD in any field at Johns Hopkins. She went on to have a distinguished career as a geologist, briefly at Ohio State University and then at Bryn Mawr College until her retirement (I. Smith, 1981; Ogilvie, 1945; Aldrich, 1990; Schneiderman, “Rock Stars”).

Root of the Wisconsin Idea

Bascom is generally recognized as the principal philosophical source of the “Wisconsin Idea”—the notion that the university faculty and the students after graduation should give their services to promote the well-being of the people of the state. Bascom taught his course on moral philosophy to every student at the university, using his own textbook, *Ethics: Or Science of Duty* (1879). Unlike most books on moral philosophy, Bascom’s devoted 117 pages to problems of government and politics and the need for expanding the regulatory authority of government. His textbook on Sociology was also more of a moral treatise than a scientific one and supported the causes of prohibition, women’s rights, and workers’ rights (Hoeveler, 1976, p. 286).

Robert M. “Fighting Bob” La Follette, the political leader of the Progressives in Wisconsin, was one of Bascom’s students and a fervent admirer. After graduating and securing legal training, he tried to follow Bascom’s precepts about public service. After serving three terms as a U.S. Representative, he was defeated and returned to his law practice in Madison. He claimed that he was offered a bribe to fix a case by Philetus Sawyer, one of Wisconsin’s US Senators and a multimillionaire lumber baron who was the powerful Republican boss of the state. Several past State Treasurers had been charged with financial malfeasance, and as a principal bondsman for some of them, Sawyer stood to lose as much as \$300,000 if restitution were ordered. The judge in the case happened to be La Follette’s brother-in-law. According to La Follette, Sawyer asked to meet with him privately at a hotel in Milwaukee and told him that he did not want to retain him as a lawyer, but offered him as much as \$1500 to use his influence to get the judge to “decide the cases right.” La Follette recalled the episode in his autobiography:

I said to him, “Senator Sawyer, you can’t know what you are saying to me. If you struck me in the face you could not insult me as you insult me now. . . .” Nothing else ever came into my life that exerted such a powerful influence upon me as that affair. It was the turning point, in a way, of my career. . . . I felt that I could not keep my hands off his throat. . . . I determined that the power of this corrupt influence, which was undermining and destroying every semblance of representative government in Wisconsin should be broken (La Follette, 1913, pp. 145-147. 164).

After he published his account of the incident, the state’s press, which

was largely controlled by Sawyer, turned against him, but La Follette refused to be read out of the state Republican Party and began a campaign to remake the party in the state. The result was the takeover of the party from the “stalwart” faction and the beginning of the era of Progressive reform. As Curti and Carstensen commented, the reforms instituted by La Follette put into practice many of the ideas that Bascom had advocated many years before (Curti and Carstensen, 1949, vol. 1, p. 289).

Bascom also spotted the bright young economist Richard T. Ely at Johns Hopkins, who was later to play such a major part in the university and in the reform movement in Wisconsin. He wrote to him in 1886, “I have now read your book, *The Labor Movement etc.*, and can give it a very hearty endorsement. I am quite in harmony with its aims and spirit, and regard it as a book much needed” (Curti and Carstensen, 1949, vol. 1, p. 289).

La Follette and Charles Van Hise became close friends when they were both undergraduate students of Bascom in the Class of 1879 at the university. They were both strongly influenced by Bascom’s insistence on the importance of service to others, and each sought to implement these values in practical ways—La Follette through law and political action and Van Hise through university teaching and outreach programs. They were in key positions to do this, with La Follette serving as Governor of Wisconsin from 1901 to 1906 and US Senator from 1906 to 1925, and Van Hise serving as President of the University of Wisconsin from 1903 to 1918. La Follette appointed 10 of the 13 regents who chose Van Hise to be President, so it is no accident that they were committed to the same causes (Stark, 1995, p. 13).

Stark in his extended essay argues that Bascom had only a minor influence on the development of the Wisconsin Idea, because he favored traditional liberal arts subjects over vocational training in agriculture and mechanics (Stark, 1995, p. 8). I believe this argument is specious. It reminds me of the dispute between Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. DuBois. Washington, the President of Tuskegee Institute, proffered the accommodationist “Atlanta Compromise” to delighted white leaders in the South in 1895. Washington proposed that African Americans would accept segregation, the denial of civil rights and the right to vote in exchange for basic vocational education for the masses and marginal economic opportunities. DuBois refused to accept second-class citizenship and supported unrelenting struggle to attain full equality. To this end he emphasized the importance of a classical liberal arts education rather than an industrial education for the “Talented Tenth” of African Americans to train those who would lead the fight to end racial oppression.

Bascom’s idea was the same. He believed that a broad liberal arts education was necessary to prepare young people to become leaders in the struggle to overcome injustice in society. He constantly emphasized the

importance of using political action and legislation to bring about basic changes in society that would reduce economic injustice and the subordination of women. He believed that only those who had acquired a liberal arts education and learned the lessons of moral philosophy could assume this leadership. The young Bob La Follette was a decidedly mediocre student who was too fond of partying, and when the faculty voted on whether or not to award him a degree, the faculty was split evenly. Bascom broke the tie in favor of La Follette, sensing that his student had the potential to become an effective leader in the fight against injustice in society (Stark, 1995, p. 8). He was right. La Follette was forever grateful and determined to live up to his teacher's expectations.

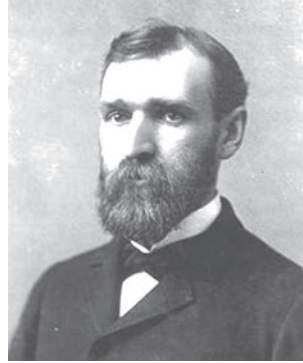
Working closely together, La Follette and Van Hise were central actors in the Progressive Era in Wisconsin. Van Hise, one of the most acclaimed geologists and conservationists in the United States, is usually credited with the first explicit statement of the Wisconsin Idea, though Thomas C. Chamberlin and Charles Kendall Adams, the two presidents following Bascom, had also made similar statements in favor of extension services for the people of the state (Stark, 1995, p. 14).

In 1904, shortly after taking office as President, Van Hise proclaimed in a speech, "I shall never be content until the beneficent influence of the university reaches every family in the state. . . ." (Allen, 2012, p. 1). He wanted the best and brightest professors at the university to apply themselves to improve the lives of ordinary people. The University of Wisconsin had long been a leader in extension, but with the support of Governor La Follette, he founded a University Extension Division in 1906 that greatly expanded the university's extension functions beyond the agricultural sphere.

Van Hise did not use the phrase "The Wisconsin Idea" at this time, but the name became attached later when another student of Bascom, Charles McCarthy, published a book in 1912 entitled *The Wisconsin Idea* (McCarthy, 1912). He expanded on Van Hise's ideas, arguing that research and knowledge were important in finding solutions for people's problems. He also emphasized the importance of addressing social and economic issues and advocated close collaboration between the university and state agencies (Legislative Reference Bureau, "The Wisconsin Idea"). In truth, there is no single founder of the Wisconsin Idea. Bascom, Chamberlin, Adams, La Follette, Van Hise, McCarthy and many, many others all deserve credit in what has been a cooperative institutional enterprise that continues to this day.



ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, SR.
(WIKIMEDIA)



CHARLES R. VAN HISE
(WIKIMEDIA)

Conflict with the Board of Regents

John Bascom was popular with the faculty, students, and alumni, but he was in continual conflict with the Board of Regents. He complained that of the 34 regents during his time as President, there were 18 who were lawyers or businessmen, four who were farmers, and only one who was seriously interested in education. Most had shown little knowledge of higher education and were motivated largely by political concerns. They tried to micro-manage affairs of the university and trespassed egregiously on the normal prerogatives of a university president (Curti and Carstensen, 1949, vol. 1, p. 255). Matters were not helped by Bascom's bluntness and social insensitivity. He hardly bothered to hide his disdain for the members of the Board. Eventually he was hamstrung and excluded from meetings of the Regents, who automatically rejected every proposal he made, regardless of its merits.

Bascom's strong advocacy of prohibition and involvement in political campaigns around the issue were also causing increased friction with powerful figures in a state that had a large population of recent German descent. Even today, more than a century after the end of most German immigration, some 43 percent of the people in Wisconsin claim German ancestry (Hoffman, 2008; Robinson, 1922, p. 53). This is an ethnic group with a strong cultural tradition of drinking. Less than 5 percent of the people in Germany today are abstainers—one of the lowest percentages in the world. Germans are, however, less bibulous than popularly supposed, ranking only 21st in alcohol consumption in the world in WHO's 2014 survey. It is at about the same level as Ireland and Great Britain and well below France, Poland, and nearly all of central and eastern Europe (WHO, 2014, Appendix I). Bascom's support of prohibition in a state with so many European immigrants with strong drinking traditions was bound to be hazardous. As Levitan remarked,

“Preaching the Social Gospel and supporting women’s suffrage and workers’ rights caused the regents no concern, but his zealous and aggressive advocacy of prohibition did” (Levitan, 2006, p. 97).

More than a century later a 2010 study by the Center for Disease Control and Prevention found that Wisconsin was first in the nation in the percent of the population who were “binge drinkers”—50 percent higher than the national average (CDC, 2012). By 2014 it had fallen to second place behind North Dakota in both binge drinking and excessive drinking.

The state leads the nation in the percent of the population who drink alcoholic beverages. It also leads the nation in the percent of drivers who admit having driven while impaired from alcohol—24 percent as compared with a national average of 13 percent. It is the only state in the nation where first offense drunken driving is not a crime, and deaths from alcohol-related accidents are far higher than the national average. Wisconsin has three times more taverns per capita than the rest of the country, and the patrons spend twice as much money inside them. Wisconsin far outpaces the rest of the country in the consumption of brandy and perhaps of vodka (Hoffman, 2008; Bauer, 2014). The Beer Institute reported that the state of Wisconsin ranked sixth in annual per capita beer consumption (for those 21 and over) at 36.2 gallons in 2012—equivalent to 386 bottles of beer per person, or 575 bottles per person if the 33 percent of nondrinkers are excluded.

Under relentless attack by the Regents, politicians, the commercial alcohol industry, and the press, Bascom resigned in 1887. He wrote in the February, 1887, issue of the *Wisconsin Prohibitionist* that the Regents so mismanaged the financial affairs of the university that little more than half the budget was spent on education, and they circumscribed his own authority so much that he could not manage the university effectively:

No president can draw the free breath of manhood in the University of Wisconsin as it is now organized. . . . The office of president of the University of Wisconsin ought to be abolished, or its circle of powers more accurately and more liberally defined. Under the present system the president is constantly and grievously shortened in doing the very thing he is employed to do. The method has no justification in common sense, and no basis in experience (*Wisconsin Prohibitionist*, Feb. 10, 1887, p. 1; Curti & Carstensen, 1949, vol. 1, pp. 271, 535).

In a parting shot in the *Wisconsin Prohibitionist* the following June, Bascom criticized the Regents for putting too much into building and too little into instruction, and for making him as ineffective as possible during the previous two years. He wrote, “I leave the University of Wisconsin simply because I have had no sufficient liberty in doing my work” (*Wisconsin*

Prohibitionist, June 23, 1887). Even at a farewell banquet, Bascom was still complaining about the Regents. The *Madison Daily Democrat* reported his words of frustration: “Four fifths of the vexation, anxiety, and wear for the thirteen years I have been at the head of the institution have been caused by the Regents” (Curti and Carstensen, 1949, vol. 1, p. 272).

When he later wrote his autobiography, Bascom was a little more philosophical about his troubles with the Regents:

The most uncomfortable feature in state universities is likely to be their boards of direction. This is an evil that the years are sure to lessen. . . . The political cast of ruling boards is likely to pass away in the progress of years. The politician sinks as civilization rises, and public opinion becomes more sound and exacting. The personal annoyance arising from the construction of the Board . . . was very great, but it affected me, far more than it affected the University. It made my work very vexatious. . . . Rarely, indeed, was any man granted the position of Regent who had any special knowledge of the methods of education, or interest in them (Bascom, 1913, pp. 69-70).

Return to Williams College

In 1887 Bascom moved back to the house he had kept in Williamstown. He wrote, “At the age of sixty I sheltered myself in the delightful retirement of Williamstown, hoping, under its peace and beauty, to pass gently into the beauty and peace of a higher and more serene life” (Bascom, 1913, p. 72). Financial reverses, however, made retirement impossible, and he had to return to teaching. The Chair in Philosophy at Williams became vacant at about that time, but Bascom was passed over and given only a position as a lecturer to teach sociology classes for the next four years. In 1891, however, he was appointed Professor of Political Science at Williams when the incumbent chair became too ill to continue. He commented, “I was very reluctant to undertake the work, as it involved a change for the third time of my primary line of study” (Bascom, 1913, p. 74). Characteristically, though, he buckled down and was very successful in teaching classes in political economy as well as sociology that were popular with the students for the next dozen years. He also continued to be a productive writer, producing a new volume about every two years, as well as a flood of articles and sermons. He was especially proud of his curricular innovations at Williams:

I have introduced aesthetics and English literature and now sociology into the course of instruction at Williams and, to my thinking, the last addition should be the most significant of all. Sociology has not yet won

in colleges the position it is bound to acquire, not so much as a new science as in furnishing the ideas and motives under which economic and civic principles are to be successfully developed (Bascom, 1913, p. 74).

Bascom retired in 1903 when he suffered an extended period of illness, but even in his retirement over the next eight years he published 36 articles, addresses, and sermons. The University of Wisconsin awarded him an honorary Doctor of Laws degree in 1905. Bascom continued to live in Williamstown until he died October 2, 1911, at the age of 84. His autobiography, *Things Learned By Living*, and a collection of his sermons and speeches were published posthumously in 1913. Bascom's house on the Williams College campus is now used as the Admissions Building for the college. He is memorialized in the Mount Greylock State Reservation near Williamstown with a lodge at the summit bearing his name, in recognition of his advocacy for establishing Massachusetts' first wilderness area.

La Follette on Bascom

The importance of Bascom's influence at the University of Wisconsin is best summed up by "Fighting Bob" La Follette:

The guiding spirit of my time, and the man to whom Wisconsin owes a debt greater than it can ever pay, was its President, John Bascom . . . He was the embodiment of moral force and moral enthusiasm; and he was in advance of his time in feeling the new social forces and in emphasizing the new social responsibilities. His addresses to the students on Sunday afternoons, together with his work in the classroom, were among the most important influences in my early life. It was his teaching, iterated and reiterated, of the obligation of both the university and the students to the mother state that may be said to have originated the Wisconsin idea in education . . . That teaching animated and inspired hundreds of students who sat under John Bascom. . . . In those days we did not so much get correct political and economic views, for there was then little teaching of sociology or political economy worthy the name, but what we somehow did get, and largely from Bascom, was a proper attitude toward public affairs. And when all is said, this attitude is more important than any definite views a man may hold. Years afterward, when I was Governor of Wisconsin, John Bascom came to visit us at the executive residence in Madison, and I treasure the words he said to me about my new work: "Robert," he said, "you will doubtless make mistakes of judgment as governor, but never mind the political mistakes so long as you make no ethical mistakes" (La Follette, 1913, pp. 26-28).

CHAPTER 2

Richard Theodore Ely (1854-1943)

More than any other scholar, Richard T. Ely was responsible for the initial development of the social sciences at Wisconsin. He left a prestigious berth at Johns Hopkins University in 1892, when it was the leading university for graduate training and research in the United States, to take a chance on a relatively undistinguished small state university in an economically poor and undeveloped state. He was the generative force for the development of graduate training programs in the social sciences at Wisconsin, and with the help of some very talented scholars he brought to the university, Wisconsin became noted above all for its social science departments.

Early Life and Career Beginnings at Johns Hopkins

Ely was born in 1854 to a poor farm family in Ripley, New York, and grew up near Fredonia, New York. He attended Dartmouth College briefly, where he was suspended for a time for protesting an arbitrary change in college rules. He completed his undergraduate education at Columbia College and earned a fellowship that permitted him to do graduate work at Heidelberg University in Germany. He had intended to study philosophy, but he found economics more to his liking, and he became a follower of Karl Knies, one of the founders of the German historical school of economics. Ely spoke glowingly of his “master” in his autobiography—particularly about his sympathies for the workingman (Ely, 1938, pp. 44-45). Ely received his PhD *summa cum laude* from Heidelberg in 1879 and then spent another year in Berlin attending lectures, writing, teaching English, and taking other odd jobs. Finally, in 1880 he returned to New York, where he was disheartened by the dirt and disorder, the graft and corruption in government, and the suppression of the labor movement—all in sharp contrast with German society.

After teaching at Chautauqua and fruitlessly looking for a university position for a year, in 1881 he finally found a temporary position, later made permanent, at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore. Johns Hopkins was founded in 1876 after the German model of universities and was already a prestigious institution emphasizing research and graduate study. Ely was at first the only economist in the Department of History and Moral Sciences.

He was soon recognized as the leader of the German historical or institutional school of economics in the United States—in sharp conflict with the dominant Neoclassical-Austrian branch of the discipline. With its emphasis on institutional factors and with its progressive reformist tendency seeking a greater role for government regulation, it was closely related to history and sociology. Ely always said that he received more support from historians than from his fellow economists.

Ely was not a gifted lecturer, and many of his graduate students were quite critical of his teaching style. Thorstein Veblen left after one term studying with Ely and completed his doctorate at Yale, but he was appreciative of Ely's encouragement to publish a paper he had prepared for Ely's class. Ely's controversial reputation as an opponent of the conservative *laissez faire* English-Austrian school of economics and his strong ethical commitments, however, attracted some very able students, including Frederick Jackson Turner, E. A. Ross, Albion Small, John R. Commons, and Woodrow Wilson. He lavished praise on them and encouraged them to publish their work, in some cases helping them to find publishers. In spite of his indifferent skill as a lecturer, he began to attract more and more students—5 or 6 in his first year, 30 by 1885, and over 40 by 1890. His style of economics appealed to students because it went beyond abstract economic theory to emphasize empirical facts, historical evidence, and an ethical and problem approach to economics (Rader, 1966, pp. 19-27).

Conservative economists organized the Political Economy Club in New York City in 1883 with Simon Newcomb as President. Since it was dominated by conservatives like Newcomb and William Graham Sumner, Ely decided that he would organize a scholarly association representing the younger progressive economists who were influenced by the German Historical School. In 1885 he sent out a prospectus for the new organization, the American Economic Association, which he saw as a counter to the Sumner-Newcomb group:

We regard the State as an educational and ethical agency whose positive aid is an indispensable condition of human progress. While we recognize the necessity of individual initiative in industrial life, we hold that the doctrine of *laissez-faire* is unsafe in politics and unsound in morals; and that it suggests an inadequate explanation of the relation between the State and citizens (Rader, 1966, p. 35).

The new association did not go along with Ely's more provocative statement of principles, but it did embrace a greater role for government. Francis A. Walker was elected President and Ely was elected Secretary. In this position Ely did most of the work in recruiting members and making the

organization viable. Most of the conservative economists refused to join, but after the platform was eliminated, the association had a wider appeal (Rader, 1966, pp. 38-39). Ely served as Secretary until 1892, at which time he was succeeded by E. A. Ross. Ely was later elected the sixth President of the American Economic Association from 1899 to 1901.

In 1892 Ely was angered by being passed over for a promotion to full professor at Johns Hopkins and also because of his undeservedly low salary. He was also upset at coming off second best in his rivalry with the historian Herbert Baxter Adams within the same department, which combined history and political economy. He and Adams both considered offers to come to the University of Chicago as charter members, but Adams decided to stay at Johns Hopkins, and Ely's offer evaporated after that.

Ely Comes to Wisconsin

Tired of being subordinate to Adams, Ely finally accepted a position at the University of Wisconsin in 1892 (Ely, 1938; Rader, 1966, pp. 106-110). This came about after Ely wrote to his former student, Frederick Jackson Turner, about an opening in Finance and Statistics at Wisconsin. Turner, who was surprised, took this news to President Thomas C. Chamberlin, who was intent on transforming the college into a real university with an emphasis on research and graduate education. Sensing a real opportunity, Chamberlin made an unprecedented offer of a Professorship, a \$3500 salary (almost \$90,000 in today's dollars), plus a new assistant professor position in economics (which was used to recruit William A. Scott), and \$5000 for books. To justify such a generous offer, at Turner's suggestion Chamberlin created a new School of Economics, Political Science and History for Ely to head (Lampman, 1993, p. 11). Ely was a strong believer in multidisciplinary schools and was delighted with the offer.

It was President Chamberlin who offered me the post at Wisconsin. His fine appreciation of the importance of research was coupled with a rare courage. Indeed, it required courage and daring to invite me to act as director of the department of the social sciences. During the previous five years, I had been attacked continually by Simon Newcomb and other writers for the *Nation*, who branded me as a socialist and an anarchist. My study of *The Labor Movement in America*, in particular, aroused vehement attacks. . . . When my Eastern friends learned of my decision to leave the Johns Hopkins, they thought I must be losing my mind to go to the "wild and woolly" country of Wisconsin. . . . However, I felt there was a great and unparalleled opportunity at Wisconsin (Ely, 1938, pp. 178, 181).

When Ely came to Madison he first lived at 519 State Street in 1892 and then at 620 State Street from 1893 to 1895. He soon began to look for a building site close to the university but outside the increasingly crowded Isthmus area. He decided to build his house in University Heights, a new development opening up near the west side of the campus but outside the city limits. The land had been owned by Breese J. Stevens, a wealthy corporate lawyer and former mayor of Madison, since 1856. As a Regent for the University of Wisconsin, Stevens was privy to the knowledge that the university was planning to purchase Fort Randall, the old Civil War army fort that abutted his property for university expansion. In 1892 the mule-drawn streetcars were electrified, and one of the new electric streetcar lines ran to within a block of Stevens' land. Stevens decided that it was time to develop the property, and in 1893 sold his 106-acre property to the newly formed University Heights Company for \$106,000 (\$2.7 million in 2016 dollars).

The company was formed by many of Madison's wealthiest residents, including Stevens himself and William T. Fish, who became the President. They adopted a "topographically sensitive curvilinear plat plan"—Madison's first—and subdivided the property into 346 residential lots. The area was particularly attractive to senior professors at the university, and within the first two weeks half of the lots were sold. Thereafter sales slowed because of the financial panic of 1893. University Heights was annexed to the City of Madison in 1903, and city services were extended to the suburb. Thereafter it grew rapidly again, attracting a large number of university faculty. Over time 120 of the houses constructed in the area were built and first occupied by senior professors and administrators at the university. The area contains two world-famous homes built by the two greatest Prairie School Architects—Louis Sullivan and Frank Lloyd Wright. University Heights is now listed in the National Register of Historic Places, and is also designated a Madison Historic District (Heggland, 1987).

It is believed that Ely was the first person to buy a lot in the new University Heights suburb. Charles E. Buell, a Madison attorney, however, was the first to build a house there in 1894, about a block from Ely's lot. Ely was, however, one of the first seven to build a house in the area. It was constructed in 1896 at 205 N. Prospect Avenue. It is an imposing mansion in the Georgian Revival Style designed by the Chicago architect Henry Sumner Frost. It is now designated a Madison Landmark and is on the National Register of Historic Places. (Heggland, 1987). I have been told by a younger member



RICHARD THEODORE ELY, CA.
1910-1925 (UW ARCHIVES)

of Ely's extended family that he made a financial killing speculating in real estate--perhaps by investing in a number of lots in University Heights. It may very well be true, but I have not investigated this further.

Ely was energetic in recruiting able scholars to the new School, and by 1900 it included four departments with a combined faculty of fourteen. There were sixty-two graduate students, and according to Curti and Carstensen, the school "represented the first real graduate program at the university." The growing reputation of the university was based largely on the fame of Ely's school. In 1908 Charles W. Eliot, the President of Harvard, called Wisconsin the nation's "leading state university," and the university was very highly regarded throughout the nation (Curti & Carstensen, vol. 2, p. 109). Part of the university's reputation was based on its active role in collaborating with the state government in carrying out a reform program--an initiative known as "The Wisconsin Idea."

Originally the three Departments of Economics, Political Science, and History had separate identities within the School, and Ely was both Chair



RICHARD T. ELY HOUSE—205 NORTH PROSPECT AVENUE
(R. MIDDLETON, 2013)

of Economics and Director of the School. In 1900 Political Science was moved into the new College of Letters and Science and History and Commerce were created as separate Schools. By 1903, however, History became a department within the College of Letters and Science and Ely became Chair simply of a newly

named Department of Political Economy, composed primarily of economics, but with subdivisions of commerce and sociology. In 1909 a separate Department of Agricultural Economics in the College of Agriculture was established by Henry C. Taylor. Ely protested each diminution of his domain in vain and became so disaffected that he solicited positions at Harvard and Johns Hopkins in 1901--without success (Rader, 1966, pp. 162-163). The name of the department was changed from Political Economy to Economics in 1918. In 1925, two years after Ely's departure for Northwestern, Commerce became a separate department in the College of Letters and Science, and then a separate school in 1944. Then in 1929, with Ely no longer present to object, a separate Department of Sociology and Anthropology was created

in Letters and Science, with E. A. Ross, another of Ely's former political economy students at Johns Hopkins, as Chair (Lampman & Johnson, 1998, pp. 113-114).

Among economics courses that Ely taught between 1892 and 1913 were Outlines of Economics; Distribution of Wealth; History of Political Economy; Property, Contract and Socialism; Rent of Land; Public Finance; and American Taxation (Lampman, 1993, p. 36). Ely did not particularly like teaching young undergraduates and resented the administration's insistence that even senior professors should teach some undergraduates. Undergraduates who expected a scintillating lecturer like E. A. Ross were disappointed (Rader, 1966, p. 125). Ely devoted most of his time to working with graduate students: "But when it comes to teaching graduate students, men and women who have long been engaged in serious researches, I have felt that the difference in years melts away" (Ely, 1938, p. 286).

Ely's Scholarly Work

Ely wrote the first book on US labor history, *The Labor Movement in America*, in 1886 when he was still at Johns Hopkins, and he brought John R. Commons to Wisconsin in 1904 to assist him in writing a revised history of the labor movement. The revised history was never completed, but they did produce a ten-volume *Documentary History of American Industrial Society*. Ely and Commons had a falling out with regard to their collaboration, and partly as a result of this he moved away from further research on labor history and turned more toward the study of property and land economics, utilities, contracts, and public finance. Ely was disappointed that he never received recognition among economists as an important contributor to economic theory—only as an originator of the new fields of labor economics and land economics. Commons' reputation also began to overshadow Ely's, and this also contributed to the strained relations between the two (Lampman & Johnson, 1998, pp. 115-121).

Ely was very productive as a scholar during his years at Johns Hopkins, producing seven important monographs and over 50 journal articles. He also wrote some monographs at Wisconsin, though none between 1903 and 1914, but he had outstanding success as a textbook writer. He wrote an *Introduction to Political Economy* in 1889, and it sold over 30,000 copies in a decade. It was revised with various collaborators to produce versions for both high school and college levels. His *Outlines of Economics* first published in 1893 was revised seven times by 1937, and became the most popular college economics textbook in the country until World War II (Gilbert and Baker, 1997, p. 289). Ely may have sold almost a million textbooks in economics by 1937—second in sales only to Adam Smith's *The Wealth*

of Nations. Ely grew increasingly conservative over time, but his texts still remained the most progressive in the field, standing in opposition to the deductive, individualistic, quantitative neoclassical economics that was becoming increasingly popular (Rader, 1966, pp. 26, p. 161).

The “Heresy Trial” of Richard T. Ely

Throughout his career Ely was continually attacked by conservatives as a radical and socialist, though in fact Ely was opposed to socialism and believed that there needs to be a balance between private and public enterprise, between *laissez faire* and regulation (Fine, 1951, p. 611; Schlabach, 1998, pp. 35-43). He believed that industrial capitalism brings an increased division of labor and interdependence and, unlike Marx, he thought that this would lead to less rather than more class conflict. A resulting spirit of harmony would bring industry to a higher ethical plane, and responsible labor unions would restrain the rank and file. He believed it was essential to find a “golden mean” in social reform, avoiding both “rigid, obstructive, and revolutionary conservatism” and “reckless radicalism” (Gilbert and Baker, 1997, p. 290).

In spite of these moderate views published in 1894 in his *Socialism: An Examination of Its Nature, Its Strength and Its Weakness, with Suggestions for Social Reform*, that very year he suffered the most serious attack yet—and from an unexpected source. In 1892 the Wisconsin Republican Party suffered a rare electoral defeat at the hands of the Democrats, and Oliver E. Wells, an obscure teacher from Appleton (a conservative “sundown town” and the home of Senator Joseph McCarthy and the John Birch Society in later years), was elevated to the office of State Superintendent of Public Instruction. This office also made him an ex officio member of the Wisconsin Board of Regents.

After a union organizer from Illinois came to Madison in the winter of 1892-1893 to organize printers in two local printing shops, there were strikes by the workers that were finally broken by the importation of strike breakers, the use of violence, and a lockout. Ely was the secretary for the Christian Social Union, which sought to resolve conflicts through the application of Christian principles, and he was responsible for overseeing the printing of the organization’s newsletter. He told one of the printing shop owners that the Christian Social Union might not permit the printing of their newsletter in a nonunion shop—but to no avail. Wells heard about Ely’s urgings to unionize the shop and began to suspect Ely of fomenting strikes and industrial conflict. He then read Ely’s new book on *Socialism* and became convinced that it was a thinly disguised piece of propaganda promoting socialism. Wells complained to President Charles Kendall Adams and to the

Board of Regents about Ely, but Wells was disliked by most of the other Regents, and they ignored his requests for the dismissal or reprimand of Ely. He then wrote an incendiary letter to *The Nation* accusing Ely of economic heresy, supporting economic boycotts and strikes, and furthering the cause of socialism (Wells, 1894, p. 27). It was promptly reprinted by the *New York Post*, and afterwards many other newspapers picked up the story.

Bringing the issue to a national stage induced the Regents to respond. They appointed a committee to examine the charges, and Ely underwent what amounted to a trial by the committee in August, 1894. The hearing was the idea of the Regents and was not requested by Ely or his supporters, who were leery of the possible outcome during politically charged times. A writer in the September 1, 1894, issue of *The Dial*, wrote in an article entitled "The Freedom of Teaching,"

It has been reserved for the University of Wisconsin to offer the first example, to our knowledge, of a trial for heresy in which theology has no part. To hale a public teacher of science before an investigating committee, for the purpose of examining his opinions. . . . is a procedure so novel, and, we may add, so startling, that one may well pause to consider its significance, and the possible consequences of an extension of the principle thus involved (quoted in Metzger, 1955, p. 171).

At the hearings Wells failed to substantiate the specific charges that Ely fomented strikes and public disorder, practiced an economic boycott, and entertained a union organizer in his home. The committee rejected Wells' request that they make a detailed examination of all of Ely's writings for socialistic tendencies. Wells' case against Ely thus collapsed, even without the issue of academic freedom ever being brought up. In the end Ely was completely exonerated by the committee and later by the full Board of Regents. Ely was able to keep his job, and he was heartened by the outpouring of support for him. E. Benjamin Andrews, the President of Brown University, wrote to the committee, "For your novel university to depose him would be a great blow at freedom of university teaching in general and at the development of political economy in particular." President Adams himself did an analysis of Ely's *Socialism* and concluded, "I am utterly unable to see how any careful reader can read the whole of the book without commending the fairness of its spirit and the general elevation of its tone and without conceding that the reasoning of the author leads away from socialism rather than towards it" (Herfurth, 1998, pp. 60-67; Schlabach, 1998, pp. 37-50).

This was a celebrated case, and NBC produced an hour-long dramatization of it starring Dan O'Herlihy as Ely in its *Profiles in Courage* series in December, 1964. Ely did not appear in John F. Kennedy's 1956 book

Profiles in Courage, but NBC wanted to have 26 episodes, and there were not enough “courageous” senators covered in the book, so they added some additional people. The producers claimed that JFK approved the additions prior to his death. I am afraid, though, that Ely’s defense was not as principled and courageous as the producers of the TV series made it out to be. Schlabach explained what happened during the hearings:

Throughout the entire trial Ely did not raise the issue of academic freedom, but took a safer line of defense. He even admitted that if the attacks on his character had been true, they would have shown him “to be unworthy the honor of being a professor in a great university.” Yet before the trial he had declared privately that “if I am slaughtered, others in different Universities will perish, and what will become of freedom of speech, I do not know. . . .” Ely and his friends had based their defense not on the sanctity of academic freedom but on denials of specific charges and on assertions of Ely’s essential conservatism. It had been the expedient course to follow, and it had worked. . . . (Schlabach, 1998, p. 52).

After the trial John Olin, a Professor of Law who had himself been fired for his beliefs by the Regents in 1887 and reinstated in 1893, wrote to one of the regents and suggested that they try to repair the reputation of the university by making a declaration in favor of the principle that professors have a right to speak out on “living questions.” Prompted by the outpouring of support for Ely, the Board of Regents did just that in its final report on the Ely case. President Charles Kendall Adams himself almost certainly wrote the concluding paragraph stating that they could not “for a moment believe that knowledge has reached its final goal, or that the present condition of society is perfect,” and “In all lines of academic investigation it is of the utmost importance that the investigator should be absolutely free to follow the indications of the truth wherever they may lead.” The paragraph ended with the rhetorical flourish that was destined to become famous:

Whatever may be the limitations which trammel inquiry elsewhere, we believe that the great state University of Wisconsin should ever encourage that continual and fearless sifting and winnowing by which alone the truth can be found (Schlabach, 1998, p. 52; Rader, 1966, pp. 149-150).

Ely’s trial for economic heresy had a chastening effect on him, and he began to withdraw from an activist role as a reformer and retreat to the academic cloister. He was also alarmed by the dismissal of two of his favorite former students for radical or unpopular beliefs, Edward W. Bemis from the

University of Chicago at about the same time as his own trial and John R. Commons first from Indiana University and later from Syracuse University. Ely was also shocked when he was dropped by Chautauqua as a lecturer, a position that he thought he held in perpetuity. Ely began to emphasize that he was a conservative, not a radical:

As far as my general social philosophy is concerned, . . . I am a conservative rather than a radical, and in the strict sense of the term an aristocrat rather than a democrat; but when I use the word ‘aristocrat,’ I have in mind of course not a legal aristocracy, but a natural aristocracy . . . an aristocracy which lives for the fulfillment for special service (quoted in Rader, 1966, pp. 129, 151).

Like Karl Marx, Ely’s identification with the working class was more theoretical and philosophical than social and experiential. He had little direct contact or involvement with workers or labor organizations. His criticisms of the social order were general rather than specific and programmatic. In a letter to Amos P. Wilder in 1894 he wrote, “Only twice in my life have I ever spoken to audiences of working men, and I had always held myself aloof from agitations as something not in my province—something for which I am not adapted” (Metzger, 1955, p. 159). His growing conservatism was also reflected in his attitudes toward organized labor, and he now wrote that strikes could not be tolerated in industries that affected the public welfare, such as railroads, telegraphs, or gasworks. He withdrew almost entirely from writing for popular magazines and turned down invitations to speak at meetings of progressive organizations.

As far as I can determine, Ely was not a nativist or racist, like his four most prominent students—E. A. Ross, John R. Commons, Frederick Jackson Turner, and Woodrow Wilson (arguably our most racist President). He insisted that he was a strong believer in equality of opportunity, but he also believed that “there are vast natural inequalities of native ability among men,” and “there is no greater inequality than equal treatment of unequals” (Ely, 1938, pp. 279-280). He did not, however, mention racial or ethnic groups in this connection.

Academic Freedom in America

The principle of academic freedom had its origin in the German university system of the nineteenth century, where *Lernfreiheit*, freedom of learning, and *Lehrfreiheit*, freedom of teaching, came to be regarded as keys to the scholarly and scientific excellence of German universities. *Lehrfreiheit* implied the freedom of the professor to carry out research and teach the results

of his research without interference from the government. As Karier pointed out, “. . . few noticed that both science and academic freedom were first nourished and cradled in an authoritarian class-oriented Prussian society” (Karier, 1975, p. 12). The idea of academic freedom had an elitist origin based on the assumption that the thinkers and creators of new knowledge must be protected by the powerful from the prejudices of the less knowledgeable masses. In the original German context, however, it did not include the right of professors to belong to radical political parties or to advocate radical or unpopular ideas that might challenge the authority of the state. German universities were almost entirely devoid of professors who were anarchists, Marxists, or even Social Democrats. G. Stanley Hall and other Americans who studied at German universities found them to be the “freest spot on earth,” but this freedom was available only to those who had passed a screen for political acceptability.

First, the professors and students were generally drawn from the aristocratic classes. Second, as hired officials of the state, the professor could not theoretically or practically support any causes which would undermine the authority of the state. Third, the role of the professor as a “scientific” inquirer producing new knowledge was so circumscribed that it prevented any advocacy role which would agitate the public peace and harmony of the state (Karier, 1975, pp. 12-13).

The notion of academic freedom was brought to the United States by Americans who had studied in German universities, but in the American context its meaning began to be extended also to include protection for professors who expressed opinions or engaged in advocacy or partisan political activity outside the classroom. In America neither professors nor administrators thought in terms of a rigid line dividing the university from the outside world, and it was assumed that there was an intimate connection between the research carried out in universities and practical problems of society. This broader conception of academic freedom began to take hold in American universities in the 1890s—particularly in those institutions with loftier ambitions—but it was not an uncontested battle (Veysey, 1965, p. 384). Most American colleges and universities before 1890 were primarily devoted to seminary and citizenship training or traditional humanities fields rather than to scientific and technical training. Those with ambitions to become true universities in the modern sense of the term, however, looked to the German university model. Johns Hopkins University was in the forefront of this movement to develop a research emphasis and graduate training programs. The notion of academic freedom came to be considered an essential part of this new conception of the university, and even

institutions that actually set limits on faculty expression wished to maintain the pretense that they subscribed to the principle of academic freedom in order to protect their reputations.

Ely, who was educated in German universities and who taught for eleven years at Johns Hopkins, was imbued with the notion of *Lehrfreiheit*, and he followed its literal precepts to mount a campaign against the laissez-faire doctrines of William Graham Sumner and Simon Newcomb, which then dominated the field of economics in America. When he was subjected to his “trial” for economic heresy in 1894, however, he discovered how limited was the acceptance of the principle of academic freedom.

Even though Ely was exonerated from the charges, the very fact that he was subjected to a hearing on the accusations demonstrated that the principle of academic freedom was not accepted by the University of Wisconsin Regents. President Adams’ high-flown rhetoric at the end of the report on the Ely hearings did not claim that academic freedom was an accepted principle of the university but only that the university “should encourage that continual and fearless sifting and winnowing.” Schrecker commented, “Stripped of its rhetoric, academic freedom thus turns out to be an essentially corporate protection . . . and . . . we should not be surprised to find that it was invoked more often to defend the well-being of an institution than the political rights of an individual (Schrecker, 1986, p. 23). The sifting and winnowing declaration may have served its intended purpose of improving the public image of the University of Wisconsin, but in the ensuing years Adams’ stirring words were largely forgotten. Sixteen years later the Board of Regents still did not accept the principle of academic freedom, and E. A. Ross was almost fired by the Board because of his beliefs and associations—an episode that I discuss in Chapter 4, vol. 1.

It is remarkable that many of the major academic freedom cases in the United States between 1894 and 1910 revolved around Richard T. Ely and his former students. There were probably many other cases in which professors were quietly reprimanded or sanctioned without their cases becoming publicly known at the time. Most universities did not want to admit publicly that they did not permit true academic freedom, and professors learned that they needed to moderate their views and avoid making a public issue to keep their jobs. For example, Henry Carter Adams, who was also a young German-trained economist, held two half-time jobs—one at Cornell and one at the University of Michigan. After he made a speech at Cornell criticizing the behavior of some major industrialists, he was dismissed by the university. Recognizing that making a public issue of his firing might also jeopardize his job at Michigan, he kept quiet and wrote the President of Michigan disavowing his earlier radical views and admitting that his speech had been unwise. He got tenure at Michigan and spent the rest of his career

pursuing research on “safe” subjects and advising the government on technical problems (Schrecker, 1986, p. 15). Not all professors with a reformist bent, however, were willing to submit meekly to the constraints imposed by their administrations.

The Firing of Edward W. Bemis

One of the most egregious violation of academic freedom in the 1890s involved the young political economist Edward W. Bemis, who had been one of Ely’s students at Johns Hopkins. Bemis was a tenured professor at Vanderbilt University, but he was persuaded by Walter Rainey Harper, the President of the newly founded University of Chicago, to accept a position as a tenured Associate Professor in the Department of Political Economy at Chicago when the university first opened its doors to students in 1892. The university was founded by the American Baptist Education Society with John D. Rockefeller serving as the principal donor and with Marshall Field donating the land on which it was built. Contrary to Harper’s promises, Bemis was assigned primarily to teach extension classes, but he also taught some classes within the university proper. He was no more radical than Ely, his mentor, and was probably less radical than two other members of the Political Economy Department—Thorstein Veblen (another former Ely student) and Charles Zueblin, a protégé of Harper and a co-worker with Jane Addams at Hull House. The chair of Political Economy, J. Lawrence Laughlin, however, was a conservative economist of the Sumner-Newcomb school who was hostile to Bemis and the whole institutional-historical school represented by Ely.

Veblen and Zueblin tended to make more general and theoretical criticisms of the economic system, and there was little likelihood that their writings would lead to reforms that would threaten the immediate economic interests of powerful businessmen. Bemis, on the other hand, was more interested in specific practical problems, and he made programmatic proposals for reforms that did pose a clear threat to certain businesses. There is some controversy over just which interests were the principal sources of pressure against Bemis (Bergquist, 1972). Bemis thought at first that John D. Rockefeller himself had complained to Harper about him, but he later came to suspect also the Gas Trust and the railroad interests. Just before coming to Chicago he had written an article supporting the public ownership of utilities and criticizing the Gas Trusts for their exorbitant and unfair rates charged to the public in Chicago and other major cities. Bemis later testified that in the summer of 1893 an important officer from the Gas Trust, which controlled the gas supply in more than forty cities, told him, “Professor Bemis, we can’t and don’t intend to tolerate your work any longer. It

means millions to us. And if we can't convert you we are going to down you" (quoted in Karier, 1975, p. 21). Not long afterwards the Chicago Gas Trust refused to grant a customary reduction in rates to the University of Chicago. Also during the Pullman strike in Chicago Bemis gave a talk at the First Presbyterian Church in which he first criticized the strikers, but then added,

If the railroads would expect their men to be law-abiding, they must set the example. Let their open violations of the interstate-commerce law, and their relations to corrupt Legislatures and assessors testify as to their part in this regard (quoted in Karier, 1975, p. 22).

Laughlin wrote to Harper, "I fear the affair in Dr. Barow's Church has been a last straw to some good friends of the University . . . and [Bemis] is making very hard the establishment of a great railway interest in the University" (*Ibid.*) In other words, Bemis was antagonizing powerful economic interests on whose contributions the university depended.

In January, 1894, President Harper asked Bemis to resign, because his "Extension work has been this year largely a failure"—that is, the courses did not have sufficient enrollment. Bemis refused, because he was convinced that the reason for the request was because of his position on economic issues. He stayed on for another year and one-half until he was forced to resign in the summer of 1895, in spite of his tenured position and without any kind of formal hearing. The documentary record is quite clear that he was dismissed because his ideas on economic policy offended wealthy donors to the university, but in 1895 President Harper piously stated in an in-house publication

From the beginning of the University, there has never been an occasion for condemning the utterance of any professor upon any subject, nor has any objection been taken to the teachings of a professor, and in reference to the particular teachings of an instructor no interference has ever taken place (quoted in Karier, 1975, p. 24)

In a private letter to Hamilton Mabie, the editor of *The Outlook*, in August, 1895, Ely offered a strong defense of Bemis and praised him as "stronger than any man they now have in the department of economics." He wanted to make sure that Mabie was not misled by others about the case. He pointed out that Bemis previously had tenure at Vanderbilt University and was very highly regarded there. He was considered an excellent teacher. In fact, his "strength is in the class room, but in the class room he never had any fair chance at the University of Chicago." He charged that Laughlin, the Chair of Political Economy, was unreservedly hostile to Bemis from the start

and warned economics students that Bemis was unwelcome and that they should stay away from his classes. Furthermore, Laughlin made insulting remarks in general about the work in political economy at Johns Hopkins, and insisted that Chicago would not give credit to students for work done at Hopkins in economics. Ely also expressed skepticism about Harper's claim that Bemis' views had nothing to do with his removal, for Bemis possessed a letter from Harper asking him to "exercise great discretion in his public utterances." Finally, he quoted Harper on the necessity of not antagonizing wealthy donors:

Moreover, I have heard President Harper say, without the slightest reservation, that in the conflict between labor and capital he was on the side of the capitalists every time, because it was from them that the University of Chicago must draw its money (quoted in Karier, 1975, pp. 35-36).

Ely's other students, except for Albion Small, also were outraged at Chicago's treatment of Bemis. Ross and Commons in particular were incensed (Furner, 1975, p. 195).

According to Bemis, during an interview with Harper in August, 1895, at which he announced his decision to leave the university, Harper threatened to ruin his academic career by charging him with incompetence as a teacher if he did not sign a statement denying "monopoly influence" at the university. Bemis angrily refused to sign (Bergquist, 1972, p. 388).

Harper's threat soon became a reality. The university wished to maintain a public pose of supporting academic freedom, as befitted a modern research university, so it determined to attribute Bemis' dismissal to incompetence. Thus, it sought to destroy Bemis' academic reputation in order to salvage the university's. Earlier, at Laughlin's insistence, Bemis had been transferred from the Department of Political Economy to the Department of Sociology—the first Department of Sociology established in the United States. It was headed by Albion W. Small, who had also studied in Europe and taken his PhD with Ely at Johns Hopkins, but Small was delegated to make the official charge of incompetence—after Bemis had already been discharged without a hearing. In a particularly nasty statement to the trustees, Small wrote

. . . Mr. Bemis has compelled us to advertise both his incompetency as a University Extension lecturer, and also the opinion of those most closely associated with him that he is not qualified to fill a University position. We wish to make the most emphatic and unreserved assertion which words can convey that the "freedom of teaching" has never been involved in the case (quoted in Karier, 1975, p. 41).

The page proofs of the report were stolen from the University Press by an employee and given to the *Chicago Record*, so the charge of incompetence was widely publicized even before the trustees could approve it. Later, in an undated letter to President Harper, Small apparently approved of Harper's "stonewalling" tactics and evasions of the truth:

. . . It seems clear that the Bemis case would have been bungled if you had given the papers more than you did. Denial that it had any connection with a principle of freedom was enough, and it has been impertinence in the papers to ask for more (quoted in Karier, 1975, p. 21).

Ironically, Small agreed with Bemis on the matter of municipal ownership of utilities, but he was undecided on the proper role of a professor in working for social reform. Above all he wished to protect the image of the new discipline of sociology and his department and avoid having the public confuse sociology with socialism. According to Bemis, Small believed that a scholar should avoid taking a stand on controversial issues, and he warned Bemis repeatedly that the university would be a ruthless adversary if he made his charges of the violation of academic freedom public. Bemis quoted Small as telling him the following:

I do not say that your conclusions are wrong, but in these days a man is not considered scientific, who claims to speak on more than one small corner of a subject. Then, too, there is so much misapprehension of Sociology as a science of reform that, although I hope to take up reform movements years hence, I am now going off in my lectures into transcendental philosophy so as to be as far as possible from these reform movements and thus establish the scientific character of my department (quoted in Furner, 1975, p. 177).

Even those who were servile supporters of university policy, though, could get into trouble. In 1903 the *New York Sun* published a story quoting from a lecture given by Small, in which he allegedly said

The only thing that deserves financial reward is labor. Capital as such deserves none. The present legal right that capital enjoys is all wrong. Capital has this legal right simply because our statutes give the right. There is nothing morally right about it (quoted in Karier, 1975, p. 44).

These views were anathema to capitalists like the Rockefellers, and President Harper soon heard from John D. Rockefeller, Jr., asking whether there was any truth to the press report. Harper replied that the statement

quoted in the story was “95 to 98 percent” fictitious and that Small’s views were misrepresented by a green reporter. The episode shows, however, that the wealthy donors to the university were monitoring the views of the faculty and were not averse to applying pressure.

Bemis’ academic career was effectively “downed” by the University of Chicago’s actions. His searches for an academic position proved fruitless for some time. Eventually he was able to find a position at Kansas State Agricultural College as a direct consequence of the most notorious violation of academic freedom prior to the firing of E. A. Ross at Stanford. This time, however, it was conservative professors who were dismissed for their views at the hands of the Populists rather than progressive or socialist professors who ran afoul of conservative administrations. Most populist leaders were no more dedicated to the principle of academic freedom than were the conservatives who dominated most legislatures and university boards.

In the 1890s the Populist movement became very strong in many Midwestern and Southern states and threatened the conservative dominance in state legislatures and state college and university boards. In Kansas in 1890 the Populist People’s Party won control of the state government and in alliance with the Democratic Party elected a governor, Lorenzo Lewelling. Populists were often viewed as anti-elitist, anti-intellectual, and hostile to higher education, and Republicans branded them as “the party of the ignorant.” Actually a substantial number of Populist leaders were college educated and saw advanced education as a key to remaking the social order and fighting entrenched interests. They wished to reform colleges and universities, making them more accessible to the children of farmers and workers by lowering entrance standards, providing more remedial courses, offering vocational subjects, and providing greater financial support for students. They also wanted to modify the curriculum to include more social science courses, particularly political economy courses that departed from the old conservative orthodoxy. Often they increased state funding of colleges and universities and upgraded the quality of the faculty by hiring more PhD’s (Gelber, 2011).

Governor Lewelling appointed four new Fusionist (People’s Party & Democrat) regents to the seven-member board of Kansas State Agricultural College in 1892. During the next four years more courses in political economy were added, but there were no major changes. In 1896, however, another Fusionist governor was elected—John Leedy. Leedy asked the Board to “revolutionize things at the Agricultural College” by rededicating it to the provision of vocational training and progressive courses in economics and civics (Gelber, 2011, pp. 43-44).

In the spring of 1897 the regents terminated all 23 professors at the college, but then offered new contracts to 18 of them—thereby dismissing five.

There is substantial evidence that the five who were fired were unpopular with the students and had meager credentials, but they were all conservative Republicans, so the general inference was that they were fired because of their political views. The *Washington Post* reported that the action represented a “ruthless proscription never before witnessed, and to an extent that either of the old parties would have found incompatible with its sense of decency.” George Fairchild, the conservative President of the college, resigned in protest and was replaced by Thomas Elmer Will, a progressive political economist who had earned an M.A. at Harvard, even though he rejected the conservative economic doctrines being taught there. Will proceeded to replace the fired professors with faculty who had liberal views and more impressive credentials from respected universities. By almost any standard, the new faculty represented an upgrade, and they immediately were embraced by most of the students. Will appointed Edward Bemis to a chair in economics partly because of his intellect and academic publications but also because of his sympathy for the masses (Gelber, 2011, pp. 136-7). He also hired Frank Parsons, who also continued in his previous position as a lecturer at Boston University’s School of Law during a part of each year. Parsons was a brilliant lawyer whose prolific writings advocated social reform and public ownership, and he had been a candidate for mayor of Boston supported by a coalition of Socialists, Populists, and Prohibitionists. Will also hired another former student of Ely, Helen Campbell, for a chair in domestic economy. She was an associate of Jane Addams and an outspoken supporter of progressive causes (Gelber, 2011, p. 133)

Bemis avoided taking a position on the incendiary silver question and gained a reputation for objectivity in his teaching. In the fall of 1898, however, Republicans retook control of the state government. Three of the Populist regents for Kansas State Agricultural College were suspended on trumped up charges of malfeasance, which gave Republicans a majority on the board again. They lost no time in firing President Will and the five progressive faculty members he had hired, even though in a referendum, students at the college supported the Will Administration and the dismissed professors by a vote of 396 to 24 (Furner, 1975, pp. 197-198; Hamilton, 1995, p. 13; Gelber, 2011, pp. 140, 167, 168). Bemis reported that the regents went out of their way to praise him and admitted that they did not have a particle of evidence that he had been guilty of partisanship, but they confided that they felt compelled to fire him because of outside political pressure (Gelber, 2011, p. 140). Parsons had also been rated as one of the best and most popular faculty members, and Dr. C. M. Correll lauded him for his lack of partisanship:

While Parsons was a somewhat eccentric individual, he was a wonderful teacher—sane, fair, and unprejudiced. His mind was not closed to new

ideas, but he was not partisan in any sense in his classroom work (H. Davis, 1969, p. 25).

There were numerous other testimonials on behalf of Parsons and Bemis, but the political pressures were too strong against them. The previous board had taken an active role in supporting the regulation of railroad shipping rates in the state, and the railroad interests pushed for a new board. Business interests were also opposed to President Will's efforts to expand the teaching of political economy and reducing the traditional emphasis on agriculture courses (H. Davis, 1969, pp. 25-27).

A personal note: To this day Kansas State's Populist President Thomas E. Will is the only president in the history of the university who has never been memorialized by having a building named after him (Gelber, 2011, p. 167). Fairchild, who preceded Will, is so honored, even though the Republicans who retook control of the board in 1898 refused to reinstall him as president. When I took my first teaching job at Kansas State in 1956, however, it was once again serving as a refuge for a dissenter. One of my colleagues in the Department of Economics and Sociology was a bright young econometrician named Walter D. Fisher, who was part of a group of professors at the University of California-Berkeley who refused on principle to sign the school's loyalty oath in 1950. There were initially a substantial number of resisters, but relentless economic and political pressure and threats reduced the number of holdouts to a handful. Finally, the Regents voted to fire the remaining 31 nonsigners for insubordination—i.e., refusing to follow their dictates—even though they acknowledged that none of them were Communists or subversives. In a later court decision the jobs were restored, but the loyalty oath requirement was upheld. Fewer than half of the nonsigners ever returned to the University of California. Fisher was one of the last holdouts and never gave in. He resigned rather than sign the oath (Blauner, 2009). Kansas State University was delighted to add a rising star to their faculty, even though it was by then hardly a center for student or faculty radical activism. In 1967 Fisher moved to Northwestern University, where he enjoyed a distinguished career in economics.

After being fired for his views for a second time, Bemis took a nonacademic position as Superintendent of the municipal waterworks in Cleveland, where he was able to put into practice many of his ideas regarding municipally owned public utilities. He replaced the spoils system of employment with a merit system, rationalized the operation of the waterworks, installed water meters, upgraded the infrastructure, and reduced the price of water. He later did similar work in New York City, partnered with John R. Commons to provide an economic data service, and served on an advisory board of the Valuation Bureau of the Interstate Commerce Commission from 1913

to 1923, but he never again held a university faculty appointment (Metzger, 1955, p. 161)

Frank Parsons refused give up his aspirations for educational reform and after leaving Kansas State joined the newly founded Ruskin College of Social Science in Trenton, Missouri. It was modeled roughly after Ruskin College in Oxford, England, and was devoted entirely to economic and social studies. The college was led by Thomas Elmer Will, the dismissed president of Kansas State, and he invited Parsons to become Dean of the lecture department and Professor of History and Economics. This idealistic venture failed after a very short period, and Parsons returned to the East, where he resumed teaching at Boston University. Today he is remembered primarily as the “Father of Vocational Guidance” on the basis of his later writings on that subject (H. Davis, 1969).

The episodes of conflict over issues of academic freedom in universities in the 1890s left social scientists chastened, apprehensive, and cautious. According to Furner, a set of clear lessons emerged:

Avoid radicalism. Avoid socialism. Avoid excessive publicity and refrain from public advocacy. When trouble strikes, unless there is certain assurance of massive support, accept your fate in austere and dignified silence. Above all, maintain a reputation for scientific objectivity (Furner, 1975, p. 204).

The intrepid E. A. Ross violated all these precepts, and I shall detail his travails with regard to the issue of academic freedom in Chapter 4, vol. 1. In contrast to the case of Bemis, the academic careers of Ely, E. A. Ross, and John R. Commons survived after they suffered attacks on their economic and political views, though Ross was fired once and Commons twice for their views early in their careers. Ely and Ross were certainly more prestigious and established scholars than Bemis, and this helped them to weather the storm. Ross had to spend five years “cooling off,” though, before Ely was able to bring such a controversial professor into his department. Commons did not make a public protest about his dismissals and thus did not become as much of a controversial figure as Bemis or Ross, but even he had to spend five years in academic exile before Ely felt comfortable about bringing him into the department. Ely never attempted to recruit Bemis, whose academic reputation had been irreparably damaged in his unequal battle with President Harper and the University of Chicago.

Ely believed that state control of a university tended to protect it from the influence of wealthy conservative interests, whereas a private university must court the wealthy donors who support it. He believed that this helped him to survive the attacks at Wisconsin. Actually, public financial support

did not necessarily guarantee greater adherence to the principles of academic freedom. The American Association of University Professors reported that between its founding in 1915 and 1947, they recorded 73 violations of academic freedom, of which 37, or slightly more than half, occurred at state universities (Metzger, 1955, pp.155-156). Wisconsin, as a state university, was certainly less dependent on donations from extremely wealthy and conservative benefactors than private universities like Stanford and Chicago. The Republican Party was overwhelmingly dominant in Wisconsin around the turn of the century and nationally represented conservative business interests, but there was a strong progressive as well as conservative element in the Wisconsin Republican Party. The Wisconsin Board of Regents often had Progressive members and was less uniformly conservative than the trustees of the private universities. Ely was also fortunate that his accuser was an outsider—an upstart Democrat who was thoroughly disliked by his fellow Republican regents and by President Adams.

“Superpatriotism”

Ely was a strong supporter of American imperialism, and he welcomed the Spanish American War with enthusiasm. Even though he was 44 years old, he joined a group of student volunteers seeking military service, but was deeply disappointed that the war ended before he could see combat. He supported the US conquest of the Philippines but apparently did not attempt to serve in the long and vicious war against the Philippine independence movement (Rader, 1966, pp. 181-182).

Since his student days in Germany, Ely had admired the discipline and sense of duty imposed by military service, and when World War I broke out in Europe, he called for universal military service in the United States. He wrote to a friend that he wanted to round up the “loafers” and put them to work, since he believed that compulsory military service was “magnificent in its results” (Rader, 1966, p. 182). Afraid that a German victory in the war would endanger the security of the United States, he joined the National Security League, which strongly advocated military preparedness. He believed that a German defeat would rescue the German people from an autocratic government and he hoped that “we shall have a great revival of German learning” (Rader, 1966, p. 182).

Once the United States entered the war, Ely became extremely intolerant of pacifists and those who opposed the war. Even though he was on the academic freedom committee of the American Association of University Professors, he thought that efforts to defend academic freedom should be completely abandoned for the duration of the war. He wrote to Allyn A. Young that “any professor who uttered ‘opinions which hinder us in this

awful struggle' deserves to be 'fired,' if not 'shot'" (Rader, 1966, p. 183). He was incensed when his friend and ally in the Progressive Movement in Wisconsin, Senator Robert M. "Fighting Bob" La Follette, along with nine of the eleven Wisconsin Representatives, voted against the war resolution of April 16, 1917. He complained that La Follette's criticisms of war profiteering by big business "makes my blood boil." Even before the US entered the war, his youngest son John left Harvard and joined the French army. When the US entered the war his son transferred to the American army and served in heavy combat. This intensified Ely's feeling that opposition to the war was a traitorous act.

Ely played a very active role in the organized attempts to remove Senator La Follette from office. He organized a local chapter of the Wisconsin Loyalty Legion and wrote a superpatriotic loyalty pledge that was stronger than that of the state organization. Members were required to support the Espionage Act, "work against La Folletteism in all its anti-war forms," and "to stamp out disloyalty" (Rader, 1966, p. 185). Many of the faculty believed that the Loyalty Legion was a front for the Stalwarts (conservatives) of the Republican Party, and President Charles R. Van Hise and Dean Edward A. Birge refused to join because of its conservative political nature. Something like 93 percent of the Madison faculty, however, did sign a mild memorial that "in certain respects Senator La Follette has misrepresented them, his constituents" (Rader, 1966, p. 185).

There was much support for La Follette's position in Wisconsin, though, and all attempts to remove him from office failed. La Follette ran for President in 1924 on the Progressive Party ticket and received 17 percent of the national vote. He carried only one state—Wisconsin—but he finished second in eleven western states and carried Jewish and Italian wards in New York City and other major cities. It showed that a farmer and working class coalition could be forged, and it sparked many populist and radical movements in subsequent years (J. Nichols, "About 'Fighting Bob' La Follette" In a 1982 survey of historians ranking "the greatest Senators in the nation's history," La Follette and Henry Clay tied for first place (Porter, 1987).

In 1938, when he wrote his autobiography, Ely expressed regret for his vendetta against Senator La Follette. Perhaps it was because he realized that the outcome of World War I was not a renewal of German culture and learning, as he had hoped, but the rise of Nazism. When the Swedish Nobel Laureate economist and sociologist Gunnar Myrdal was a visiting professor at Wisconsin in 1977 and had an office next to mine, he would talk to me nostalgically about the beauty and refinement of German culture before World War I. "World War I ruined everything!" he lamented.

Ely also played a prominent role in promoting the Red Scare after World War I. He published an article in 1920 warning that Bolshevism was

a “most serious menace, and one that we cannot disregard with impunity. It is a product of social disease germs which are spreading a pestilence over the world We must fight Bolshevism with repressive measures” (Rader, 1966, p. 190). The scandalous Palmer raids of 1919 and 1920 aimed at doing just this. President Wilson’s Attorney General, A. Mitchell Palmer, left the orchestration of the raids to his 25-year-old junior officer named J. Edgar Hoover, who began a lifetime preoccupation with rooting out, deporting, prosecuting, and harassing leftists, liberals, civil rights activists, and homosexuals (Weiner, 2012).

Departure from Wisconsin

Ely had stormy relations with the University of Wisconsin administration and led a series of Presidents and Deans to become exasperated with him. Nevertheless, the administrators recognized his achievement in building the social sciences at Wisconsin, and the university awarded him an honorary Doctor of Laws degree in 1923.

Ely’s autocratic and arbitrary behavior within his own department, however, alienated many of his colleagues. Ely’s attempt to fire the young Selig Perlman because of their ideological disagreements over labor policy was a particular cause of resentment. The wife of John R. Commons was concerned about her husband’s fragile mental health and repeated breakdowns and believed that he would be much happier and more stable if he did not have to teach undergraduate students—something that was unlikely to happen as long as Ely was around. Perlman’s son Mark, who became an economics graduate student at Wisconsin, claimed that Mrs. Commons and E. A. Ross joined forces to try to remove Ely from the chairmanship.

Commons would then concentrate only on teaching graduate students, while my father would lecture to the undergraduates. Ross would get his own department, a department of sociology and anthropology, something he dearly wanted. And Ely would be replaced as chairman by a younger man, William Kiekhofer, whom they thought to be something of an acceptable pawn. Largely because many others in the university were fed up with Ely’s highhanded manner their maneuver succeeded. Ely thereupon took retirement and went to Northwestern (Fink, 1991, p. 520).

I do not doubt that Ross and Mrs. Commons may have talked about their wish that Ely could be removed as chair, but I think it unlikely that they were responsible for his leaving. Ely did move to Northwestern University in 1925, two years after his first wife, Anna Anderson Ely, died in 1923.

In his autobiography he was not forthcoming about the reason for the move, but wrote only,

Eventually, the time came for the Institute to leave the home of its birth. I felt that my work at Wisconsin was over. I had made my contribution. I decided to leave the pleasant fields where I had spent thirty years of my life and to accept an offer to go to Northwestern University. . . . (Ely, 1938, pp. 244-245).

I believe that Ely's decision to move to Northwestern was motivated largely by the Wisconsin Regents' 1925 ban on accepting private foundation grants—not because of any machinations of academic politics or personal conflicts with colleagues or administrators. The five-year ban on foundation grants, which I discuss in Chapter 15, vol. 1, precluded him from applying for grants from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, the principal source of financial support for the social sciences in the 1920s. He took with him the Institute for Research in Land Economics and Public Utilities which he had founded, and most of its considerable staff. His move was rewarded by the Memorial with a grant of \$10,000 a year at first, then raised to \$20,000 a year, and then raised again to \$30,000 a year, though with the proviso that the Institute raise two dollars for every dollar received from the Memorial. Ely's Institute also received \$12,500 a year from the Carnegie Corporation (Ogg, 1928, p. 189). Both foundations had been banned as sources of grants for Wisconsin professors from 1925 to 1930.

In Evanston in 1931, the 77-year-old professor married a 33-year-old former student, Margaret Hale Hahn, and they had two children. At Northwestern his Institute expanded and began publishing *the Journal of Land and Public Utility Economics*. In 1933, however, he grew tired of “interference” from Northwestern's Board of Trustees and retired, moving the Institute once more to New York City, where it operated as an independent organization (“Richard Ely,” *Gale Encyclopedia of World Biography*, cited in <http://www.answers.com/topic/ely-richard-theodore>).

During the New Deal years Ely approved of some of Franklin D. Roosevelt's programs, such as the Civilian Conservation Corps, the Securities and Exchange Commission, and an expanded role for the Federal Reserve System of monetary controls. He opposed the National Industrial Recovery Act and the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933 (Rader, 1966, p. 232), but I think the verdict of history is that he was right to question these two hasty false starts of the New Deal (MacDonald, 1948, pp. 39-62; Hiltzik, 2011).

In 1939 Ely moved his family to Old Lyme, Connecticut, where he continued to work on revising manuscripts. In April, 1943, Henry C. Taylor, who was then Director of the Farm Foundation, wrote to Asher Hobson, the

Chair of the Wisconsin Department of Agricultural Economics between 1931 and 1948. Taylor was in touch with his old colleague Ely, and he indicated that Ely wanted his personalia, consisting of his papers from his Wisconsin years plus five years before and five years after, to go to the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Taylor wrote, "I have looked over the correspondence enough to know how rich it is [in] materials essential to the writing of the history of economic, social, and political thought during the 50 years that the correspondence covers" (UW Archives, 7/33-5, Box 1, "E"). Wisconsin's Library Committee and the Librarian of the State Historical Society recommended purchase at a price of \$1000, but the Board of Regents rejected the recommendation by a vote of five to four. Taylor thought it was only fair to raise money privately to offer Ely an honorarium of \$1000 for the collection. Ely's former colleagues at the Institute of Land Economics at Northwestern had already raised half the amount, so Wisconsin's share would be only \$500. Hobson then sought to secure the necessary private contributions from Ely's Wisconsin colleagues and admirers. Ely died six months later, but in spite of the negative vote by the Board of Regents, the papers were donated to the State Historical Society as a gift.

Ely died in Old Lyme, Connecticut, Oct. 4, 1943, but his ashes were interred at Forest Hill Cemetery (Section 30, Lot 51) in Madison next to the grave of his first wife Anna. There he joined his erstwhile friend and foe, Senator Robert M. La Follette, who died in office in 1925 and was also buried in Forest Hill Cemetery (Section 4, Lot 099-100-101)

John Rogers Commons (1862-1945)

John R. Commons was one of the most brilliant and creative scholars to join Ely's Department of Political Economy. He had studied political economy with Ely at Johns Hopkins, but was really trained more as a sociologist. His early university appointments teaching mainly sociology ended in disaster, but after Ely brought him to Wisconsin he found a home and focused more on economics, though with a broad sociological orientation. Eventually, he came to overshadow Ely and became the dominant scholar in the Department of Economics.

Early Life and Education

Commons was born Oct. 13, 1862, in Hollandsburg, Ohio, near the Indiana border, but his family moved a short distance west to Richmond, Indiana, and he grew up a Hoosier—an identity he always claimed. He finished high school in Winchester, Indiana. His mother had graduated in 1853 from Oberlin College in Ohio—which in 1837 was the first college in the United States to admit women as well as men. His father never went to college, but he was well read and became the owner and editor of newspapers at Union City and Winchester, Indiana. Commons' father was a poor businessman, and the family generally had to depend on his mother for economic support. She managed to send Commons off to Oberlin College in 1882. He helped support himself working as a printer, but he sometimes had to drop out of school to work and did not graduate until 1888. He received an A.M. degree at Oberlin in 1889 ("Commons, John Rogers," 1924, p. 423). According to his own autobiographical account written when he was 70, he was a very poor student at Oberlin: ". . . the faculty permitted me to take oral 'make-up' examinations, which the dear professors said were 'poor,' but none would stand in the way of my graduation. . . I think my professors saw some promise, not in my scholarship but in my curiosity and persistency. . . ." (Commons, 1963, p. 26). Commons was obviously very bright, and his teachers were impressed with his tendency to dig deep into a subject to discover things for himself.

Commons said, "I was brought up on Hoosierism, Republicanism,

Presbyterianism, and Spencerism,” but when he was at Oberlin he was incensed when Herbert Spencer said that according to the laws of physics, it was impossible to pitch a curveball. Commons was a gifted baseball pitcher who had command of a good curveball. In fact, an opposing player in one game became so frustrated at being unable to hit his pitches, he threw a bean ball at Commons that caused a concussion and ended his baseball career. Commons remarked, “Ever after, I looked for the omitted factors, or the ones taken for granted and therefore omitted, by the great leaders in the science of economics. That was how I became an economic skeptic” (Commons, 1963, p. 28).

Commons had been thinking of becoming a journalist, but he became interested in political economy through the influence of his teachers and a Japanese classmate at Oberlin. His first flirtation with economic heterodoxy was helping to found a Henry George Club at Oberlin. He also saw an editorial in *The Nation*, a conservative journal, attacking Richard Ely of Johns Hopkins for his “socialism.” That made him want to pursue doctoral study at Johns Hopkins with Ely. One of his professors induced two of the Oberlin College trustees to lend him enough money to finance his first two years at Johns Hopkins (Commons, 1963, pp. 40-41).

At Johns Hopkins Commons was a student of Ely and became an enthusiastic follower of the “new economics.” The most valuable experiences, however, came when Ely sent him into the field to visit the building and loan associations in Baltimore and to join the Charity Organization Society as a “case worker.” He made reports on his observations to the joint history and economics seminar, and one was published as a university bulletin. This began a lifetime practice of depending on empirical observations in the field rather than on deductive economic theory. After a year and a half, however, he failed a history exam and was unable to secure a fellowship to support a third year of study at Johns Hopkins. As a result, he never obtained a PhD degree, though he later was awarded honorary LLD degrees by Oberlin, Lake Forest, and the University of Wisconsin. Commons remarked in his autobiography, “Afterwards I occasionally said to my students that, if I could have my way, there would be no examinations, no marks nor degrees in colleges and universities, because they gave preference to memorizers who could hand back what their teachers and textbooks said, and penalized independent thinking” (Commons, 1963, p. 42).

Aborted Early Academic Career

Commons’ Johns Hopkins professors recommended him for an instructorship in economics at Wesleyan University in 1890, and in that year he married Ella Brown. They had two children. His teaching career got off to

a bad start, however, and he was fired after one year for being a failure as a teacher. The problem was that he taught the standard orthodox economics, not daring to introduce the new ideas he had acquired at Johns Hopkins, and his students were totally uninterested. He then taught for a year as an assistant professor at Oberlin before moving to Indiana University in 1892.

At Indiana Commons replaced E. A. Ross, one of his Johns Hopkins classmates. Ross was moving to Cornell University at that time, and Indiana's President, David Starr Jordan, was moving to Stanford to become its first President. Commons taught both economics and sociology courses at Indiana, with perhaps a greater focus on sociology. He took his students to visit prisons and asylums, engage in social service projects, and investigate possible wrongdoing in the valuation of real estate. His *Distribution of Wealth* published in 1893 suggested that great wealth was sometimes accumulated through means that hurt society. He published *Social Reform and the Church* in 1894, giving his views on Christian Sociology, an American version of what was called Christian Socialism in Europe. He was one of the founders of the American Institute of Christian Sociology and served as Secretary of the organization. He quickly became disillusioned with the organization, however, and suspicious of love and moral exhortation as the basis for voluntary social reform. Commons was a strong believer that professors should be advocates, however, and repeatedly spoke in criticism of capitalists. He was so outspoken that Ely begged him to restrain his zeal, and even his friend David Kinley, another Ely student, thought his behavior too reckless to defend:

I cannot sympathize with the position of men like Commons, nor assent to such radical opinions as he expresses. He is doing himself, his university, and his fellow economists in the country a great wrong in laying himself so vulnerably open to criticism. It is the action of hot-heads like him that makes the position of the more conservative of us so difficult (Kinley, quoted in Furner, 1975, pp. 201-202).

Commons was aware that he was coming under increasing attack from conservatives and the newspapers. He wrote to his friend Henry Carter Adams,

There have been several parties urging my removal by the Trustees on the ground of Socialism, Free Trade, Single Tax, Populism, Etc., Etc. The Indianapolis papers especially have been making considerable noise, but the matter did not take definite shape until our university lobby met with some difficulty before the Legislature on the ground of attacks against me (quoted in Furner, 1975, p. 202).

Commons foolishly believed that the university would protect him, and when he received an offer of a position at Syracuse University at a higher salary, he hoped to use it to leverage a raise in salary at Indiana, though he really wanted to remain at Indiana. When he told President Joseph Swain about the offer, he was shocked when Swain told him he must take the Syracuse offer at once and leave Indiana. In his autobiography written when he was in his eighties, Commons presented this incident only as a case of the President's anger at his tactics in trying to secure a raise (Commons, 1963, pp. 45-52). The judgment of historians, however, is that he was told to leave because President Swain was alarmed by the increasing attacks on Commons as a radical. Commons never made a public protest that his academic freedom was violated at Indiana, but he also never asked for a raise in salary throughout the rest of his career (Furner, 1975, pp. 198-202; Dorfman, 1949, vol. 3, pp. 285-288).

When Commons went to Syracuse he decided he would tell the Chancellor, James Roscoe Day, "the whole truth" from the start:

I told him I was a socialist, a single-taxer, a free-silverite, a greenbacker, a municipal-ownerist, a member of the Congregational Church. He answered to the effect: I do not care what you are if you are not an 'obnoxious socialist.' That settled it. I mistakenly thought I was not of the obnoxious kind (Commons, 1963, p. 53).

At Syracuse Commons taught sociology in innovative ways, as he had at Indiana, often taking his students on field trips into the community or assigning them to carry out research projects in the field. He was quite popular with the students at Syracuse, as he had been at Indiana, but he got into trouble once more because of his radical views. At first Syracuse appeared to be more tolerant than Indiana, but after four years he began to make speeches praising Henry George and Karl Marx as heralds of a radical movement that would secure the rights of labor.

In his autobiography Commons wrote about the end of his career at Syracuse. According to his account, he was asked to speak at a meeting of members from all the churches who were protesting the mayor's refusal to enforce the law against Sunday baseball. Before the meeting on Sunday he visited the ball grounds in the parks and saw large crowds of workingmen and their families watching baseball played by pick-up teams from various industries. There was no admission fee. At the meeting Commons described what he had seen and said that he opposed professional baseball with admission fees on Sundays, but he thought it was good for workingmen to have this recreational opportunity on Sundays, since their employers did not give them sufficient free time during the week. He was hissed

by the crowd, and the Chancellor received letters from the ministers and others declaring that they would withdraw their children from the university and they would not make contributions to the university if he were not fired. The Chancellor replied that Commons had perfect liberty to express his views on the subject, but a year later, in March, 1899, the Chancellor called Commons into his office and informed him that his chair of sociology was being abolished, since some potentially important donors refused to give any money to the university as long as Commons remained on the faculty. The Chancellor also told him that at a national meeting of college presidents, they had agreed not to appoint anyone with radical tendencies to their faculties. Commons realized that his job was being abolished not because he supported Sunday baseball but because of his radical views on economic issues. Commons concluded,

It was not religion, it was capitalism, that governed Christian colleges. . . Therefore, I had no hope for another college position. He [Day] was convincing and I never tried to get another teaching job (Commons, 1963, pp. 57-58).

Once again Commons made no public protest at being fired for his views. He commented,

I was not dismissed but my chair was pulled out from under me. . . . This was such a customary, legal, and quiet way of doing it, under the institution of private property, that everybody, including economists, took it as a part of the Natural Order not needing investigation (Commons, 1963, pp. 58-59).

Disillusioned, he simply retired from academic life. When reporters asked him about his sudden departure from Syracuse, he refused to comment. As a reward for his silence the university gave him a “rousing send-off” with a flood of compliments. Commons wrote in his autobiography, “So I learned the virtue of silence. It makes eulogists instead of avengers. You keep their secrets.” Syracuse librarians and archivists also protected the secrets in later years, managing to keep historians from gaining access to relevant files on the case (Furner, 1975, p. 203). By going quietly, Commons managed to avoid the permanent notoriety that destroyed Bemis’ academic career, but after Commons had been dismissed from two universities, Ely was hesitant about recruiting him to his own department.

Commons' "Five Big Years" Out of Academia

After leaving Syracuse Commons began working in a series of short-term and freelance jobs dealing mostly with economic issues. This period of academic exile was what Commons later called "my Five Big Years" and a fortunate period (Commons, 1963, p. 65; Gonce, 2002). He credited it with his real education in economic reality. His autobiography is sketchy about the specific experiences that molded him during this period, but they came as the result of a series of jobs with economic agencies. First, he moved to New York City and with Edward W. Bemis—who was also a refugee from the academy—founded the Bureau of Economic Research. The Bureau in 1900 created the first index to measure the movement of wholesale prices, but it was discontinued when the index did not move in the direction that Commons' boss wanted.

After being fired twice in 18 months—once by conservatives and once by liberals—he found a job in 1901 with the US Industrial Commission in Washington DC. The Industrial Commission assigned him to investigate immigration and its effect on labor unions. He began six months of travel in the company of a Jewish working-class "interpreter," Abram Bisno from Hull House, the settlement house founded by Jane Addams in Chicago. Bisno had a deep knowledge of the working class gained from twenty years of labor in sweatshops himself, and he had radical views that Commons described as favoring "Syndicalism" or the "IWW."

We traveled together for about six months investigating sweatshops from Chicago to Boston. . . . Away from Chicago Bisno and I took rooms in cheap lodging houses or hotels of the immigrant and sweatshop districts. . . . Bisno opened up a new world for me, not only in the life of the immigrant but also in economic theory—Karl Marx and labor unionism. He was my daily seminar for six months. An immigrant, at twelve years of age, with his parents escaping from the pogroms of Kiev, Russia, he had grown up in the American sweatshops of the clothing trade. He did not want the state, as did Karl Marx, to take over the shops and factories, for he knew the Chicago politicians, but Marx did not. Neither did he want organized labor to take over the sweatshops, for he knew the instability and secret cutthroat competition of his fellow immigrants (Commons, 1963, pp. 68-69).

After the exposure tour with Bisno, Commons visited the headquarters of about half of the national trade unions and became acquainted with most of the national leaders of organized labor. During this period he also read Sidney and Beatrice Webb's book *Industrial Democracy* (1897) and

was powerfully influenced by their criticisms of neoclassical economic theory and their advocacy of industrial democracy. He was influenced perhaps even more by his week-long attendance at a national “joint conference” of about 1,000 bituminous coal local union representatives and 70 mine owners in 1900. He derived from this a key insight that was woven into his later institutional economics:

The essential point . . . was the elimination, as far as possible, of a third party, the arbitrator—whether King, legislature, governor or dictator, handing down rules and regulations from above—and the substitution of rules agreed upon collectively, by conciliation. It was to be, as I then learned in 1900, not Democracy in the historic meaning of a majority overruling the minority, but representation of organized voluntary but conflicting economic interests. . . . I concede to my radical friends that my trade-union philosophy always made me conservative. It is not revolutions and strikes that we want, but collective bargaining on something like an organized equilibrium of equality. This, I take it, was the social philosophy of Samuel Gompers. It seems to me the only way to save us from Communism, Fascism, or Nazism (Commons, 1963, pp. 72-73).

While he was working for the Industrial Commission Commons suffered a breakdown in his health—probably his mental health—and required months to recuperate. When he recovered he took a position as assistant secretary of the National Civics Federation, where he worked as a statistician between 1902 and 1904. At the NCF he initially worked on taxation problems. During a trip to Wisconsin studying taxation he met Governor Robert M. La Follette for the first time. Commons then worked closely with Samuel Gompers in the NCF Conciliation Committee and came to share Gompers’ views about business unionism. During these trips Commons also became interested in the ways in which organized labor and organized capital regulated and restricted output. He proposed that he investigate this topic for the Department of Labor, and he completed the study during the six months between his completion of work for the National Civics Federation and his starting work at Wisconsin in 1904.



JOHN ROGERS COMMONS, 1910
(UW ARCHIVES)

Commons Comes to Wisconsin

Richard Ely had tried without success to find Commons an academic position at other universities between 1902 and 1904. By 1904 Commons' reputation as a radical had worn off, aided by the fact that he had never raised the issue of academic freedom in his two dismissals, and Ely was finally able to arrange for Commons to come to Wisconsin in 1904. Ely offered him the title of Professor of Sociology, but Commons preferred to be a Professor of Political Economy, since he had been working primarily on economic topics during the preceding five years. Commons wrote in his autobiography, "I was born again when I entered Wisconsin, after five years of incubation" (Commons, 1963, p. 95).

Richard T. Ely and E. A. Ross had built imposing two-story houses in University Heights, close to the campus, but in 1913 Commons chose to build a bungalow on a hilltop about four miles west of the campus at 1645 Norman Way. This was far out in the country, surrounded by open fields in those days. John and Ella named their bungalow "Hocheera," said to be a Ho-Chunk word meaning "welcome." It was the largest residence built by Madison designer Cora Tuttle, who introduced bungalows to Madison, and it featured a 40-foot long porch across the front of the house, with four pentagonal openings affording a view of Lake Mendota. Today the porch has been enclosed, a frontal addition has been built, and only one of the pentagonal openings survives as a doorway. Open fields no longer surround the house, and trees and shrubs block any view of the lake. The house is now on the Wisconsin National Register of Historic Places ("Commons, John R. House," Wisconsin Historical Society, Wisconsin National Register of Historic Places).



JOHN R. COMMONS' HOUSE – 1645 NORMAN WAY
(R. MIDDLETON, 2011)

Ely, Commons, and Perlman in Collaboration and Conflict

Ely had secured a grant of \$24,000 to support a revision and expansion of his pioneering 1886 book on the history of labor in America, and he brought in Commons to assist him as co-director of the project. The fund paid two-thirds of Commons' salary for three years, and Commons was obligated to teach only one semester a year. Commons, however, discovered unexpectedly rich sources of documents and persuaded a reluctant Ely that they should first publish a documentary source book on labor history. This resulted in the publication of the massive ten-volume *Documentary History of American Industrial Society* in 1910 and 1911, but it also exhausted the funds. By this time Ely's interests were also turning away from labor history to other areas of economics, and the labor history that was originally planned was never completed. This was probably due to a personal falling out between Ely and Commons. Commons thought that Ely was trying to appropriate his intellectual work without proper credit, and Ely rightfully complained that Commons spent much time working for state government agencies and other projects when he was being paid to work on the labor history. The conflicts between the two men became so intense that President Charles Van Hise had to step in twice as mediator to forge compromises (Lampman and Johnson, 1998, pp. 115-120).

I suspect another reason for the inability of Ely and Commons to work together was their different view of labor relations. They both sympathized with trade unions, and neither could be regarded as a radical, but Commons came to believe to maintain social peace capitalists, workers, and farmers should act collectively to advance their group interests in an arena regulated by the state. He was a strong believer in collective bargaining moderated by the state (Gilbert and Baker, 1997, pp. 292-294)

Ely was subsequently squeezed out of the project when the Carnegie Institution started funneling research funds for a labor history directly to Commons. Commons made use of current and former graduate students to do much of the work and finally published the first two volumes of *The History of Labor in the United States* in 1918. Ely still wanted to revise his 1886 book *The Labor Movement in America* and employed William H. Price, an instructor in the department, to do the revision, but Price resigned from the task in 1912 because of poor health. Ely then turned to another instructor, Selig Perlman. Perlman did a major rewrite, but Ely rejected the revision, which was more aligned with Commons' views. As Perlman's son Mark later recalled, ". . . the difference was not only in terms of the nature of the coverage but even more in the repudiation of the essential Christian socialism which underlay Ely's interpretation just as it underlay his works on socialism in various countries" (Fink, 1991, p. 519). Perlman's manuscript,

however, became the basis for Perlman's *The History of Trade Unionism* published in 1922 (Lampman and Johnson, 1998, pp. 120-121).

Ely, who ran the department in a high-handed manner, informed Perlman that his contract would not be renewed and started arranging interviews for him with other departments. At Cornell the department voted to recommend his appointment, but the President refused the recommendation, because the trustees would not accept any Jew. Universities at that time were rife with anti-Semitism, and a later interview at the University of Arkansas also failed to yield an offer. With his family in dire poverty and fearing unemployment, Perlman in desperation appealed to E. A. Ross, who unhesitatingly came to his assistance. Ross enlisted the aid of John R. Commons, whose wife was also an advocate for Perlman, and together they were able to reverse Ely's decision and win a promotion for Perlman. Perlman had a distinguished career at Wisconsin as a labor economist from 1915 until his retirement in 1959 (Weinberg, 1972, p. 228; Fink, 1991, p. 513).

Because Perlman was Commons' student and assistant, worked closely with him, and owed an intellectual debt to him, many have assumed that he was Commons' protégé and that they had a warm and close relationship. That was not the case. Commons was anti-Semitic and had an aversion to Perlman's "Jewishness" and thick Yiddish accent. Commons made him his assistant only after the more welcoming Frederick Jackson Turner had offered Perlman a position as his assistant in History. Perlman's son Mark commented, "Commons, as one can quickly glean from his book, did not like Jews, something which his Jewish students had to live with" (Fink, 1991, p. 513). In spite of their difficult interpersonal relations, Perlman had great respect for Commons, and he dedicated his *A Theory of the Labor Movement* (1928) to him. He was deeply hurt when Commons never acknowledged the dedication. An even greater blow came in 1930 or 1931 when Perlman was at a Friday night gathering at Commons' home. His son Mark described what happened:

At that Friday night, Commons gratuitously said in my father's presence and in the presence of my father's new wife (my father had just remarried), that Witte was coming into the department as his successor because he did not want Perlman to be his successor. Now, his grounds for saying that, my father thought, were unadulterated anti-Semitism. I suspect that the grounds were more complex. For instance, my father had never had the public service activity life which Witte had had. Whatever it was, my father was bitterly hurt, and he not only never again went to a Friday Night. There were no one-to-one personal conversations with Commons for years. I remember after that Friday Night my father went home and was in bed for two or three days. He just could not face the world; he was so humiliated (Fink, 1991, pp. 521-522).

Assistance to Government

One of Commons' major contributions was not in the academy but in providing expert assistance in the drafting of progressive reform proposals and legislation for the Wisconsin and national governments. He arrived at the University of Wisconsin while Robert M. La Follette was Governor and worked closely with him during the Progressive Era. La Follette made good use of his "brain trust" of university professors, and Commons was one of the chief participants. Commons drafted Wisconsin's civil service law in 1905, which mandated hiring of the most qualified persons. It remained in effect for 111 years, until dismantled by Governor Scott Walker in 2016. Commons helped to shape the state's regulations for public utilities in 1907, and he also served on the Industrial Commission of Wisconsin, which administered many of the new labor laws (Gilbert and Baker, 1997, p. 293). This was the essence of the Wisconsin Idea. Commons broke with Robert M. La Follette over his opposition to World War I, and he also signed a petition seeking La Follette's removal from the US Senate, though he was not as outspoken as Ely. After the end of the war, however, he reconciled with La Follette.

Commons not only gave his own assistance to government and public agencies but also sent a large number of his graduate students into government service. He wrote that there were forty or more of his former students in Washington, DC, in 1934 in service of Roosevelt's New Deal (Commons, 1963, pp. 76-77). Commons and his students had a major impact on legislation in the following policy areas: a civil service system for government employment, regulation of workplace safety, workmen's compensation for injuries suffered on the job, public regulation of utilities, unemployment insurance, establishment of regulatory commissions, and social insurance and retirement programs. Two of Commons' former students, Arthur J. Altmeyer and Edwin E. Witte, played the major role in the development of the New Deal's Social Security Program. Wilbur J. Cohen, a Wisconsin native who became Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, has referred to Witte as the "Father of Social Security."

Unlike Commons and some of his students, Selig Perlman was never able to play an active role in shaping social and economic policy at government agencies, for government officials generally thought that testimony or advice from a shy, physically unassuming Jewish professor with a strong Yiddish accent and a stutter would be counter-productive.

Commons as a Teacher

Commons always liked to expose his students to real world experiences and to a variety of different views. Like E. A. Ross a few years earlier, Commons

came under attack around 1914 for inviting Emma Goldman, the anarchist leader, to speak to his classes. He had learned earlier to ride out criticism by keeping his mouth shut, and when newspaper reporters kept after him, he kept repeating, "I have nothing to say." President Charles Van Hise said nothing to him about it, and he weathered the storm. Shortly after World War I, when he brought William Z. Foster into one of his classes, President Edward A. Birge also said nothing, even though Foster was a radical labor leader with a background in the IWW and the Syndicalists and had been a leader of the Great Steel Strike of 1919. Foster later joined the Communist Party USA in 1923 and became General Secretary in 1929 as a strong supporter of Stalin. Commons was not sympathetic at all with Foster's views and considered him a propagandist, but even President Birge thought he went too far when he introduced Foster when he spoke to an audience of 2000 in the Red Gym on campus (Commons, 1963, p. 61).

Some of Commons' students complained that he spoke so softly and indistinctly that he was often hard to understand, but he was nevertheless an influential teacher to graduate students. He wrote in his autobiography in 1934 that he gave up his first ideas about teaching when he came to Wisconsin thirty years earlier:

I began simply to tell my classes personal stories of my mistakes, doubts and explorations, just as they happened to occur to me, injecting my generalizations, comparisons and all kinds of social philosophies. This is the only way I can account for it. It is ignorance, not intellect, that makes humanity kin. I often answer their questions, "I don't know." I think my students were more interested in my telling these stories and my dubious interpretations than they were when I attempted to expound systematically the consistent theories of economics. I was always casting doubt on the latter and getting my students mixed up (Commons, 1963, p. 2).

He went on to say that it was the friendship and collaboration with his students that made his "beautiful world":

To me the beauty I get is the sight of my students, beginning as raw youth, gradually developing, out of their own energy and pertinacity, into leaders, scientists, authors, professors, doing important work, whether for labor, capitalists, governments, or succeeding generations of students. I live in them. In my own work and publications, for forty years, I have been collaborative with my students. I took them on trips and showed them how to interview. I found positions for them and insisted that they go out into the "cold world" before they graduated, and test their own

and all economic theories by experience. They came back and corrected my errors. And though I have gained too much credit for what they got for me, yet I have at least been as scrupulous as possible in giving to them credit for what they have contributed (Commons, 1963, p. 4).

Commons took pride in the gatherings of his students and colleagues at his home every Friday night—social gatherings that were originated by Mrs. Commons. He dedicated his autobiography “To My Friday Niters” and included a picture of forty of them gathered around him in his easy chair in 1930.

Don Lescohier wrote glowingly of the Friday night gatherings when he was a graduate student:

As originally conceived it was an informal, semi-social gathering, with refreshments at the end of the evening. Someone, preferably one of the Professor’s students or former student who had done something which Professor Commons called “field work,” reported on his or her undertaking, discussing its scope, purpose, methods and results, and answered the questions and heard the comments of the group. . . . The John R. Commons Club has performed over the years three important services: It has brought together in friendly association a large number of graduate students and their wives; it has furnished an outlet for graduate students to report to an informal group of their fellows concerning projects upon which they have worked; and it has broadened the outlook and given information to graduate students on matters about which many of them would have known little. These discussions usually took place with many of the group sitting on the floor or perched in various informal ways about the room, and the informality continued through the culminating social hour (Lescohier, 1960, pp. 43-44).

Not all the graduate students in the department had the same perception of this “beautiful world” as Commons saw it. According to Mark Perlman, Commons “ran his shop in an ironhanded manner” and insisted that his graduate assistants maintain silence, as in a library, when they were in their bullpen office, where each had a desk. He also reported that his father Selig Perlman had an intense dislike for the Friday night gatherings, though his reaction was no doubt colored by his awareness of Commons’ anti-Semitism.

FINK: What about the Friday Night gatherings around Commons?

[MARK] PERLMAN: My father despised them, and that was another social-relations problem. As long as Mrs. Commons was alive, my father claimed they were almost tolerable, but that changed after she died. The pattern was that each week each person stood up and testified

how during the course of that week in the course of his work (which nominally was the subject of his report), he had discovered a new facet of Commons' brilliance. My father said he couldn't stand it—it was sickening (Fink, 1991, pp. 514-515).

The students understood, however, that to get along with Commons, they needed to use a little flattery.

With this propensity for working closely with graduate students, Commons became the dominant figure within the Department of Economics—to the discomfort of Richard Ely, whose ego was second to none. Commons was also elected President of the American Economic Association in 1917.

Commons' Racism

In 1907, shortly after joining the faculty at Wisconsin, Commons published *Races and Immigrants in America* (1907)—an embarrassingly racist book that is rarely mentioned in discussions of Commons today. This was an outgrowth of his work for the US Industrial Commission, but his racist and nativist views are surprising considering his intense exposure to immigrant workers under the guidance of Abram Bisno. He had the same general views concerning African Americans and the recent immigrants from southern and eastern Europe that characterized E. A. Ross and many other leftist intellectuals at the turn of the century. For example, he professed to believe in equal opportunity, but he argued that African Americans did not possess the ability to take advantage of opportunities:

While it can never rightly be charged that our fathers overlooked the inequalities of races and individuals, yet more than the present generation did they regard with hopefulness the educational value of democracy. "True enough," they said, "the black man is not equal to the white man, but once free him from his legal bonds, open up the schools, the professions, the businesses, and the offices to those of his number who are most aspiring, and you will find that, as a race, he will advance favorably in comparison with his white fellow-citizens." It is now nearly forty years since these opportunities and educational advantages were given to the negro, not only on equal terms, but actually on terms of preference over the whites, and the fearful collapse of the experiment is recognized even by its partisans as something that was inevitable in the nature of the race at that stage of its development (Commons, 1907, pp. 3-4).

The improvidence of the negro is notorious. His neglect of his horse, his mule, his machinery, his eagerness to spend his earnings on finery, his

reckless purchase of watermelons, chickens, and garden stuff, when he might easily grow them on his own patch of ground—these and many other incidents of improvidence explain the constant dependence of the negro upon his employer and his creditor (Commons, 1907, pp. 48-49).

To us today, we can only marvel at how an intelligent, generally progressive scholar could be so blinded by prejudice and have such a closed mind that he could not recognize that African Americans had never received the occupational and educational opportunities that he claimed.

Commons, like E. A. Ross, was also a believer in the doctrine of “race suicide” advocated by Francis A. Walker in the 1890s—the belief that the “superior” old stock Americans were being out reproduced by the “inferior” new immigrants, with deleterious effects on the population.

This question of the “race suicide” of the American or colonial stock should be regarded as the most fundamental of our social problems, or rather as the most fundamental consequence of our social and industrial institutions. . . . On the whole it seems that immigration and the competition of inferior races tends to dry up the older and superior races wherever the latter have learned to aspire to an improved standard of living, and that among well-to-do classes not competing with immigrants, but made wealthier by their low wages, a similar effect is caused by the desire for luxury and easy living (Commons, 1907, pp. 201, 207).

Commons as a Sociologist

Economists today, most of whom have little sympathy for institutional economics, often say that Commons made little contribution to economic theory, though they give him high marks for his labor history and his service in molding progressive legislation and regulations for the economy. In truth, he was as much a sociologist as an economist, and in the 1920s was considered a major sociologist. At the time when Sociology separated from Economics in 1929 there was even some talk that Commons might shift to the new sociology department (Mohan, 1983, pp. 39-40).

Today Commons is rarely read by sociologists, who tend to think of him only as an economist, and he is absent from textbooks on sociological theory. An exception was Don Martindale, who described himself as a social behaviorist. He praised Commons with the ultimate compliment that a sociologist can bestow: “Commons’s *Legal Foundations of Capitalism* (1920) and the *Economics of Collective Action* (1950) develop a form of social behaviorism that compares favorably to that of Max Weber” (Martindale, 1976, p. 131). This is a judgment that is also supported by a recent paper presented by

Michel Coutu and Thierry Kirat at the meeting of l'Association Charles Gide pour l'Étude de la Pensée Économique in Paris in 2010. Commons was indeed one of the principal founders of the new field of law and economics.

Mental Health, Retirement, and Death

John R. Commons' mental health was always fragile, and there was a major breakdown around 1913, with Commons running wildly in the fields around his house on Norman Way—about four miles west of the campus. Several of his graduate students came out to assist his frantic wife, and they spread out to look for him. Selig Perlman told his son that he was the first to spot him, but he decided he would only keep an eye on him and “let somebody else take the credit for discovering Commons.” Mark Perlman thinks that it was William Morris Leiserson who finally brought Commons in, and he speculates that it was Leiserson's seeing his teacher in a deranged state that explains Leiserson's later fall from grace with Commons (Fink, 1991, p. 523).

In spite of his fragile health, Commons was an indefatigable worker who began his workday at 4:00 a.m. He said, however, that he got some respite from work from his favorite recreations—fishing and farming (“Commons, John Rogers,” 1924, p. 423). He suffered another mental breakdown in 1930 when his son Jack disappeared without a word. Jack had served in the Allied military intervention in North Russia in 1918 and 1919 fighting against the Bolshevik forces. When Jack disappeared sometime around 1930, this was attributed by some to “war-inspired amnesia”—what we might today call post-traumatic stress disorder. Mark Perlman says this was not the case, for Jack turned up later and appeared to have been escaping from an unhappy marriage and difficult relations with his father. Perhaps to bolster Commons' mental health, the university granted him an honorary Doctor of Laws degree in 1931.

Commons continued for some years to live in his house at 1645 Norman Way, where he had been since 1913. “Now,” he said, “I cannot travel anymore but must sit at my window reading detective stories and looking out on beautiful Lake Mendota and distant hills, which, in their continuous change every hour of the day, are my substitute for travel (Commons, 1963, p. 3).

Commons retired from the University of Wisconsin in 1933. His wife Ella had died six years earlier in 1927, but he was still living with his 86-year-old sister Anna, who died the next year. Commons himself died in Raleigh, North Carolina, on May 11, 1945, but is buried next to his wife Ella Downey Commons in Forest Hill Cemetery (Section 19, lot 188) in Madison, Wisconsin. Their daughter Rachel Sutherland Commons and their infant son Robert are buried in the same lot.

Edward Alsworth Ross (1866-1951)

E. A. Ross was the first of the notables recognized primarily as a sociologist to come to the University of Wisconsin, and he was largely responsible for building the sociology program at Wisconsin into one of the most highly respected in the country. Because he wrote so much for the general public, he was probably the world's most famous sociologist during the first three decades of the twentieth century, and the respect commanded by the program depended in large part on Ross' own eminence. Ross himself was a commanding and charismatic figure—a popular teacher and a very influential leader in the sociological profession. His dismissal from the faculty at Stanford became a *cause célèbre* that more than any other single event sparked the movement to secure academic freedom for university professors, and he became one of the principal leaders in the movement. He was never an empirical researcher or grand theorist but regarded himself as more of a synthesizer, but he was a pioneer in developing the fields of social control and social psychology. He was politically progressive and dedicated to improving the lives of the poor and powerless throughout his life, but the early part of his career was marred by racial and ethnic prejudice and eugenics ideas that were very common among progressives and social scientists in the first decades of the twentieth century.

Early Life and Education

Ross was born in rural Virden, Illinois, December 12, 1866, the son of an independent mother who had taught high school in Iowa and a restless Scotch-Irish father who had campaigned strongly against slavery, sought gold with the 49ers, and homesteaded on the Kansas frontier. In broken health, his father returned to farming in Iowa. Edward's early years were spent in Centralia, Kansas, and Cedar Rapids, Iowa. He was orphaned at the age of nine when both parents died, and was brought up by a series of aunts, finally ending up with a foster family, "Squire" Beach and his wife Mary, in Marion, Iowa (Furner, 1975, p. 230; Weinberg, 1967, pp. 242-253; "Ross, Edward A., 1968, vol. 13, p. 560.) In 1882 at the age of fifteen he entered Coe College in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, and received an A.B. in 1886. During

one year he had to drop out of college to earn money teaching in an Iowa country school. Even at the age of 17 he made a powerful impression on his young charges—with his “giant” stature, dashing good looks, boundless energy, and relaxed, extroverted manner. At Coe College the intellectual world revolved around Republicanism, protectionism, and unfettered capitalism, but Ross also began to explore such heterodox authors as Henry George, Herbert Spencer, and Charles Darwin on his own (Furner, 1975, p. 231).

After teaching school for two years in Iowa, Ross made a major intellectual break by going to Europe to study at the University of Berlin in 1888-89, turning first to the study of philology and then to philosophy and economics. He spent another six months traveling around western Europe and then returned to the United States in 1890 to enter Johns Hopkins University to study political economy (“Ross, Edward Alsworth,” 1922, vol. 18, p. 98). There he was strongly influenced by Richard T. Ely, who was the nation’s leading exponent of the German historical school of institutional economics and the central figure in economics at Johns Hopkins. He received his PhD in political economy at Johns Hopkins in 1891, with minors in philosophy and ethics. His dissertation was on the sinking fund—a method whereby a government or organization sets aside money over time to retire bonds or indebtedness—and it was published by the American Economic Association, which had been founded under the leadership of Ely. Ross’ was also greatly stimulated by his acquaintance with Lester Frank Ward and his writings. Ward was a pioneer progressive sociologist who never held a regular academic post and spent most of his career at the US Geological Survey in Washington, DC. Ward no doubt strengthened Ross’ lifetime commitment to service and social reform and turned him away permanently from the dominant conservative laissez-faire economics of Sumner and Newcomb.

Ross soon married Rosamond C. Simons, an artist who was the niece of Ward, in Washington, DC, in 1892. They had three sons, and the first two were named after Ward—Lester and Frank. Lester became a successful businessman in Chicago, Frank became a prominent Wisconsin attorney, and a third son, Gilbert, was a violinist at the University of Michigan School of Music. Rosamond died in 1932 and was buried in Forest Hill Cemetery in Madison (Young, 1995, p. 27). Gillin said that Ross was “self-sacrificing, generous, and indulgent” with his sons, and he “always had time for music, for games, for out-of-doors activities with those members of the family who enjoyed them” (Gillin, 1937, p. 539).

Ross prepared a statement for Howard Odum to include in his book *American Sociology* explaining how he came to the field of sociology:

In my postgraduate study in the Universities of Berlin and Johns Hopkins, 1888-1891, I took courses in philosophy and economics but

nothing in sociology, for nothing was offered. As soon as I held a university chair (1891), however, I began teaching it for it had a fascination for me. While preparing the series of papers that became *Social Control*, 1901, it was borne in upon me how unsettled was everything about the new would-be science, and for at least eight years I gave my spare time to such studies. . . . These years of critical examination of sociological writings left me exceedingly dissatisfied with the way in which the development of sociology so far had been affected by reigning religious, ethical, or philosophical ideas. . . . In those days no funds were available for “social research,” but I found that by teaching two summer sessions without pay I could, once in every three years, have a summer and a semester *with* pay, for social exploration. I saw now the possibility of educating myself into a real sociologist by studying different societies “on the spot,” and I seized it (Odum, 1951, pp. 98-99).

Getting Fired at Stanford University

Ross began his teaching career at Indiana University in 1891-1892, accepting an offer from President David Starr Jordan. He proved to be very popular as a teacher and was highly regarded by both Jordan and the students. He already gave evidence of an independent spirit when he made speeches locally opposing the gold standard, but this did not prevent him from receiving offers of associate professorships at Northwestern, Stanford, and Cornell, as well as reappointment at Indiana, for the following year. Ross chose Cornell, where he joined Charles Henry Hull and Walter Francis Willcox under the leadership of the political scientist Jeremiah Whipple Jenks in 1892-1893. That fall Ross also succeeded to Ely's key job as secretary of the American Economic Association, and this validated his status as a rising star in the field of economics. At Cornell faculty views were not rigidly supervised, and a relatively permissive climate prevailed. Ross set his students to investigate current problems without arousing community resistance, and his public lectures were considered impartial. If he had remained at Cornell he probably would not have had trouble with academic authorities (Furner, 1975, pp. 231-232).

President Jordan left Indiana University at the same time as Ross to become the first President of Leland Stanford Junior University, which was founded by Senator Leland Stanford and his wife Jane Lathrop Stanford, to memorialize their only child. Leland Jr. had died of typhoid fever at the age of 15 in Florence, Italy, in 1884. The grieving Mrs. Stanford was said to have become unbalanced, and Senator Stanford hoped to distract her and lift her spirits by undertaking the founding of the university. The Stanfords announced that since they could not do anything more for their own son,

“the children of California shall be our children.” In 1891, after five years of planning, it opened its doors as a private, nondenominational, coeducational university on their 8000-acre ranch south of San Francisco. The Stanfords engaged the famous landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted to design the physical layout of the university—a relationship that proved to be contentious. Senator Stanford was the university’s founder and single donor, and the university’s affairs were managed as a part of his estate. According to its charter he served as its only trustee and final authority on all policy and personnel matters.

President Jordan and Ross had become friends at Indiana, and Jordan had hoped to bring Ross with him to Stanford to assume a leadership role in the social sciences there. Even after Ross went to Cornell, Jordan kept after him, and on his third try to recruit him, Ross finally said yes, accepting an appointment in the Department of Economics at Stanford in 1893. Unfortunately for Ross, Senator Stanford died in June, 1893, just before Ross arrived, and his widow, Jane Lathrop Stanford, succeeded him as the university’s sole trustee and final authority on university governance for the next twelve years.

Stanford had been a lawyer in Port Washington, Wisconsin, but moved to California during the Gold Rush to open a general store for miners near Sacramento. It soon developed into a wholesale business that was far more profitable than panning for gold. Stanford, with three other merchants who successfully “mined the miners”—Mark Hopkins, Collis P. Huntington, and Charles Crocker—made up the Big Four who created the Central Pacific Railroad in 1861 and built the western section of the Transcontinental Railroad. Stanford’s accumulation of a fortune with the Central Pacific and other railroads enabled him to pursue a political career within the Republican Party in California, serving as governor and United States Senator. While he was governor in 1862, during a period of strong anti-Chinese prejudice in California, he sent a message to the legislature supporting restrictions on the Chinese in which he stated, “The presence of numbers of that degraded and distinct people would exercise a deleterious effect upon the superior race” (Asbury, 2008, p. 243).

Stanford’s words were at first well received by the public until they were made aware that Stanford’s Central Pacific Railroad had imported thousands of Chinese laborers to construct the tracks across the Sierras. Stanford was basically conservative, but he was not a rigid and inflexible conservative and was open to certain kinds of social reforms. When he was a US Senator he even coauthored or supported some bills favored by the Populists, including the creation of worker-owned cooperatives and the issuance of some currency backed by land values instead of gold. It seems unlikely that if he had remained alive for a few more years he would have intervened in

the academic affairs of Stanford University and ignored President Jordan's judgments to order the dismissal of respected professors.

Jane Lathrop Stanford, however, was another matter. It is difficult to imagine someone more ill-suited to be the final authority in a university that had ambitions to become one of the leading universities in the country. She had attended the Albany Academy for Girls preparatory day school in New York but never attended college. Contemporaries, as well as later historians, have employed a long string of uncomplimentary adjectives to characterize her—imperious, moralistic, possessive, superstitious, timid, reserved, high-strung, beset by fears, often ailing, oppressed with a sense of failure, shy, self-conscious, ignorant, and stubbornly opinionated. They conceded she had many admirable qualities as well, was high-minded, and had strong maternal feelings of responsibility for the welfare of her university (Furner, 1975, p. 232; Nilan, 1997, Veysey, 1965, p. 399). She even employed her personal income to keep the university operating while her husband's estate, including the university endowment, was frozen in probate and tax proceedings. Showing her naivety, she had first conceived of the university as a collection of small cottages, each with about twenty students, with a faculty member in residence to provide a homelike atmosphere and supervise "the personal habits, manners, and amusements of the students" (Elliott, 1937, pp. 453-454). Metzger commented that Mrs. Stanford "had all the prejudices of her class, and they had been hardened by her ignorance into absolutes" (Metzger, 1955, p. 164).

David Starr Jordan had autocratic tendencies of his own, and he had been selected as President by Senator Stanford—after several earlier choices had turned him down—because he wanted a strong, firm leader who could manage affairs "like the president of a railroad" (Veysey, 1965, p. 398). Jordan did not want deans, autonomous departments, or permanent tenure for any professor, and he opposed giving members of the faculty any role whatever in making new appointments. He advised a new president of a small college never to hold a faculty meeting, since it would give rise to disagreements among the faculty. Jordan met his match in Jane Stanford, however, and when she made up her mind on a subject, no amount of argument or reasoning could budge her, and he would have to give way. He always backed down rather than resign on principle.

It would appear that Stanford was not an ideal location for a promising young scholar who was outspoken and had iconoclastic tendencies, and some of Ross' friends wondered what would happen if he began to challenge the interests of the railroads. Perhaps Ross was even spoiling for a fight. Forty years later in his autobiography, he wrote:

In the early nineties . . . the ruthlessness of the big capitalists toward anyone who challenged their rule greatly increased. Roaring drunk with new power they rode right over any one who stood in their way. . . . College economists were secretly being bulldozed into acquiescence, while still held up to the public as impartial truth-seekers who said nothing against the new iniquitous policies pursued because these policies were wise and necessary. As secretary of the American Economic Association, 1892-3, I had gained an inside view of the growing pressure on economists and resolved that I for one would be no party to this fooling of the public. I would test this boasted "academic freedom"; if nothing happened to me others would speak out and economists would again really count for something in the shaping of public opinion. If I got cashiered, as I thought would be the case, the hollowness of our role of "independent scholar" would be visible to all. When an economist is ousted for defending the public cause the terrorists always "smear" him by bringing into question his competency, or character or conduct; the public must not be allowed to suspect persecution. . . . I felt it was "up to" me to test the scholar's vaunted right to voice his opinions freely because, if I were thrown out, I should be able to furnish the restive friends of academic freedom with the "clear case" they had long been looking for (Ross, 1936, pp. 64-65).

This may be a self-serving revisionist account of his motivations in 1893. I doubt if it is really true that when Ross went to Stanford he expected that he would eventually be fired. He was characterized by an inordinate self-confidence that led him to believe that he had sufficient eminence to weather any storms aroused by political attacks on his views, and he assumed that his competence and personal character were above challenge. He also counted on his friendship with President Jordan to protect him. In November, 1900, just before the firing controversy was made public, Jordan praised Ross in an interview with the *San Francisco Chronicle*:

He is one of the ablest, most virile and clear classroom lecturers I have ever known, and I do not see how he can be replaced in his department. His discussions in the classroom are scientific and fair and have not to my knowledge been of such a nature as would tend to indoctrinate the students working with him. In his line of social science I consider him the most effective worker in the country. His character has always been unblemished and his reputation without a cloud (quoted in Furner, 1975, p. 237).

Whether or not he deliberately intended to do so, Ross' zeal for social reform and propensity for taking dissenting stands on many economic and political issues quickly caused him to fall into disfavor with Jane Lathrop Stanford. He was the first academic economist to support a policy of free silver instead of the gold standard, and this brought him to the attention of William Jennings Bryan, who was running for President as a Democrat against William McKinley in 1896. Ross even wrote a pamphlet on the subject for the Bryan campaign and made some speeches on his behalf. Most other professors, including thirty-two of those at Stanford, actively supported McKinley, the Republican candidate.



E. A. ROSS, AGE 26, FIRST YEAR AT STANFORD (UW ARCHIVES)

Jane Stanford reacted with rage at Ross' political apostasy and ordered that Ross be fired, but Jordan vouched for his fundamental soundness and ability. He did not convince her, but he persuaded her to give him a sabbatical leave in 1898-1899 so that he could seek another position. Fearing a Bemis-type debacle, Jordan asked Ross to tone down his views and hoped that Jane Stanford would cool down and permit him to stay. Jordan, however, transferred Ross from the economics faculty to sociology—the same action that had been taken against Bemis at the University of Chicago a few years earlier. He apparently hoped that sociology would be a less contentious area and less subject to political pressure from business interests in the state. After the 1896 election Jane Stanford decreed a total ban on any further political activity by Stanford professors—even those who had actively supported McKinley (Furner, 1975, p. 233). She preferred to silence all professors rather than permit even one to support a political position she hated.

Another Stanford sociology professor, H. H. Powers, was dismissed at this time because he also incurred Jane Stanford's disfavor—partly for publicly challenging the gold standard but mostly because of cynical comments about "youthful idealism" in an evening talk to a student religious group. He spoke freely, for he did not recognize that Jane Stanford was in the audience. She was so shocked by his comments that she went immediately to Jordan's house, roused him from his bed to relate what Powers had said, and insisted that Powers could not be permitted to remain at the university. Jordan tried to defend Powers, but Jane Stanford would not relent. However, Jordan did manage to give Powers an additional year at the university. Powers kept his mouth shut and made no public protest about his dismissal. Like John R. Commons and Henry Carter Adams, who had also been fired for radical

tendencies, Powers wished to avoid publicity at all costs, for fear that his future prospects as an academic would be irreparably damaged. Powers was not an eminent professor and he did not have significant publications, so he expected that he would fare no better than Bemis if he raised the issue of academic freedom. Ross apparently was not particularly sympathetic to Powers, and he came to Jordan's assistance by assuming a substantial part of Powers' former duties (Veysey, 1965, p. 401; Furner, 1975, pp. 234-235).

Ross was uncowed by these events, and he proceeded to make his provocative views widely known on a range of other issues. At a time when the union leader Eugene V. Debs was regarded by conservatives as an arch enemy, Ross defended him and the cause of the Pullman strikers. He predicted that all natural monopolies, including railroads, would gradually transition from private to public ownership. He favored public ownership of utilities, which obviously would include the street car companies owned by Jane Stanford and the Southern Pacific Railroad. In 1900 he addressed a labor rally in San Francisco to present "the scholar's view" on limiting Japanese immigration. He argued that "coolie laborers" have high birth rates and that they cannot outdo American workers but can "underlive" them and imperil wages and living standards (Ross, 1936, p. 70). Though he later denied making the statement, according to the *San Francisco Call* he went on to say, "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" (Weinberg, 1972, p. 47). This was particularly offensive to a woman whose husband's fortune was based in large part on the use of Chinese laborers to build the Central Pacific Railroad. Her husband's former business associates also urged her to get rid of this agitator. Jordan pleaded with her once more on Ross' behalf, but she was unmoved and on May 17, 1900, ordered him dismissed. She did, however, grant him a final six months to give him time to find a new position (Furner, 1975, pp. 235-237; Veysey, 1965, pp. 401-404).

Jordan expected Ross to go quietly and not endanger the reputation of the university as Bemis had done at Chicago, but Ross had quite different intentions. He maintained silence about his dismissal for a few months until he had completed his first and most important book in sociology—*Social Control*—since he wanted to forestall any charges that he was lacking in scholarship. Then on November 13, 1900, he held a press conference in which he revealed that he was being forcibly dismissed because Jane Stanford disapproved of his views and that the president of the university had failed to defend academic freedom against the pressure of corporate wealth:

I cannot with self-respect decline to speak on topics to which I have given years of investigation. It is my duty as an economist to impart, on

occasion, to sober people, and in a scientific spirit, my conclusions on subjects with which I am expert. . . . The scientist's business is to know some things clear to the bottom, and if he hides what he knows he loses his virtue (quoted in Furner, 1975, p. 238).

The firing created a sensation, and the story was carried in more than 800 daily newspapers across the country. It suddenly became clear to everyone that Stanford University was the only university in the country in which one person had the absolute power to dismiss any professor at any time for any reason. The revelation about Stanford transformed President Jordan in one day from Ross' warmest defender to his most bitter enemy. Jordan knew that he could not side with Ross against Mrs. Stanford, for fear that he also would be fired or that she might remove her financial support from the university.

Two days after the press conference George Elliott Howard, the Chair of the History Department, denounced Mrs. Stanford in front of the students in his class on the French Revolution. He compared the university's actions to the excesses of European absolute monarchs, and he sought to reassure the students that their professors would not be deterred from speaking the truth:

I do not worship St. Market Street. I do not reverence Holy Standard Oil, nor do I doff my cap to the Celestial Six Companies (Furner, 1965, p. 239).

Howard had been one of the original faculty members at the university and was regarded by Jordan as its best teacher. Jordan hoped to ignore the incident, but Jane Stanford demanded an apology from Howard. When he refused, he was forced to resign. This disturbed the campus even more than the Ross dismissal, and soon six more Stanford professors resigned in protest, including the philosopher Arthur Lovejoy (Veysey, 1965, pp. 405-406). Frank Fetter, who had been recruited from Cornell to be the new head of economics and sociology declined to return to Stanford when Jordan refused to issue a written public guarantee of free inquiry and expression for all professors in the future. Though 37 of the 48 senior faculty at Stanford pledged their loyalty to President Jordan, every professor in the social sciences who could afford to do so resigned. Economics and history were effectively expunged from the university. The Department of Sociology, the source of the trouble, was abolished by Jordan's administrative decree (Furner, 1975, pp. 241-242).

Jordan tried to maintain that issues of academic freedom played no role in the dismissal of Ross. He implied that Ross was dismissed because of character faults and responded to requests for specifics by saying only that

Ross was simply not the right man for the job. Ross effectively countered his lies by sending copies of one of Jordan's letters in which he admitted that Jane Stanford opposed Ross because of his economic views to leading economists around the country. Howard also spread the word among historians that Jordan had admitted to him that Nob Hill industrialists had influenced Mrs. Stanford to overrule him. Ross won the support of Edwin R. Seligman of Columbia University, the most respected economist in the country, and Seligman arranged for a committee of the American Economic Association to hold an informal hearing on the issue of Ross' dismissal. Ross sat before the committee and supplied document after document proving his case of a gross violation of academic freedom. The committee issued a terse report supporting Ross but providing only a little textual evidence. Fifteen of the leading social scientists in the country, mostly economists, including Richard T. Ely, promptly endorsed the report (Furner, 1975, pp. 243-247). Other scholars also supported Ross, including Ely's former students at Johns Hopkins. Even Albion Small, who had taken a hard line against Bemis and insisted that academic freedom had not been involved in that case, wrote to Ely that "The Dowager of Palo Alto has captured the booby prize, with no competition in sight" (Metzger, 1955, pp. 168).

Ross was determined to avoid the mistakes made by some earlier victims in academic freedom cases, particularly Bemis. He backed off from his more provocative statements on economic issues and sought to demonstrate that he was neither a popularizer nor a radical but a seminal scholar in the new field of sociology. He wrote to Seligman,

I am going to continue working in pure sociology and shall refuse to be drawn into any practical work or discussion of burning issues. Macmillans will publish my work on Social Control this spring and I have in contemplation two or three other books on sociology. I am going to fight it out on strictly scientific lines; since I am in no wise a "reformer" (quoted in Furner, 1975, p. 243).

Stanford University fell into a steep decline in the years after the Ross affair, even though attempts to organize a professorial boycott of Stanford failed to take off. Jane Stanford was troubled and confused by all the attacks on her, and she even came to distrust President Jordan. In 1903 she suddenly relinquished her control of the university to a governing board of trustees, though she remained President of the board. It would be many years, however, before the university began to recover from her handiwork. The social sciences had been almost destroyed, and faculty morale reached its lowest point around 1904. Faculty salaries were depressed by a large unnecessary building program, and some faculty families had difficulty even purchasing sufficient food. Equipment was lacking, and little research was being conducted.

In 1905 Jane Stanford was murdered in Hawaii. She had earlier suffered moderate strychnine poisoning when she drank from a bottle of mineral water that had been poisoned in California, and she went to Hawaii to rest and recover. In Hawaii she drank from a bottle of bicarbonate of soda to which someone had added a lethal dose of strychnine and she soon died in agony. President Jordan went to Hawaii to accompany her body back to California. Trying to cover up another scandal, Jordan maintained she had died of heart failure, a preposterous claim given the evidence and the distinctive symptoms of strychnine poisoning. No one believed him. The identity of the murderer, however, was never determined (Vesey, 1965, pp. 406-407; Cutler, 2003).

Finding a New Position as a Stigmatized Radical

Once a professor was fired for his radical views, most universities shied away from employing a possible troublemaker. Ross had better luck than most, finding new employment right away, though it was perhaps at a less prestigious institution than he would have preferred. The Populist movement was growing stronger in Nebraska in the 1890s, and Populist leaders were pushing the University of Nebraska to increase its offerings in the social sciences. They promised to support the university's appropriation if the university added a School of Social Sciences, and in 1898 the Nebraska Populist platform included a plank demanding an increase in the teaching of courses on social and economic issues. William Jennings Bryan was emerging as the dominant leader of the Populist wing of the Democratic Party in Nebraska and the nation, and he also encouraged the development of the social sciences, personally funding a prize for the best student in political science at the university. The economist Elisha B. Andrews, was appointed Chancellor of the University of Nebraska in 1900, and he came to Ross' assistance almost immediately on January 7, 1901, offering him a contract to deliver sociology lectures during the second semester (Gelber, 2011, p. 133).

Harvard showed at least token support of Ross by inviting him to deliver a series of lectures on the development of sociology in the spring of 1902—lectures that they published in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics*. Small also sought to bring Ross to the University of Chicago for at least a summer, but President Harper refused even to consider it. Richard T. Ely tried immediately to bring Ross to the University of Wisconsin, but even strong letters of support from eminent scholars such as Seligman, Frank Albert Fetter, and Frank William Taussig were insufficient to persuade the Board of Regents to authorize an offer. The administration at Wisconsin had taken a conservative turn following the death of President Charles Kendall Adams in 1901 and there was a deepening of the conflict between the

Stalwart Republicans and La Follette Progressives in the state. Ely wrote a friend that he feared it would be “extremely difficult for Ross to get back into any desirable academic position” (Furner, 1975, p. 253) Ely informed Ross that nothing could be expected in the near future, but he counseled patience and forbearance, depending on time to weather away his notoriety and controversial status (Veysey, 1965, p. 252).

Ross accepted the temporary Nebraska position and began teaching there in February, 1901. Lacking any more prestigious offers, he accepted a permanent appointment as Professor of Sociology and head of the Department of Sociology at Nebraska the following June. George Elliott Howard, who also resigned at Stanford in protest of the Ross dismissal, had a more difficult time finding a new position, in part because historians gave him less support than Ross received from economists. The document of findings issued by the AEA committee of economists had not presented the full case against Mrs. Stanford, and many historians were unconvinced by it that Howard was justified in denouncing her in front of students in a regular class. Eventually Andrews brought him back to the University of Nebraska where he had taught earlier, and the embittered Howard abandoned history and joined Ross in the teaching of sociology. Ross, with Howard and the young legal scholar Roscoe Pound, made the University of Nebraska an important early center of sociology in the United States. In fact, the University of Nebraska became a haven for progressive social scientists. Radical social science academics also found at least temporary refuge in other state universities where Populists had strong influence, including Missouri, Montana, Wisconsin, Kansas, North Dakota, and Washington. Even in Minnesota and Alabama, where the Populists never gained control of state universities, they were able to lobby the universities into including the teaching of economics at farmers’ institutes organized by the universities (Weinberg, 1972, pp. 51-55; Gelber, 2011, p. 133).

Ross Comes to Wisconsin

Ely’s earlier counsel had been correct. Within five years the Ross affair at Stanford had ceased to be an inflammatory issue, and Ross had cooled off enough that in 1906 Ely was finally able to bring him to the University of Wisconsin as a Professor of Sociology within the Department of Political Economy. By this point Ross fully identified with the new discipline of sociology rather than with economics. George Elliott Howard succeeded him as Chair of Sociology at Nebraska.

At Wisconsin Ross began teaching sociology courses within the Department of Political Economy, and by 1912 he and John Lewis Gillin, who joined the department that year, were teaching 14 courses in sociology. In

addition to his regular courses, Ross also taught two courses by correspondence. In the first semester of 1918-1919 Ross was teaching four courses: Social Psychology (72 students), General Sociology (30 students), Seminary on the American Family (9 students), and Seminary on Population (4 students) (Lampman, 1993, p. 39). Other early seminars taught by Ross included Seminary on Bad Government and Seminary on Modern Sin—indicative of his focus on social reform (Young, 1995, p. 89). He also taught seminars on Group Conflict and on the Demography and Sociology of Cities (UW-Madison Archives 7/33/4, Box 18).

Ross was a popular teacher and attracted many students. The addition of John Gillin to the faculty in 1912, followed by a number of other sociologists, anthropologists, and social workers in later years, brought an additional boost to enrollments in sociology, anthropology, and social work, rising from 814 in 1916-17 to 3106 at the time of Ross' retirement in 1936-37. There was a dip during World War II, but by 1945-46 enrollments recovered to 3500 and kept climbing. The number of sociology majors increased from 21 in 1916-17 to 212 in 1936-37 and 231 in 1947-48. The first PhD degree in sociology was awarded to Theresa Schmid McMahan and the first master's degree to Mary Campbell, both in 1909. By 1937 when Ross retired 97 master's degrees and 62 PhDs had been awarded in sociology, but seventeen times as many PhDs have been granted in the years since 1937 (Gillin, n.d.). [See Appendix C.]

The growth and differentiation of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology in the early years is suggested by Table 1. In 1929-1930, the year of its founding, the department was top-heavy in courses on what its members classified as "sociological theory," though today we would likely assign many of them to more substantive areas. Social anthropology and social work were incubated in the department but later split off as separate departments. Rural Sociology was in the College of Agriculture, but maintained a joint graduate program with Sociology. The several courses in "social pathology" (actually deviant behavior, criminology, and penology) were due to the influence of John Gillin. By 1932-1934 five courses in statistics were taught after Stouffer was hired. He soon left, and after that statistics was taught by Thomas C. McCormick, who was the university's principal statistician. Social psychology had always been taught in the department but was probably included in the theory classification at first. By 1936 it was given its own category, and the number of courses increased in the 1940s. In fact, the department became known for its strength in this area. Population was also added as a category in the 1940s. Overall the number of courses offered in the department almost tripled over the fifteen-year period from 1929-1930 to 1944-1946.

Table 1. Number of “Sociology” Courses Offered, by Field and Year, 1929–1946

Field	1929-1930	1932-1934	1936-1937	1939-1940	1944-1946
Sociological Theory	15	21	17	15	19
Social Anthropology	7	15	17	21	28
Social Pathology	7	7	16	7	8
Social Work	5	8	6	11	13
Rural Sociology	3	7	9	6	6
Social Statistics		5	3	4	4
Social Psychology			6	6	12
Population					8
Total Courses	37	63	63	70	98

SOURCE: JOHN L. GILLIN, “HISTORY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY,” N.D. UW ARCHIVES 7/33/4, BOX 18.

The first graduate degrees in sociology were awarded in 1909—a PhD to Theresa Schmid McMahan and a master’s degree to Mary Campbell (John L. Gillin, “History of the Development of the Department of Sociology,” n.d. UW Archives 7/33/4, Box 18; *University of Wisconsin Catalogue, 1909-1910*, p. 481). By 1937, when Ross retired, 97 master’s degrees and 62 PhDs had been awarded in sociology. (See Appendix C and Table 8.)

Ross and Commons were very close friends, in part because they had both been students of political economy under Ely at Johns Hopkins. Ross had started his career as an economist and moved to sociology, whereas Commons had begun as more of a sociologist and moved to political economy. In addition to sharing intellectual interests, Ross and Commons played golf together (Young, 1995, p. 26).

Ross followed Ely’s example in building a house in University Heights in 1906. It was built by the gifted local architects Claude and Starck, who constructed a total of nine significant houses in University Heights between 1901 and 1910. It too is an imposing mansion at 1941 Arlington Place, which was later renumbered as 2021 Chamberlain Avenue. It is atop one of the highest hills in University Heights, only a quarter mile beyond the Ely House. It also is now designated a Madison Landmark (Heggland, 1987). In 1931, however, the Rosses moved to a smaller stone house at 3545 Topping Road in Shorewood Hills, just a half block from the entrance to the Blackhawk Country Club and golf course. Ross was a golfer, as were Commons and Gillin, so perhaps that was the reason for Ross’ move.



E. A. ROSS HOUSE—2021 CHAMBERLAIN AVENUE [1941 ARLINGTON PLACE]
(R. MIDDLETON, 2013)

Bill Sewell was one of the few persons who had some negative views of Ross. He thought that Ross was primarily interested in writing books and not in teaching students and that he gave little time to his students, his colleagues, or anybody else:

He certainly was concerned with making money, and he made a lot of money. . . . I remember he told me this himself. He said that he had made a lot of money from his lectures and from his textbooks, and by the time he was fifty-five years old he had so much money he didn't know what to do with it. Of course, he invested it rather well. But in any event, he built a house for each of his children as they got married. . . . One of them is up in Shorewood now, right next door to the old Ross home. Beautiful place. And then he said, "I didn't think it was good to give it to them. . . . I said to them, 'You'll never have to pay me a penny for the house. Just pay me the interest on what I've got in it.'" And then he said, "I lived so long that they each paid for the house four times over." And he laughed to beat the band (Sewell Oral History Interview 2, 1983).

Scholarly Career

Ross' initial academic positions were in economics or political economy and during the early 1890s he published papers mainly in that field. By 1896, however, his articles on social control began to appear in the *American Journal of Sociology*, and his interest in sociology was reinforced when he was forced by the Stanford administration—or perhaps by Mrs. Stanford—to shift to the Department of Sociology. Ross went on to become one of the most important figures in the early history of sociology in the United States and during his career wrote 28 books and over 200 articles. His books *Social Control: A Survey of the Foundations of Order* (1901), *The Foundations of Sociology* (1905), and *Social Psychology* (1908) were widely admired and highly influential in their day. In *Social Control*, probably his most important work, he sought to explain social stability and order, exploring the ways in which society constrains the behavior of individuals through custom and convention, legal and social sanctions, religion, and education.

The Foundations of Sociology was important because it was the first book in American sociology that analyzed society in terms of social processes—a novel concept in the discipline. He regarded social processes as the primordial social facts, the basic units of analysis in the investigation of society. The book was highly formal, dividing social processes into 11 major categories and 32 subcategories, but he saw society as a complex, interrelated multiprocessual affair. By 1920, however, he reduced his categories of processes to four major divisions—association, domination, exploitation, and opposition (Hertzler, 1951, pp. 605-606).

Social Psychology was the first book in the English language to bear that title, but it was in large part based on the theory of imitation and suggestion of Gabriel Tarde and did not incorporate the new interactionist approaches that were beginning to emerge in America. It was soon considered to be outmoded, but it did help to create interest in a new branch of the discipline and attract new scholars to the enterprise (Weinberg, 1968, vol. 13, pp. 560-562).

Some of Ross' early contributions were later superseded by more substantial and sophisticated formulations by other sociologists, but he continued to occupy a commanding position in the discipline through force of personal charisma and through vigorous participation in professional committees and conferences. Ross did historical and qualitative research but did not carry out empirical quantitative research, like his colleagues C. J. Galpin and John H. Kolb in Rural Sociology at Wisconsin. He saw himself more as a systematizer rather than primary researcher:

I accept systematization as my job. Not primary research, but the incorporation of the end-products of research into some kind of a graspable, meaningful system has come to be my master purpose (Ross, 1936, p. 179).

Throughout his career, however, he urged the importance of relying on “honest to goodness *social research*” rather than “arm-chair thinking.” He welcomed the arrival of younger sociologists with a strong research orientation.

Ross’ prolific output of books and articles was accomplished without receiving more than token financial support, while carrying a full teaching load, lecturing widely around the country, and travelling to other countries as much as possible to make personal observations. Though he was proud of his work, he was at the same time humble. Above all he was dedicated to the advancement of the field of sociology, and he was not at all concerned that his own work would soon be outmoded and superseded. He wrote in the Preface to his last book, *New-Age Sociology*, in 1940,

In the forty-five years since I joined the little band of pioneers laboring to clear away the tangle of ignorant prejudice and superstition which then mantled most things social, let in the sunlight, break the soil, and start growing truths, sociology has gained wonderfully in content, organization, and self-confidence. . . . Rapidly this young branch has won for itself an honorable place in our schemes of education and our programs of research. In case sociology goes on surmounting crest after crest, this system of mine, outcome of endless toil, will by the close of our century look so pitiful that, were I alive then, I might be tempted to make a bonfire of all my sociological works! Gesture of chagrin? Not at all. Early obsolescence of my lifework would cheer me if it were to be the outcome of sociology’s advance in scientific recognition and popular acceptance (Ross, 1940, pp. v-vi).

After 1908 he largely stopped writing for a professional sociology audience and wrote mostly introductory textbooks or books on popular issues addressed to the general public. He also published numerous articles in the more prestigious magazines of the time— such as the *Independent*, the *Atlantic Monthly*, the *Century*, and *Everybody’s* (Hertzler, 1951, p. 607). Most of his popular writing was concerned with the analysis of social problems and attempted to make use of sociological insights to suggest solutions. His books sold, in aggregate, nearly half a million copies, and he was clearly the American sociologist who was best known to the public from 1900 to 1930. His books were greatly admired by William Jennings Bryan, Oliver



EDWARD ALSWORTH ROSS
(UW DEPT. OF SOCIOLOGY)

Wendell Holmes, and President Theodore Roosevelt, and he enjoyed a personal relationship with each.

Ross was the fifth President of the American Sociological Society for the years 1914 and 1915 and the last to serve a two-year term. As President he sponsored sessions on freedom of expression at the ASS meetings, and this in turn led to the founding of the American Association of University Professors by Arthur Lovejoy and John Dewey, with the strong support of Ross and Roscoe Pound. For a few years Ross was the only sociologist at the University of Wisconsin, but he was joined by John Lewis Gillin in 1912. In 1929 a separate Department of Sociology and Anthropology was established, and Ross served as chair until his retirement in 1937.

Sifting and Winnowing

Ross, who was more of a firebrand than Ely, came close to being fired at Wisconsin as he had been at Stanford. He was always on the lookout for “mysterious un-introduced visitors” who would sneak into his classes and try to catch him teaching some radical idea that could be used against him. One day in 1910 on his way to class he learned that “infuriated patriots” were tearing down posters announcing a talk off campus on anarchism by the famous anarchist leader, Emma Goldman. He recounted, “This struck me as not quite sportsmanlike and, since the topic of the day was Tolerance, I characterized such manifestations as anti-social and un-American, thereby calling attention to the Goldman lecture” (Ross, 1936, pp. 289-290). Goldman met with the student Socialist Club at the YMCA, and later gave a well-attended evening lecture downtown. The local newspaper, the *Madison Democrat*, reported, “Those who attended the lecture . . . for the purpose of seeing bombs thrown or listening to inflammable utterances, were doomed to disappointment. The proceedings were entirely orderly and good-mannered to the last degree” (Herfurth, 1998, p. 71).

Ross did not attend Goldman’s lecture himself, but the next day Goldman came to visit him at his office, and he escorted her on a tour of the campus, “pointing out its beauties.” This provoked immediate attacks on Ross:

Promptly the newspapers shrieked that I was an anarchist; and then certain financiers and capitalists on the Board of Regents (clever teamwork!) solemnly shook their heads and gave it out to the newspapers as their pondered opinion that I was not fit to remain at Wisconsin (Ross, 1936, p. 290).

The 1910 Board of Regents was sharply split between some ten Stalwarts (conservatives) and five Progressives. President Charles Van Hise, who was close to La Follette, told Ross that some of the Stalwarts on the Regents had been looking for a pretext to oust him for two years, because his real offense had been in publishing in 1907 *Sin and Society: An Analysis of Latter Day Iniquity*—a muckraking book that charged corporations with engaging in immoral and illegal behavior while their capitalist owners pretended to have clean hands (Ross, 1936, p. 290).

When the Regents next met in March, 1910, Ross was traveling in China. President Van Hise cabled him to “expect the worst.” Most of the meeting was devoted to a discussion of whether or not Ross should be dismissed because of his association with Goldman and for unwittingly inviting another speaker, who was an advocate of “free love,” to speak to one of his classes about education in a democracy. Van Hise had been able to gather statements of support from liberals in the state, and he himself took a strong stand defending Ross, perhaps mindful of what had happened to Stanford University after it dismissed Ross for his views:

. . . It has been suggested that Professor Ross be removed from his professorship in the University. I do not know whether or not this suggestion is to be seriously considered; but it is clear to me that such an action would be wholly indefensible. . . . The removal of a professor on the grounds considered would damage the University most seriously in the eyes of the academic world. The effects of such a drastic action as the removal of a professor holding a continuing appointment for so inadequate a cause would not be overcome for years. (Herfurth, 1998, pp. 72-73).

In the end the attempts to force Ross out failed, and the Regents contented themselves with passing a unanimous resolution “to inform Professor Ross of the censure of the board and their unanimous disapproval of his indiscretions” (Herfurth, 1998, p. 72). Without Van Hise’s strong support Ross probably would have been fired.

It was actually Ross’ narrow escape rather than Ely’s that led to the casting of the sifting and winnowing memorial plaque. For at least two decades prior to 1910 the graduating classes at the university had left memorials,

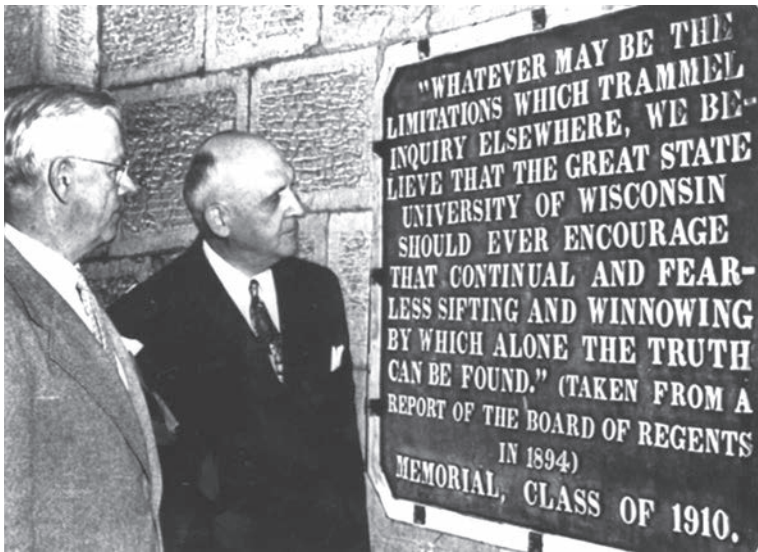
usually in the form of boulders or gravestones emblazoned with class numerals, placed in the woods between Main (Bascom) Hall and Lake Mendota. The presentation of the class memorial became a feature of Class Day exercises. Many of these stones were still to be seen lining Observatory Drive in the last decades of the twentieth century, but today all but three or four have disappeared. The officers of the Class of 1910, however, wished to leave a more meaningful memorial than the conventional gravestone—a bronze casting of the stirring last sentence of the Regents 1894 report supporting the principle of academic freedom (Herfurth, 1998, pp. 73-74).

This idea actually originated not with the students but with Lincoln Steffens, the famous muckraking journalist. Steffens had earlier written a laudatory article about La Follette and the University of Wisconsin and had discovered the Regents' 1894 statement supporting academic freedom. He regretted that it had never been widely publicized or become known to the public. He communicated his suggestion that the Class of 1910 might present as their class memorial a plaque with the words of the 1894 resolution to Fred MacKenzie, the Managing Editor of *La Follette's Magazine*. MacKenzie in turn suggested it to the leaders of the senior class of 1910. The students were advised to keep the source of the idea a secret, since Steffens was anathema to conservatives, even more so than La Follette Progressives. The student leaders welcomed the suggestion, for in the wake of the Ross affair, it was a way to try to get the university to rededicate itself to the principle of academic freedom. Hugo Hering, the chair of the student memorial committee, prepared the wooden frame for the casting, bought metal letters, carefully aligned them, and hammered them into the frame. He carted the frame to the Madison Brass Foundry, and a 255-pound bronze casting was made at a cost of \$25.00 (Herfurth, 1998, p. 74).

When the plaque was finished the class officers approached the Regents about accepting and erecting the memorial at an appropriate place. The Regents, however, regarded the plaque as an affront to them, and refused to accept it or permit its erection, offering a number of weak and transparently false excuses for rejecting it, such as the "defacement" of buildings and grounds. The dismayed students could not find a university official to make a formal acceptance of the memorial on their Class Day, but Professor William A. Scott, whom Ely had brought with him from Johns Hopkins, accepted the plaque and made a gracious response—all completely unauthorized. The students considered buying a piece of property four feet square on State Street where they could erect the memorial, but nothing came of this idea. The plaque was carried to the basement of Bascom Hall and stored in a corner where it gathered dust and cobwebs for the next five years (Herfurth, 1998, pp. 74-76).

In 1912 the class officers again approached the Regents, and, adopting a

more conciliatory tone, persuaded them to accept the plaque. Nothing was said about erecting the plaque, however, and the plaque remained hidden away in the basement of Bascom Hall for another three years. By 1915 the composition of the Board of Regents had changed significantly, consisting of nine Progressives and only six Stalwarts. The 1910 class officers once again requested that the plaque be erected. There was still some acrimonious debate, but in the end parties on both sides agreed on an innocuous statement that neither accused nor absolved the two sets of combatants. The plaque was finally affixed to the front wall of Bascom Hall in a dedication ceremony on June 15, 1915 (Herfurth, 1998, pp. 79-87).



SIFTING AND WINNOWING PLAQUE REINSTALLED ON BASCOM HALL AFTER BEING STOLEN IN 1956, INSPECTED BY PRESIDENT E. G. FRED AND FORMER US SENATOR F. RYAN DUFFY, PRESIDENT OF THE CLASS OF 1910 (UW ARCHIVES)

Over the next four decades the university community came to revere the plaque as a sacred icon, and it exerted a silent but powerful pressure on the university to live up to its stated commitment to academic freedom. Then, in November, 1956, to the horror of the university community, the sifting and winnowing plaque was stolen, presumably by pranksters, on the eve of the homecoming football game with Northwestern. A fund was being established to recast the plaque, but after it had been missing for a month, the police discovered it in the campus woods near Willow Creek. A ceremony to reinstall and rededicate the plaque was held in February, 1957, and it resumed its hallowed place on the front wall of Bascom Hall. A time capsule containing a description of the controversy and the Regents' resolution was

placed in a copper chest implanted in the wall behind the plaque (“Freedom Plaque Back at Wisconsin U,” 1957).

In 1964 the Board of Regents voted to create replicas of the plaque for the UW Centers, and plaques were installed at the Center campuses in Racine and Kenosha in 1965 and 1966. When UW-Parkside was founded in Kenosha in 1968, it took possession of both plaques, but they sat in a corner of the Archives, virtually untouched for the next 25 years. Finally, in 1998 with the campus’ 30th anniversary approaching, Interim Chancellor Gordon Lamb had the plaques installed outside the library and outside the admissions office at UW-Parkside. Apparently, other UW Centers and campuses never received replicas.

Courage and Self Confidence

Ross insisted that objectivity must be maintained in conducting social research, but at the same time he believed strongly that sociologists should be active in trying to bring about social reform. More than any other sociologist he sustained the heritage of his wife’s uncle, Lester F. Ward, who had battled against the laissez-faire doctrines of Spencer and Sumner from the first days of the discipline. In 1932 Ross wrote,

I should indeed be mortified if we came to a time when sociology said nothing that would help the underdog, or cause dismay and wrath among entrenched exploiters, or the masters of propaganda, or the possessors of a stranglehold. At certain times or under certain circumstances it is the most sacred duty of the sociologist to “raise hell.” When sociology becomes a cold “pure” science, having nothing to say on behalf of the victimized, the enslaved, the oppressed, the handicapped, it will cease to attract the type who have made it what it is (Ross, 1932, p. 114).

The American Sociological Association web site still quotes Ross 80 years later: “There may come a time in the career of every sociologist when it is his solemn duty to raise hell.” Ross was never afraid to raise hell, and he expressed his views openly, even when he knew that they would offend those in positions of authority and perhaps endanger himself. Gillin told of the time in 1935 when he was called before a committee of the Wisconsin legislature investigating “red” activities at the university. The chairman asked him what he thought would be the effect of the investigation on the university.

Ross replied that in his opinion the investigation would have the same harmful effect as a church investigation of an innocent young girl

charged with impropriety by gossiping old women. The senator resented the answer. Ross replied, "Well, you asked my opinion. You got it." These politicians hate him. However, he has gone serenely along because he was courageous (Gillin, 1937, pp. 538-539).

Ross probably endured more criticism and attacks than any other sociologist because of his outspoken stands on popular issues, but his indomitable self-confidence enabled him to weather the storms. In his autobiography he wrote,

Never having felt foiled and frustrate I am free from "blues." Very rarely am I "in the dumps"; in fact, most of the time I am in high spirits. Detraction and rebuffs do not undermine my self-confidence nor weaken my will to persevere in my purpose. . . . I feel no urge to brag or show off. Long bombardment with stale eggs and dead cats—the sure portion of the outspoken—has made me thick-skinned and imperturbable (Ross, 1936, p.12).

A startling example of this self-confidence was his invitation to Dr. William F. Lorenz, a psychiatrist at the University of Wisconsin, to do a psychiatric analysis of his personality, which he then published as Chapter 30 of his autobiography. He was apparently not embarrassed when Dr. Lorenz suggested an Adlerian interpretation of his overweening self-confidence as over-compensation, a manifestation of an inferiority complex: "The more vehemently you insist that you have no sense of inferiority, the more dynamic is the hidden specter of inferiority!" (Ross, 1936, p. 309). Ross clearly disagreed—and so do I. In the end Dr. Lorenz concluded that Ross had a "healthy, normal, vigorous mind" and was "too sane to serve as any exhibit in a psychiatric museum" (p. 312).

Ross was a physically imposing man, 6 feet 4 1/2 inches tall and weighing 215 pounds according to the measurements made by his anthropologist colleague, Charlotte Gower, in 1934 when he was 68 years old. Ross unblushingly included the measurements in an appendix to his autobiography (Ross, 1936, p. 331). In the early 20th century the average American man was only 5 feet 6 inches, so Ross usually towered almost a foot taller than those around him. His face was usually described as "craggy"—but he was strikingly handsome in his youth. He had a magnetic and forceful personality, a loud, bombastic speaking voice ("I carry my podium with me"), a commanding presence, and a well-developed ego. For many years his impressive appearance was accentuated by his dress—high, starched collars, a large white cravat, and a black suit with tails (Weinberg, 1973, p. 226).

Odom wrote that "next to Sumner [Ross] has been the most popular

teacher of undergraduates” (Odom, 1960, p. 98), but Weinberg delivered a more judicious assessment (Weinberg, 1972). Sometimes Ross dazzled his students with his erudition, wit, and passion, but at other times he seemed ill prepared, not keeping up with current scholarship, and straying all too often from the topic of the course. At one point Richard Ely, his Chair, had to ask him to improve the scholarly content of his courses.

Not everyone thought that Ross was a good teacher. According to Bill Sewell, George Lundberg, who came to study at Wisconsin in 1919, thought he was a terrible teacher for graduate students:

. . . George told me this story: he came here to work with Ross, and he got here and Ross assigned him to be a teaching assistant in his introductory course, and then gave a seminar which he called “Social Theory” which George had to take as part of his graduate studies. He said, here he’d go to hear Mr. Ross in the morning and Mr. Ross would give these lectures which he said had very little content but were very entertaining. And then he said twice a week he’d get the six people who were in the seminar in a room like this around a table and he’d give the same lectures—never a question permitted or anything else. And George, who was a very serious intellectual, said that he just decided at the end of the semester that he was going elsewhere [University of Minnesota] (Sewell Oral History Interview 2, 1983).

If this is the way he conducted most of his seminars, it is understandable why he had relatively few graduate students and even fewer really significant ones. On the other hand, Sewell said that Odin Anderson once took an introductory sociology course with Ross when he was an undergraduate at Wisconsin and thought he was quite an important figure and a good teacher. Sewell also said that John Kolb took courses with both Ross and Gillin when he was a graduate student at Wisconsin and had great admiration for both of them, though he learned more from Gillin than from Ross. Sewell thought that Ross made a significant contribution to sociology only with his book *Social Control*, but he conceded that “I have no doubt he was a good lecturer. He must have been very good” (*Ibid.*)

Whether or not his lectures had intellectual depth, Ross’ force of personality and charisma, certainly attracted students to sociology—176 his first year in 1907-08 and 400 by his fourth year. He boasted,

In 1907-08 each thousand students here furnished fifty-seven takers of a sociology course; twenty-seven years later they furnished 262 takers—4.6 times as much interest! . . . With instruction in the social branches growing like a mushroom in colleges and high schools, there is

a good chance that whatever changes will eventually have to be made in American society will be adopted after rational discussion and not after breaking heads (Ross, 1936, p. 288).

Jayaprakash Narayan

One of Ross's most notable students was Jayaprakash (J. P.) Narayan, who came from Bihar, India, to the United States to study in 1922. Narayan had dropped out of Patna College in support of Gandhi's noncompliance movement, but a friend who had gone to the United States to study told him that it was possible for poor students to work their way through college in America. Though he had never before done manual labor, when he arrived in California he worked for three months picking grapes in a vineyard and then as a packer in a fruit and jam canning factory while he waited to enroll at the University of California in Berkeley. He studied chemistry, physics, and mathematics at Berkeley, but after one semester he could not afford to continue, and at the urging of a friend he transferred to the University of Iowa, where the tuition was only one-fourth as high. At Iowa he studied biology, mathematics, and chemical engineering for a year and had a series of part-time jobs in restaurants, a terracotta factory, a foundry, an auto repair shop, and shoveling snow. Between terms and in the summers he took menial jobs in Chicago, cleaning toilets, shining shoes, working in a meat packing plant, and selling ersatz cosmetics that he compounded himself. Hearing that Wisconsin was the most progressive state in the US and the University of Wisconsin the most progressive university, Narayan transferred to Wisconsin to continue his study. At Wisconsin he fell in with a group of Marxist and Communist students and began to read Marx, Lenin, Trotsky, and M. N. Roy. He later told Lal about his decision to change majors:

I am talking about 1924, before Lenin died. Later during the same year, Lenin was succeeded by Stalin. I read Lenin's and Trotsky's writings avidly. I was convinced that what they were doing was right. But this conviction led me to question the value of studying Science. The immediate task was to win freedom for our country. Why not familiarise myself with the social science? So I switched courses, and for my graduation, chose sociology as my major subject, and economics as a subsidiary (Lal, 1975, p. 36).

He was particularly influenced by E. A. Ross, who also had socialist views and was an admirer of Lenin, Trotsky, and the Bolshevik Revolution in its early days. Ahuja described Narayan's reaction to Ross:

In this University he came across a professor whose lectures fell on his mind as expressing his own thoughts. In his mind there had been lying dormant many skeptical ideas about the justification of the capitalistic system and it needed only a spark to ignite the smouldering embers. The spark was provided by that professor. The professor was a Socialist—a rare bird in America of those days—and in his ideas Jaya Prakash found a solution and a revelation to all the problems of social and economic inequality (Ahuja, 1947, p. 6).

Kimball Young was also an influence, though not in the political realm. Narayan was not able to finish his degree at Wisconsin because of monetary problems, and he followed a friend to Ohio State University, where he completed a bachelor's and master's degree in sociology, and where he enjoyed a brief appointment as a sociology instructor. His master's thesis was adjudged the best of the year. He wanted to go to the Soviet Union to study further, but his father warned him that the British authorities would probably not let him return to India if he did so. When he learned that his mother was seriously ill, he decided to return to India in 1929. In India he became one of the most prominent and militant leaders of the anti-imperialist independence movement and was repeatedly jailed and tortured by the British. He began his revolutionary career as a Marxist and was not opposed to the use of violence, but he later became a devoted Gandhian, rejecting the centralization of power, statism, and use of violence associated with Communism. After independence he was at first considered Nehru's heir apparent, but after 1954 he renounced the politics of "party and power," since he believed it could not bring about "equality, freedom, brotherhood, and peace." He did, however, support "politics of the people"—the organization of people's power to overthrow authoritarian government and to seek "total revolution." He died in 1979 but is still regarded as one of India's principal heroes of the independence struggle (Scarfe and Scarfe, 1975; Bajwa, 1987; N. Gupta, 1997).

Recreations and Popular Books

For recreation Ross liked to pursue activities that took him away completely from academic work. After a "writing fit" he would sometimes go for a walk, but he found that "ideas pursued me like a cloud of stinging gnats and I returned unrefreshed" (Ross, 1936, p. 134). Therefore, he turned to hunting, fishing, and canoeing in wilderness lakes to remove himself more fully from his ordinary academic pursuits:

Finally came a log cabin on a rocky islet in a Canadian lake. In time we Rosses have ceased to revisit our lodge and our earlier haunts, but travel far up toward James Bay before putting in our canoes. In the wilderness I turn as primitive as a blanket Indian; I never receive or send a letter, never see a line of print. We attend to our wants ourselves, are “on the move” all the time (Ross, 1936, pp. 134-135).

After two weeks of escape to the wilderness he would feel refreshed and ready to return to his teaching, research, and writing. Back in Madison he also played golf with his friends, and after he moved very near the Blackhawk golf course in the 1930s he probably played more often.

Ross’ real passion, though, was for foreign travel, which he considered essential for his education as a sociologist. He spent six months traveling in China and also traveled in Europe, South America, India, and Africa. In 1917 he was sent on a mission to Russia by the American Institute of Social Service, and he spent six months there observing political developments during the height of the Russian Revolution (“Ross, Edward Alsworth,” 1922, p. 98). As a result of that experience he became a supporter of the Bolshevik Revolution, which he believed had improved the lives of the Russian people—at least in the early years of the revolutionary government under Lenin. He published three books on Russia and the Russian Revolution, as well as books about China, South America (Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Chile, and Argentina), the social revolution in Mexico, and “native labor” in Portuguese Africa (Hertzler, 1951, pp. 608-609). Kimball Young recounted,

Someone asked him how he could spend two months in a country like Mexico and then write a book about it. He said, well, he could observe more than most people could, and also, unlike newspaper correspondents and journalists, he didn’t spend his time drinking in the bars and flirting around with women. He was out among the people, observing them and talking to them. As a matter of fact, I guess he got to be pretty fluent in the Spanish language (Young, Lindstrom, & Hardert, 1989, p. 387).

Ross’ books about other countries are not mere travelogues, for they contain many astute observations and sociological insights. He even worked out ways for getting at essential facts during a short sojourn in a country—advice that he shared with other sociologists in an article published by the American Sociological Society (Ross, 1922). Sometimes, though, a short period of travel was not enough. He spent six months traveling in India and for once did not attempt to write a book. “It’s too complex, too big,” he said. “Couldn’t do it” (Young, Lindstrom, & Hardert, 1989, p.

387). After his retirement he traveled to Australia in 1938 and intended to write another travel book entitled *Social Australia* or something similar. He was 72 years old at this point, and the planned book was never produced, but Howard Becker wrote, “He seems to have stood up very well under the strain of the journey; in fact, his health is better, if anything, than before he left” (UW-Madison Archives 7/33/6-1, Box 1, Folder 1937-1953, R-W).

Racial and Ethnic Prejudice

Ross today is still a controversial figure because of his racial and ethnic prejudices and his support of the eugenics movement during the early part of his career. Weinberg pointed out, on one hand

. . . as a populist and later as a progressive and New Dealer, Ross pungently supported a variety of liberal proposals to enhance the quality of American life: the regulation of public utilities, unions and unemployment compensation for workers, curbs on child labor, suffrage and better working conditions for women, and most prominently, freedom of the press, freedom of speech, and academic freedom (Weinberg, 1967, p. 242).

On the other hand, in the early part of his career he was also an outspoken racist and nativist who was very hostile to the newer immigrants and regarded the Scots-Irish, English, and “Teutons” as superior stock. During the Progressive Era the term “race” was commonly used to refer to ethnic or national groups, especially in Europe. Ross accepted the common ethnic stereotypes of the day uncritically. For example, his chapter on “The East European Hebrews” in his 1914 book on European immigration was a recitation of all the popular negative stereotypes of Jews at that time. Even admitted positive traits—intelligence, ambition, devotion to family, business acumen, etc.—were somehow turned into negative accusations. He maintained

What is disliked in the Jews is not their religion but certain ways and manners. . . . This cruel prejudice—for all lump condemnations are cruel—is no importation, no hang-over from the past. It appears to spring out of contemporary experience and is invading circle after circle of broad-minded . . . It is astonishing how much of the sympathy that twenty years ago went out to the fugitives from Russian massacres has turned sour (Ross, 1914, pp. 164-165).

Ross suggested, however, that “America is probably the strongest solvent Jewish separatism has ever encountered,” and he believed it was likely

that assimilation in time would reduce the cultural differences that aroused antagonism, just as it had with earlier waves of Jewish immigrants from western Europe (Ross, 1914, pp. 165-167). He feared, however, that persecution in Czarist Russia would push an additional six million Jews to emigrate to the United States, aided by the strong political influence of American Jews against restrictive immigration legislation. His concerns were shared by most Congressmen, who passed sharply restrictive immigration legislation in 1921 and 1924.

Ross vacillated in his views of how much the differences among peoples were due to biological or environmental factors, but he was never a crude biological racist like Joseph-Arthur de Gobineau, Madison Grant, or Charles B. Davenport. He was, however, a proponent of the “race suicide” argument that the “fittest” people were being out-reproduced by the “unfit,” who had higher birth rates—even though according to Darwinian principles “fitness” is defined in terms of relative reproductive success. Thus, Ross became a leader in the movement to limit immigration from Asia and Eastern Europe and also a leader in the eugenics movement (Weinberg, 1972, pp. 149-176). He argued that the quality of immigrants from Europe was declining and that the new immigrants had high birth rates, whereas the native inhabitants were becoming “sterile.”

Economic motives more and more bring us immigrants, and such motives will not uproot the educated, the propertied, the established, the well connected. The children of success are not migrating, which means that we get few scions from families of proved capacity. Europe retains most of her brains, but sends multitudes of the common and the sub-common. . . . The fewer brains they have to contribute, the lower the place immigrants take among us, and the lower the place they take, the faster they multiply (Ross, 1914, pp. 298-299).

It was not uncommon for reformers during the Progressive Era from 1890 to 1920 to entertain nativist or racist views, particularly since immigrant laborers were often used by capitalists as strike breakers and were often blamed for bringing down wages and living standards. Ross’ nativist views were not unlike those of his colleagues at Wisconsin, John R. Commons and Frederick Jackson Turner. Racist, exclusionary, and eugenic ideas were deeply imbedded in the new disciplines of economics, sociology, political science, statistics, and psychology during the Progressive Era. They characterized a wide range of scholars of different ideological persuasions in the social sciences and statistics: economists, such as Simon Patten, Frank Fetter, Henry Farnam, Francis A. Walker, Richmond Mayo-Smith, Irving Fisher, Henry Rogers Seager, and Sidney Webb; sociologists such as

Charles Richmond Henderson and Charlotte Perkins Gilman; political scientists such as John W. Burgess; psychologists such as Lewis Terman; and statisticians such as Francis Galton, Karl Pearson, and R. A. Fisher. Similar views were embraced by the Presidents of Harvard, Stanford, and Bowdoin College in the 1910s; by prominent journalists such as Paul Underwood Kellogg and Herbert Croly; by political leaders such as Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, Henry Cabot Lodge, and William Jennings Bryan; and by the Protestant clergyman, Josiah Strong, one of the founders of the Social Gospel Movement (Weinberg, 1972 pp. 149-150; Leonard, 2005a; Leonard, 2005b). None of this is intended to excuse Ross or Commons for their harmful views and actions; it merely places them in historical context.

By the 1930s Ross claimed that he had abandoned his nativism and ethnocentrism in favor of the progressive side of his character. In fact, in a speech he gave at an American Sociological Society Dinner in 1932, he celebrated the way in which sociology had helped to change popular notions concerning such topics as population, divorce, and race over the preceding fifty years. He said, "The best books on the American race question in the eighties would be hooted at were they to appear today. Not only were they out of sympathy with the Negro, but they builded on ungrounded assumptions, took for granted much that today we regard as very questionable" (Ross, 1933, p. 111). Again, he wrote in his 1936 autobiography,

Hobnobbing with all sorts and conditions has made me extremely tolerant. . . . Difference of race means far less to me now than once it did. Starting on my explorations with the naive feeling that only my own race is right, all other races are more or less "queer," I gained insight and sympathy until my heart overleapt barriers of race. . . . Far behind me in a ditch lies the Nordic Myth, which had some fascination for me forty years ago. My "wild oats!" But in time I shed all my color prejudices. I have seen blue eyes that glowed with a Divine light but I can say the same for brown eyes and black eyes. . . . I blush to confess that nearly two-thirds of my life had passed before I awoke to the fallacy of rating peoples according to the grade of their culture. . . . Slowly I came to see that many factors besides disparity of natural endowment explain why *this* people has a high culture while *that* people has a low culture (Ross, 1936, pp. 276-277).

In spite of his protestations, however, he retained some racist views of African Americans. Even after his retirement, he antagonized Wisconsin liberal students in 1943 when he expressed some of these views in a public debate on campus—even though he was the national chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union.

. . . . Ross argued that democracy did not imply racial equality. "I'm not at all prejudiced," he declared, "but I'm still glad my three sons married white girls. . . . I cannot feel that inter-marriage is a possible solution to the end of Negro-White discrimination until I see a statement signed by 80 per cent of America's anthropologists proving that the Negro is not an inferior race." For this he was roundly rebuked by the *Daily Cardinal* [student newspaper], May 4 and 5, 1943 (Cronon and Jenkins, 1994, vol. 3, p. 675, n. 91).

Befriending Perlman and Sorokin

Ross was always a warm and generous supporter of his colleagues, and his championing of Selig Perlman suggests that anti-Semitism and other nativist prejudices did not affect his relations with individuals of the "wrong" ethnic identity. This was in sharp contrast with John R. Commons, whose anti-Semitism strongly affected his relations with Jewish colleagues and students. Ross could also be supportive of scholar colleagues who came from Eastern Europe and who had quite different political views. Though Ross was an ardent supporter of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia in the early 1920s, he gave generous assistance to the anti-Communist Russian émigré sociologist Pitirim Sorokin, who had been Secretary to Prime Minister Alexander Kerensky in the Russian Provisional government. After the Kerensky government was overthrown in the Bolshevik October Revolution, Sorokin was arrested and condemned to death, but some of his friends interceded with Lenin to secure his release. After five years of a precarious and harrowing existence in the Soviet Union, during part of which he and his wife had to hide deep in the forest to escape arrest by the Cheka security police, he was finally banished in 1923. Kimball Young said that Ross enlisted the aid of US Ambassador Charles Richard Crane to get Sorokin out of the country without being arrested again and possibly executed (Young, 1995, p.29). Sorokin does not mention this in his autobiography, and Ross' help may not have been necessary, since Sorokin was part of a large group of Russian scholars, scientists, and writers who were banished at that time. Sorokin's autobiography is a useful corrective to the naive view that Lenin was a humane and benign leader and that it was only Stalin who led the Soviet Union into barbarism (Sorokin, 1963).

Sorokin and his wife first took refuge in Czechoslovakia as guests of Jan Masaryk, who in 1918 had become the country's first President. In 1924 Ross and Edward C. Hayes arranged for Sorokin to give a series of lectures on the Russian Revolution at both the University of Wisconsin and the University of Illinois. His denunciations of Lenin and the Bolsheviks often met with hostility from those who were still hopeful that the overthrow of the Czarist

regime would lead to greater human rights and democracy, but he was defended by Ross and his old friend and mentor, the distinguished historian Michael I. Rostovtzeff, who had joined the Wisconsin history department in 1920 after himself escaping from the Soviet Union. During the month Sorokin spent with Ross and Rostovtzeff in Madison, he also received invitations from Albion Small to lecture at the University of Chicago and from Charles Horton Cooley to come to the University of Michigan. Franklin H. Giddings also defended him. More importantly, Ross helped him to secure a teaching position at the University of Minnesota, temporary at first but then permanent. Again, with the help of a recommendation from Ross, Sorokin was offered a professorship at Harvard and a position as its first chair of a new Department of Sociology in 1929. President Abbott L. Lowell told Sorokin that “. . . Harvard had already decided to establish a chair of sociology some twenty-five years before. They had not done so until then because there was no sociologist worthy to fill the chair. Now, in their opinion, such a sociologist had appeared, and they had promptly made the decision” (Johnston, 1995, pp. 25-26, 55-56). Sorokin wrote appreciatively of Ross in his autobiography:

At the University of Wisconsin, however, I found staunch defenders of my viewpoint in professors M. I. Rostovtzeff, E. A. Ross, John R. Commons, and other distinguished professors and administrators of the university. Though Professor Ross's viewpoint on the Russian Revolution differed from mine, this difference did not prevent him from respecting my views. With his usual fair-mindedness, his lack of dogmatism, and his understanding of the complexity of the Russian upheaval, he easily admitted a possibility of different interpretations of this momentous event. We both not only respected the differences in our views but in a sense deeply enjoyed them and found them mutually enlightening and stimulating. He not only defended the scientific legitimacy of my views against the denunciations of my critics, he also recommended me highly to several universities as a visiting or regular professor. So far as I know, his strong recommendations were largely responsible for the University of Minnesota's offer of a visiting professorship for the next summer session and, after that, for the next academic year. His fine personality, his friendship, and his generous help will be gratefully remembered to the end of my life. (Sorokin, 1963, pp. 213-214).

Retirement and “Capsules of Social Wisdom”

Ross retired in 1937 at the age of 70, and married a second time to Helen Forbes of New York and Atlanta in 1941 at the age of 74. Ross continued

to keep office hours from 9 to 12 daily for at least the first two years of his retirement, according to the University Staff Directory. However, he was not as active sociologically as John L. Gillin and William H. Sewell in their long retirements.

Ross had been retired for many years by the time Bill Sewell arrived at Wisconsin. He did not come around the sociology offices much anymore, but he did come to banquets and other ceremonial occasions. They usually seated Sewell next to Ross, because they were both story tellers, and they thought that Sewell could talk to him and keep him going. Sewell remembered,

And it was fun for a while, because he'd tell you all these stories about his travels, and how many Chinese men it took to carry him over a mountain, and those chairs that they used in those days, all that sort of stuff. But in any event, I said to my wife one night, "We've got to sit next to Mr. Ross, and I'm not going to ask him a thing about himself. Let's see if he makes any conversation." Well, they put us at a table—head table—and here were the speakers, and I was here and Mr. Ross was there. So he had nobody else, you see, to communicate with but me. And so we exchanged greetings and a few things, and finally I—after asking him a question or two, in which he went into great detail telling his marvelous stories—I didn't ask him anything. Five minutes, he was sound asleep. He slept through the whole dinner (Sewell Oral History Interview 2,1983)

The speaker that night was Melville J. Herskovits, who talked about African cultural traits that survived in African American culture. It was the custom to have Ross ask the first question, so Sewell nudged Ross and woke him up as Tom McCormick said, "Now, Professor Ross, we would like to have you lead off with a question. Unfazed, Ross stood up and spoke five minutes about Herskovits' thesis and congratulated him on his fine exposition. Sewell was amazed, but he guessed that Ross had previously read some of Herskovits' writings on the subject.

Ross published his autobiography, *Seventy Years of It*, in 1936, the year before he retired. He published a revision of his *Principles of Sociology* in 1938. The only new book he published during his retirement was *New-Age Sociology*, which came out in 1940. In 1948, however, he published an odd 41-page article entitled "Capsules of Social Wisdom" in the journal *Social Forces* (Ross, 1948). At first I assumed it was a collection of folk sayings and proverbs that Ross had collected, but Ross indicated in the first paragraph that he himself was the author of the more than 600 aphorisms—or at least of everything that was not in quotation marks. He wrote,

Not all of these six hundred-odd aphorisms grow out of accepted Sociology. Many spring from my personal experiences and observations. Others have their root in Social Psychology, which is not altogether foreign soil to me seeing that, nearly forty years ago, I published the first book under that title in English. This booklet is intended specially for those in their teens or twenties and aims to help them arrive at sounder judgments and make wiser decisions (Ross, 1948, p 186).

With his characteristic self-assurance, he seemed to regard all of his opinions as being rooted in sociology, even if they were not supported by actual social research. It is a mark of Ross' eminence and the affection in which he was held by the editor, Howard W. Odum, and others in the profession that a document of this character could be published in a mainstream sociology journal. In a preface Odum wrote, "The 'Capsules' represents both chips from a sociologist's workshop . . . as well as symbols of Professor Ross's combination of folk wisdom and the right knowledge and experience of the intellectuals" (*Ibid.*) Odum also wrote that attractive bound reprints "suitable for a gift book or for distribution to college students and others" could be ordered from *Social Forces*. I found a copy inscribed by Ross "To my colleague and friend, John L. Gillin" in the Ross files in the UW-Madison Archives (7/33/3/1). In his obituary for Ross Gillin reported that Ross was working on an expanded edition of "Capsules" almost up to the time of his death (Gillin, 1951, p. 281)

Ross's grandfatherly advice in the document is fairly conventional, with few surprises and few admonitions that most people would disagree with. The aphorisms exhibit none of the profundity of Montaigne or the playful wit and humor of Ben Franklin, Mark Twain, or Will Rogers. He is in dead earnest, and offers his comments on 42 different subjects. Of chief interest is the last one, "Tolerance-Intolerance." Here are a few of his offerings on this topic (pp. 226-227):

Toleration of personal or cultural differences is a virtue, but not toleration of anti-social attitudes or behavior!

You should be more wisely tolerant at forty than you were at twenty!

The educated should harbor fewer pointless prejudices than do the unschooled!

Lacking a sound training or a fit leader, the amiable may become malign, even cruel, toward those of a different way of life.

If you abhor some culture trait of one of our minorities, say so, for *culture* can be changed; but if it's color or physiognomy you object to, hush!

African slavery was ended by the rapid and immense spread of unwillingness to "stand for" it any longer!

Why be so "broad-minded" as to let in followers of a religion which makes a sacred duty of something abhorrent to the national culture?

Immigrants who would plant among us such thistles as child marriage, religious-caste barriers, or the sacred obligation to carry on an inherited feud, are *liabilities*.

It is not intolerance for a people bent on raising its standard of living to refuse to absorb the surpluses blindly-multiplying peoples incessantly produce.

These statements generally support the view that Ross had abandoned most of his racist ideas by the end of his career, though he still seemed to be concerned that some immigrants might bring in unwelcome culture traits. He also retained some of the Malthusian concerns from early in his career, when he and many other progressives feared that mass immigration would undermine wages and be harmful to working class Americans.

Colleagues Summing Up Ross

After his retirement in 1937, Ross continued to come to his office in Sterling Hall for a few years and maintained office hours during the first two years of his retirement. However, he ceased to play an active part in department affairs—unlike John Gillin in his retirement. Alan Kerckhoff, in his essay on graduate student life in the department in the postwar 1940s and 1950s, reported that "the great, gnarled eminence of E. A. Ross was seldom seen, though on occasion we met him at formal events, and we certainly sensed that he was (and had been) around" (Kerckhoff, 1978).

Ross died on July 22, 1951, at the age of 84. He was survived by his second wife, Helen Forbes Ross, and his three sons and nine grandchildren (Hertzler, 1951, p. 598). Ross was buried next to his first wife Rosamond in Forest Hill Cemetery (Section 12, Lot 68) in Madison. Their son Frank Alsworth Ross Sr. and grandson Frank Alsworth Ross Jr. joined them there in the 1990s.

John L. Gillin was Ross' closest associate and colleague for twenty-five

years, and he expressed his appreciation for Ross at his retirement in the following words:

Twenty-five years of close association with him has been a rich experience. Out of it has developed in my mind a picture of a personality characterized by honesty and persistence in the pursuit of truth, courageous declaration of his convictions, devotion to his chosen subject, loyalty to his colleagues and intimates, intellectual curiosity of a high order, high social and personal ideals, and moral integrity—all suffused with almost sublime self-confidence. In some ways he might be called not inappropriately the Abraham Lincoln of American Sociology (Gillin, 1937, p. 542).

Ross was held in high esteem by nearly everyone who knew him—colleagues at Wisconsin, social scientists at other institutions, students, and acquaintances. Joyce O. Hertzler, a former student, wrote following Ross's death:

. . . Those of us who knew him well as students and colleagues loved him as a magnificent, four-square personality; a man refusing to stoop to anything petty, intellectually, departmentally, or professionally; an indefatigable and prodigious worker who observed no principle of “standard daily trick” or union hours or work week, however much he promoted unions otherwise; an enthusiastic, free-spending, kindly, wise, and helpfully-critical adviser; an inimitable raconteur of fascinating tales, thrilling adventures, and “experiments” he had tried out in various parts of the world; and, above all, a staunch, never-changing, loyal friend. To have been associated with Ross was a supremely choice life experience (Hertzler, 1951, pp. 598-599).

John Useem remembered him as a “larger than life size charismatic figure”—but one with some eccentricities. He said that Ross was so penurious that he saved one-cent uncanceled stamps from postage-paid return post cards. “He cut them out with footlong scissors held in ham-like hands” (Useem, 1977).

Lowry Nelson, another former student of Ross (and one of my first two graduate teachers) said at a memorial meeting at the American Sociological Society,

. . . He was not content to teach a handful of students the principles of the new field of knowledge; he spread the “gospel” in the market place. In the economic and social climate of the time this was done at great risk

to his personal welfare and that of his family. But he was undaunted, as always, in condemning evil as he saw it and championing the right. . . . Every sociologist today is vastly indebted to him for what he did to establish the right to study social problems, to report the results of such research, and to teach the social truth as they understand it. Academic freedom is much more a reality today because of his valiant, courageous, and able defense of it (UW-Madison Archives, 7/33/-1-1 Box 2).

Ross' colleague, Kimball Young, said of Ross, "He belongs to the generation before the real coming of sociology proper. He was a great personality, a man of courage and conviction who stood up against the influences in this country he regarded as ill directed and essentially evil" (Young, 1995, p. 26).

For the last few decades Ross has been regarded as something of an embarrassment to the department because of his early racist views and support for eugenics policies. Considering the whole arc of his career, however, he richly deserves to be remembered for his positive contributions. His writings were superseded sooner than he probably expected, but his contributions in furthering the development of the discipline and in fighting for the principle of academic freedom provided a lasting heritage.

John Lewis Gillin (1871-1958)

With increasing enrollments in sociology, E. A. Ross brought John L. Gillin into the Department of Political Economy in 1912, allowing the sociology section of the department to double its offerings. He also offered courses in areas that Ross had not cultivated but which were popular with students, such as social problems (which he usually called “social disorganization” or “social pathology”), criminology, penology, and social work. In time he too came to be recognized as one of the leading sociologists in the country, but he was always overshadowed by the dominating personality of Ross. They were, however, the best of friends and worked in harmony throughout their careers to build a strong sociology section and department.

Early Life and Education

Gillin, like Ross, grew up in Iowa. He was born in Hudson, Iowa, Oct. 12, 1871. He was actually a 12- or 13-year-old student of Ross in 1884-1885, when Ross had dropped out of college for a year to earn money—\$20 a month—by teaching in a country school in Linn County, Iowa. Gillin said that all the children knew him as Ed Ross, an orphan boy of 17 who lived two miles away with Mr. and Mrs. Beach. They were all transfixed at first by his “giant height” but came to appreciate his extroverted and free and easy manner in the classroom, as well as his sense of fairness when he played baseball with them at recess (Gillin, 1937, p. 535).

Ross later wrote about the young Gillin in his autobiography:

In the fall school I had among my pupils a bright, clear-eyed lad of thirteen who made such a hit with me that when, twenty years later, he sent me his doctoral thesis, “The Dunkers,” I was deeply interested. I kept my eye on him and in 1912 secured him as a colleague at Wisconsin. Since then John Lewis Gillin and I have labored shoulder to shoulder in perfect accord (Ross, 1936, p. 16).

Gillin attended public schools in Hudson, Iowa, and then attended college at Upper Iowa University, where he played on the varsity football

team. He received a B.Litt. degree in 1894 at Upper Iowa but then studied an additional year at Iowa College (later renamed Grinnell) and received an A.B. degree there in 1895. He was ordained as a minister in the Church of the Brethren in 1893 and served as a pastor in Waterloo, Iowa, from 1895 to 1901. He then went to New York and studied at Union Theological Seminary, receiving a B.D. in 1904. While he was in New York, a friend spoke with enthusiasm about a great sociology professor at Columbia—Franklin H. Giddings—and Gillin decided to leave the ministry and study sociology with Giddings. He began studying at Columbia while finishing his degree at Union Theological Seminary and received an A.M. degree at Columbia in 1903. He continued his graduate study and received a PhD in sociology at Columbia in 1906, with a dissertation on a German Anabaptist sect derisively called “Dunkers,” because they completely immersed people three times in their baptisms. While he was a student in New York City he was employed for a time as a settlement house worker and began to learn about urban social problems and the social work profession (“Gillin, John Lewis,” 1966, p. 105–106; “Gillin, John Lewis,” 1960, p. 326).

Gillin later wrote to Howard Odom about his switch from the ministry to sociology:

. . . After six and a half years as pastor, I decided that I wanted to study sociology with Giddings in the hope that other problems presented in the relations between church members in my parish would be illuminated. Human nature was becoming ever more intriguing. So my wife and I took our courage in our hands and about \$400 we had saved and took the train for New York. Giddings opened up things for me. He did not have all the answers but led me to believe that by searching for myself I could find some more answers. Living in New York opened up a lot more problems some of which I had never thought about. I was caught for life. With the suggestions he gave and the constant reiteration that we look for facts about human relationships, and fit those facts into a logical formulation I was ready to attempt to find out for myself answers to the problems that intrigued me. I’ve been at it ever since. (Odom, 1951, p. 137)

While Gillin was a student at Columbia he saw an account in the *Review of Reviews* of Ross’ being fired by Stanford, and looking at his picture he realized it was his old teacher from primary school. When his PhD thesis was published, he sent Ross a copy and reminded him that he had once been his student. Ross wrote back that he remembered him, and he praised his dissertation. Later they met face-to-face at an American Sociological Society meeting (Gillin, 1937, p. 535).

After receiving his PhD from Columbia in 1906, Gillin took a position as Professor of Social Science at Ashland College in Ohio from 1905 to 1907, serving as President as well during his second year. From 1907 to 1911 he was Assistant Professor of Political Economy and Sociology at the State University of Iowa, and was promoted to Professor in 1911-1912.

Gillin Comes to Wisconsin

In 1912 E. A. Ross brought Gillin to Wisconsin as Associate Professor of Sociology and Secretary of the Department of General Information and Welfare in the university Division of Extension. The latter department was responsible for introducing some aspects of training in the field of social work prior to the 1920 hiring of Helen I. Clark, who is generally recognized as the founder of social work programs at the University of Wisconsin. In later years he recalled his first years at Wisconsin:

I taught part-time in the department of sociology [actually the sociology section of the Department of Political Economy] at first, but most of my work was with the Extension division department of general information and welfare. That job involved setting up community health and welfare programs in Wisconsin communities, and it gave me a knowledge of the state and its institutions that has been invaluable (UW Archives 24/2/3, Box 71, Sociology, July, 1952).



JOHN LEWIS GILLIN (CA. 1950-1960)
(UW DEPT. OF SOCIOLOGY; 2013)

As a part of his duties for extension he organized a number of community institutes in small towns around the state, and also two courses by correspondence. He gradually began to move more into Sociology, and by 1919 was full-time in Sociology. He had already been promoted to Professor of Sociology in 1915. During these years he began working in the fields of social pathology, poverty and dependency, criminology and penology, and they became the dominant focus of his professional career (“Gillin, John Lewis,” 1966, p. 105; “Gillin, John Lewis,” 1960, p. 326).

Gillin remained at Wisconsin for the rest of his career—46 years, including the last 16 as Professor Emeritus. Gillin was

married twice, first to Etta Shaffner in his home town of Hudson, Iowa, in 1897. She died in 1944 and Gillin remarried to Mary W. McCutcheon in Mt. Vernon, Iowa, in 1946 at the age of 75. His recreational interests were photography, travel, fishing, camping, and golf—but during family vacations he also usually managed to tuck in visits to a few prisons along the way (“Gillin, John Lewis,” 1966, p. 106).

Gillin lived in at least three different houses in Madison, but by 1930 he was living at 2211 Chamberlain Avenue—in a modest frame house on the same street as his colleague E. A. Ross, but a quarter mile farther west and well below the more up-scale hilltop area. With his substantial supplementary income from the sales of his textbooks and honoraria for commencement addresses he could easily have afforded a grander mansion, like those of Ely and Ross, but he was a man of modest tastes. He remained in his Chamberlain residence for the rest of his life—until his death in 1958.



JOHN LEWIS GILLIN HOUSE – 2211 CHAMBERLAIN AVENUE
(R. MIDDLETON, 2013)

Gillin as a Teacher

Gillin taught mainly social problems, criminology, and deviant behavior courses. In his answer to a questionnaire sent out by L. L. Bernard for the American Sociological Society in 1928, he described his own teaching repertoire in these terms:

I began as only a part-time man in the department giving most of my time to the Extension Division and assisting Ross in his Social Psychology. From the very beginning I gave a course on Degeneracy and Society. Within three years more of my time was taken in the department and I put on a course in Criminology and Penology and a course in Social Origins. I continued part-time work in the Extension Division until 1919 when I went over entirely to the College of Letters and Science since which time I have been giving the courses named above together with three other graduate seminaries, one in the Development of Poor Relief Policies, one in the Development of Correctional Policies and one called Research Seminary in which the methodologies of research are developed (Gillin, 1928).

In the first semester of 1928-1929, for example, he taught the following courses: Introduction to Sociology: Social Problems (283 students), Social Pathology: Poverty and Relief (53 students), and Seminary in Degeneracy and Society (8 students) (Lampman, 1993, p. 42). Contrary to common belief, large college classes were not unknown eighty years ago, and on occasion Gillin taught as many as 500 students in a class. For the large introductory classes, however, graduate students were usually employed as "quiz masters" to assist the professor with the large student load (Gillin, 1928).

Gillin spent a good deal of time consulting with the management of various correctional institutions in the state, and he also organized regular field trips for his criminology and social pathology students in the 1930s and 1940s. For many years he brought classes to visit the Central State Hospital for the Insane in Waupun each spring semester and summer, and he also organized field trips to the Wisconsin Prison for Women in Taycheedah (UW Archives, 7/33/4 Box 2). Gillin also took photographs in prisons and made his own slides to illustrate his lectures in his courses, long before the university's Bureau of Visual Instruction started providing assistance in the preparation of slides (UW Archives 24/2/3, Box 71, Sociology, July, 1952).

Gillin developed a reputation as a public speaker and was in great demand to deliver commencement addresses at high school graduation ceremonies around the state. Then as now the university maintained a speaker's bureau, and it regularly booked Gillin to deliver speeches. There is a thick folder of correspondence with high schools concerning the speaking engagements in the UW Archives (7/33/4 Box 18, Folder Commencement Addresses). Gillin delivered at least 39 commencement addresses at high schools all around the state, sometimes four or more in a single graduation season. He usually received an honorarium of \$25 from each, equivalent

to almost \$300 each in 2016 dollars—or an overall total of about \$17,700. There are no copies of the texts of his addresses, so we do not know whether he gave basically the same standard speech at each school. It would be difficult to avoid the platitudes that are so commonplace on such occasions and come up with fresh inspirational ideas for so many commencement speeches.

According to Gillin, in 1928 Sociology operated as a relatively autonomous field within the Departments of Economics and Agricultural Economics. The Sociology graduate program emphasized five fields: (1) Social Theory and History, (2) Social Pathology, (3) Rural Sociology, (4) Anthropology, and (5) Social Work. “We do not formally train students for teaching . . . For research we train them by having them do research both in the senior year and in the graduate seminars” (Gillin, 1928).

At the end of Gillin’s six-page response to the ASS questionnaire we see a flash of his personality, half-kidding his friend Luther Bernard but also showing a little petulance—perhaps because the chair, E. A. Ross, pushed off the irksome task of answering the questionnaire on his junior colleague:

Were it not for my high respect for you and the wish to help in this Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences I should have thrown this questionnaire in the waste basket. We are ridden to death with these questionnaires. If anything would induce me to favor the return of capital punishment it would be an increase in the number of such questionnaires (Gillin, 1928).

Academic Publications and Career

Gillin’s work was highly respected within the profession, and he was elected President of the American Sociological Society for 1925-26. Grinnell College conferred an honorary Doctor of Laws degree on him in 1930 (“Gillin, John Lewis,” 1966, p. 105).

Gillin wrote many books and articles, including a number of textbooks that went through several editions: *Outlines of Sociology* (with Frank W. Blackmar), *Poverty and Dependency; Their Relief and Prevention, Criminology and Penology, Social Pathology, Cultural Sociology* (with his son John Philip Gillin), and *Social Problems* (with Clarence Dittmer, Roy Colbert, and Norman Kastler). Odom estimated that a quarter million copies of his textbooks and monographs were sold.

His reputation rested mainly on his work in criminology and penology, and he devoted a great deal of his time as an adviser, consultant, administrator, and advocate for reforms in the state penal system. Gillin’s career really linked sociology with social work and social policy, and his work in public

service was a defining part of his life. He was Director of the Department of Civilian Relief in the Central Division of the American Red Cross from 1917 to 1919 during World War I. As the Director of the Red Cross' Education Service in 1921 and 1922 he consulted widely with institutions in many regions and tirelessly advocated raising the standards of public welfare and improving the training of social workers (Odom, p. 136). He was a member of the Executive Committee of the National Conference of Social Work and later was given a life membership in the organization and presented with a plaque recognizing his 50 years of active membership. Gillin also edited the Century Social Workers Library Series.

Gillin was President of the Wisconsin State Conference of Charities and Corrections. In 1927 he was a member of the Madison Police Commission, and subsequently he served on the committee that wrote the Wisconsin State Probation and Parole Act ("Gillin, John Lewis," 1966, p. 105). He also served as chair of the State Pardon Board and fervently opposed a bill that would have established capital punishment in Wisconsin. He also did work on the problems of the aged and helped Cleveland, Ohio, to conduct a recreational survey and design playground and community center programs ("Gillin, John Lewis," 1966, p. 106). Late in his life at the age of 84 he was appointed by Governor Walter Kohler to be program chairman for the Governor's Conference on an Aging Population held in June, 1956 (UW Archives 24/9/3, Box 80, Sociology, Feb. 3, 1956).

Gillin had a number of important committee positions within the professional social science organizations—Chairman of the Research Committee of the American Sociological Society, Chairman of the Advisory Committee of the Social Science Research Council, which was delegated to study the advisability of making a scientific study of the effects of prohibition, and Chairman of the SSRC Advisory Committee on Crime (Gillin, 1928).

Gillin's 1921 text, *Poverty and Dependency; Their Relief and Prevention*, was a progressive analysis of the problem of poverty. He regarded illness and unemployment as among the most serious causes of poverty. To deal with unemployment he advocated a number of progressive measures, some of which were only reluctantly adopted by Franklin Roosevelt in the New Deal fifteen years later:

The problem must be attacked at its source through the stabilization of industry, the dovetailing of one seasonal industry with another in a different season, a widespread and carefully managed system of employment exchanges, carefully guarded from the sinister influence of

politics, manned by experts in labor placement, and closely connected with charitable agencies of the best sort to weed out and care for the unemployable. The labor exchange must be closely tied up with a system of unemployment insurance to tide over those who are desirous of working, and to prevent that personal and family demoralization which inevitably follows inability to find work and a lack of income (Gillin, 1921, p. 483).

He believed that young people should be given better training to develop employable skills for the job market. He also favored workmen's health insurance to cushion the effects of illness on dependency, as well as state programs and institutions to provide for the custody, care, and rehabilitation of the unemployable.

In 1927-1928 Gillin received a grant from the Social Science Research Council that enabled him to spend a year traveling around the world investigating experiments in prisoner rehabilitation in other countries. He found that some of the most advanced and promising experiments were being carried out in "unexpected" countries, including Ceylon, the Philippines, Japan, India, Switzerland, and Belgium, as well as in England and the United States. He was especially taken with the Iwahig penal colony on the island of Palawan in the Philippines, an 84,000-acre tract that had been drained and transformed into valuable agricultural land by the prisoners. The prisoners lived with their wives and children in the colony. The children attended school there, and the prisoners received half of the income from their farming, livestock, fishing, and manufacturing enterprises for the support of their families.

In most cases Gillin found that the one or two valuable new ideas being tried in each country were still enmeshed in a mass of traditions and practices long ago proved worthless or damaging. In the United States he found that the most interesting new approaches were being tried in the South with prison farms and outdoor agricultural labor, especially in Mississippi, Florida, and Alabama, though other aspects of the prisons in these states he considered unjust and inhumane. If he had investigated conditions at the notorious Parchman Farm in Mississippi in greater depth, he might have been less optimistic about the salutary effects of having prisoners work outdoors in farming activities. The historian David Oshinsky has written that "throughout the American South, Parchman Farm is synonymous with punishment and brutality. . . ." (Oshinsky, 1996). The wonderful blues sung by Parchman prisoners and recorded by Alan Lomax amply confirm its inhumanity. The results of Gillin's world-wide survey were published in *Taming the Criminal: Adventures in Penology* (Gillin, 1931; Kelly, 1931, p. 10). Thorsten Sellin criticized the "lurid title," but

welcomed the book as a valuable contribution to comparative penology (Sellin, 1931, p. 236). Gillin's personal views were certainly not in keeping with the unfortunate title he chose. At the end of his tour he told an interviewer,

The re-education of prisoners into cooperative and valued members of the community is the guiding principle of all good prison systems. The prison system motivated by the false theory that prison should be a place of punishment and repression instead of an agency to reorganize the offender's plan of life has been guilty of tyrannies long outgrown in other social institutions. . . . Year after year, half of the men we send to our correctional institutions flunk the course to return again and again. Can we with good grace call these correctional institutions? (UW Archives, 24/2/3 Box 71, Soc-Anth, Oct. 10, 1951).

Gillin was accompanied on his world tour of prisons by his son, John Philip Gillin. At the time of the trip John Philip had just received his bachelor's degree in sociology at Wisconsin. This trip, combined with his previous study with Ralph Linton, and his subsequent study in Germany and England, convinced him to prepare for a career in anthropology. It turned out to be a distinguished career, and he was later elected President of the Society for Applied Anthropology and President of the American Anthropological Association (Reina, 1976). It is a rare instance of both father and son serving as presidents of their scholarly societies in their respective disciplines.

Gillin told an interviewer, "I taught criminology from books at first, until I discovered what bunk was being handed out. Then I went out and studied the men all the theories were written about. What a challenge to our civilization they are!" (UW Archives 24/2/3, Box 71, Sociology, Oct. 10, 1951). In 1930 he received a grant from the University Research Committee and began a study of 486 prisoners selected from a total of about 1700 at Waupun State prison—266 property offenders, 92 murderers, and 128 sex offenders. He compiled records and conducted interviews with each of the prisoners in his sample, as well as 172 noncriminal brothers serving as a control group. He complained that criminology and penology have "too long been descriptive rather than scientific," and he hoped to put the field on a more scientific basis by doing a statistical analysis. He even employed an investigator to visit the home communities of the prisoners and interview relatives, employers, social agencies, courts, police, and acquaintances of the prisoners. He found, however, that these interviews added little of value to what the prisoners told him directly and shed little light on the causes of criminal behavior (Gillin, 1946).

One might say the same of Gillin's whole laborious statistical effort. Gillin compiled 46 tables comparing the three types of prisoners and another 16 tables comparing prisoners with their brothers. The tables were simple cross tabulations with percentages, accompanied by chi square tests of significance and contingency coefficients of association. Almost no sociological studies at that time employed more sophisticated statistical methods, since computers were not yet available to social scientists and even electric calculators were rare. To Gillin's credit, this was probably the most ambitious attempt to construct a large and complex data base by a Wisconsin sociologist prior to Sewell's launching of the Wisconsin Longitudinal Study. Gillin did find some differences among the different types of offenders—for example, in farm background, parental income, and I.Q.—but they revealed little about causation. The statistical comparisons with noncriminal brothers were also of limited value in finding the roots of criminal behavior.

What was basically an atheoretical quantitative exploration actually shed little light on the causes of criminal behavior, and his statistical analysis certainly did not set criminology on a more solid scientific basis. Apparently realizing that the statistical comparisons were not very meaningful, Gillin devoted only 22 pages to his statistical analysis but included 160 pages of detailed case studies of a smaller group of prisoners. Most of his final conclusions are based on his interpretations of the case studies, virtually ignoring the statistical analysis. He believed that most of the men in their youth had suffered severe wounds to their self-esteem—at the hands of parents, step-parents, brothers and sisters, teachers, or neighbors. As he expressed it to an interviewer in later years,

It came as a complete surprise to me that certain circumstances in the life of an individual may be regarded as potentially productive not only of crime but of a specific type of crime. Jealousy, favoritism in the home, disharmony between parents, unwise marriages, all reaped criminal acts. To compensate for their sense of insecurity and inferiority, these men struggled blindly for some kind of social recognition, ending usually in the company of others like themselves (UW Archives 24/2/3 Box 71 Sociology, July, 1952).

The book was not completed until after he retired. It was finally published after monumental effort in 1946 as *The Wisconsin Prisoner: Studies in Crimogenesis*. The massive files of case histories compiled by Gillin and his assistants between 1930 and 1935 are stored in 16 boxes in the UW Archives (Boxes 6-21). Each case history contains information about the prisoner's family, his environment before being sent to prison,

comparisons with a brother if possible, detailed descriptions of his offense, contacts for further information, and sometimes a long autobiography by the prisoner.

Gillin had less radical or progressive views on most topics than his colleague Ross. In his article on Ross' personality he wrote that "some of his colleagues in the sociological field" think that Ross has certain stubborn prejudices, including a negative attitude toward big business and a notion that advertisers influence the editorial columns of newspapers. He does not say so explicitly, but Gillin implies that he may himself be one of those colleagues (Gillin, 1937, p. 539). Nevertheless, both Ross and Gillin insisted that they had an entirely harmonious relationship throughout their careers and never had any significant conflicts. Gillin probably would have been surprised to know that the sociologists in his department 40 or 80 years in the future would agree more with Ross than with himself on these points.

Gillin, like John R. Commons, apparently held some anti-Semitic beliefs, though there is little evidence that they influenced his treatment of Jewish students. Some of his prejudices were evident, however, in a letter he wrote in May, 1939, to C. L. Anspach, the incoming President of Central Michigan College in Mount Pleasant recommending John Useem for a position. Useem was at that time teaching at the University of South Dakota and was just completing his PhD at the University of Wisconsin after earlier studying at Harvard. Gillin recommended him highly but then wrote,

In all fairness to you I must mention the fact that he is Jewish. He manifests, however, none of the unpleasant characteristics of that people, works well with his colleagues and with his students. He is a very promising man (UW Archives 7/33/4 Box 1 Folder A-D, May 1, 1939-Feb. 8, 1940).

President Anspach replied that he was interested in Useem, but he added, "it will be necessary for me to determine what the reaction of the staff will be, due to the fact that he is Jewish." Apparently nothing came of this, and the following July Gillin recommended Useem for an instructorship at Michigan State College in East Lansing. He remained at the University of South Dakota, however, as department chair, and after military service, he returned to the University of Wisconsin as an Associate Professor from 1947 to 1949. He did move to Michigan State University in 1949 and had a distinguished career there, retiring in 1981.

Useem was one of the small group of sociology graduate students at Wisconsin in the mid-1930s. He later recalled,

I was one of the some 36 graduate students who were drawn to Madison in the mid-thirties by this imagery of an exciting intellectual and scholarly academic community. We were not self-conscious of our collective identity, but we constituted part of the first generation of American sociologists to be well trained in the theory and methods which gave us the competency to undertake systematic empirical research in the emerging fields of specialization within sociology (Useem, 1977).

He remembered the third floor of Sterling Hall as “the center of our lives, particularly 325, the statistics lab.” Sam Stouffer and later Tom McCormick made them spend many hours on the calculators in Room 325. The stipend for teaching assistants was only \$600 per year plus tuition in those days, just enough for bare subsistence. The graduate students affectionately called Gillin “Uncle John”—but not to his face. Useem served as Gillin’s teaching assistant, and one of his duties was to lock the door promptly at 8:00 a.m. for Gillin’s early morning class in Bascom Hall. Gillin wanted to keep stragglers out and teach the virtues of punctuality (*Ibid.*)

One person who certainly did not respect Gillin’s work was C. Wright Mills. Gillin was Chair of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology when Mills came to Wisconsin as a graduate student, but shortly after Mills received his PhD in 1942, he published an article in the *American Journal of Sociology* that was highly critical of his former chair: “The Professional Ideology of Social Pathologists” (Mills, 1943). Mills argued that, for all their concern about social reform, the “social pathologists” failed to take into sufficient account structural factors, such as inequality and social stratification, in their analysis of the sources of social problems. He believed that they operated at a very low level of abstraction, dealing with social problems in a theoretically weak and isolated way. They tended to select immediate practical problems that represented deviations from generally accepted social norms, and there was a tendency to consider these as problems of individuals rather than as problems growing out of social structures. These were reasonable criticisms of the passages he selectively quoted, but Mills was not familiar with Gillin’s broader views, which certainly did not discount the effects of social structure. For example, Gillin told an interviewer,

These [prisoners] are the scapegoats on which we load the sins of all of us. . . . Insecurity—that’s the blackest villain we have to fight. We have to counteract not only the personal insecurity that comes from lack of harmony in the home, from poverty and illness, but we have to fight the large-scale insecurities caused by war, industrial revolutions,

mechanized civilizations, and natural calamities (UW Archives 24/2/3 Box 71, Sociology, July, 1952).

Many of those in Madison—especially graduate students, who for the most part thoroughly disliked Mills—saw the article as a gratuitous, ungracious, and self-serving attack on Gillin, their kindly old professor who had a distinguished career as a penal reformer. Horowitz commented on the impact that the article must have made in Madison:

The entire essay must have had a tremendously jarring impact on Gillin—the graduate student annihilating the department chairman. . . . The sting must have been direct, and the atmosphere in the department less than pleasant. What emerges is a picture of Wisconsin sociology as social pathology: small-minded, ruralistic, incapable of dealing with ethnicity; sociology simply living out the ideals of small-town America. It is hard to know whether Mills was seeking ideological or political revenge on his senior sociologists. In any case, it certainly shortened his tenure at Wisconsin, making a permanent appointment impossible (Horowitz, 1983, p. 52).

Indeed, Mills did use far more quotations from Gillin's work than from anyone else's, though the same criticisms might apply to many of the major figures in the field. The article could also be seen as a knife in the back of one of his earlier professors at the University of Texas, Carl M. Rosenquist, even though Rosenquist had written a strong letter of recommendation for Mills to help him get a teaching fellowship at Wisconsin (Horowitz, 1983, p. 23). Rosenquist was one of my teachers also, but I never heard him mention Mills' name or give any response to Mills' criticisms. Among others criticized by Mills in the article were Henry P. Fairchild, Albion W. Small, Charles Horton Cooley, Charles Ellwood, James H. S. Bossard, and Howard W. Odum—some of the leading figures in sociology. Mills was clearly seeking to gain immediate visibility in the field and to impress sociologists like Robert K. Merton, who might help to advance his career. In that he was successful, though he left behind a trail of hard feelings.

Retirement and Death

After E. A. Ross retired in 1937 at the age of 71, Gillin became Chair of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology. He served from 1937 to 1941, at which time he went on leave for a year. In April, 1941, Professors Kolb and Colbert arranged a dinner in honor of Gillin attended by President and Mrs. Dykstra. Gillin remarked, "We had a very pleasant evening . . . and I felt very

much as though I were being bidden good-bye (Gillen to DeVinney, UW Archives, 7/33/4 Box 2). When he returned from his leave Gillin did retire in 1942, also like Ross, at the age of 71. For the next sixteen years, however, he continued to work in his office almost every school day right up to the time of his death. He remained productive, publishing five monographs or new editions of textbooks between 1945 and 1952. In 1951 he was also called back to offer a seminar on “Theories of Personal and Social Disorganization” to ten “hand-picked graduate students.” An admirer commented, “He has so much to give that he should never have retired at all.” His fellow sociologists coined a new term to describe their 81-year-old colleague—“activegenarian.” “I can’t work as many hours as I used to,” Gillin told an interviewer, but a colleague protested, “Don’t let him kid you; he’s done a day’s work by the time most of us get here” (UW Archives, 24/9/3 Box 79, Soc-Anth, Dec. 12, 1952).

Gillin continued to follow a vigorous schedule of work throughout his retirement years for the sheer enjoyment it gave him. He could not get enough of academic life and its rewards:

I’ve had many satisfactions since I came to work on this campus. I’ve been able to teach what I wanted to teach, I’ve had years of close association with young people. Some of my best teaching has been done in this very office, when students came to lay their problems in my lap. I’ve been lucky to find publishers who have allowed me to say what I wanted to say, even though some of my writings have been, to say the least, controversial (UW Archives 24/2/3 Box 71, Sociology, July, 1952).

Bill Sewell said that when he arrived in Madison John Gillin was retired, but he came to his office every working day at 7:00 a.m. until the time of his death (Sewell, 1977). Alan Kerckhoff, who was a student in the early 1950s remembered that “John Gillin, though retired, was always in his office, and he welcomed students, giving them fully of himself (Kerckhoff, 1978).

In October, 1956, Gillin was stricken with angina pectoris due to coronary heart disease (UW Archives 7/33/4 Box 7 Folder Oct. 5, 1956-58, N-Z). He died in Madison, Dec. 8, 1958, at the age of 87 (Becker and Denood, 1959, pp. 562-563). He was buried in Madison in Forest Hill Cemetery (Section 11, Lot 259). His first wife Etta is buried next to him, and his son John Philip Gillin and his son’s wife Helen are buried in another section of the same cemetery.

Becker and Denood, in their obituary for Gillen, wrote that he was a man of great warmth, simplicity, honesty, and firm principle:

Along with these qualities there was an optimism about the possibility of social betterment that is often lacking among modern sociologists. Professor Gillin refused to surrender his hope that man can control at least part of his destiny when goodwill is united with the demonstrable conclusions of social science. He was confident that truth, wherever it may seem to lead, can always be put to use in the betterment of the human lot by those who champion the right and the duty to be humane (H. P. Becker and Denood, 1958)

Other Early Teachers of Sociology in the Wisconsin Department of Political Economy/Economics

Richard T. Ely considered his variety of economics to be intimately related to sociology, and when he was at Johns Hopkins he thought about seeking an endowed chair of “advanced sociology” for himself. When he went to Wisconsin in 1892 he at first taught some courses listed under sociology, including “American Charities and Crime,” “Social Ethics,” and “Socialism.” He established a separate Division of Sociology within his Department of Economics in 1894, and the pioneer sociologist Albion Small, a former student of Ely’s, described him as the “founder of the ‘Christian Sociology’ movement” (Rader, 1966, pp. 63-64).

Special Short-term Lecturers

Eager to increase the national visibility of his new School of Economics, Political Science, and History in what Easterners regarded as a “backwoods” institution on the periphery, Ely immediately arranged to bring in some prominent scholars to deliver courses of special lectures on important social topics (Thwaites, 1900, chap. 11). He was editor of the Thomas Y. Crowell series of social science monographs, so he was in a position to promise serious consideration of publication for a book that might grow out of the lectures.

The two most important special lecturers brought in by Ely were Amos Griswold Warner and Frederick Howard Wines, each of whom delivered a series of lectures that led to the publication of an important book. Amos Griswold Warner (1861-1900) lectured on social welfare policy and the causes of poverty. He had studied economics with Ely at Johns Hopkins University, where he received his PhD in 1888. He was chair of the economics department at the University of Nebraska until 1891, when he accepted a post as Superintendent of Charities for the District of Columbia. While in this post he visited the University of Wisconsin in 1892 and delivered a series of ten lectures on “pauperism.” A 32-page syllabus for the ten lectures was published by the University of Wisconsin (Warner, 1892). Warner expanded this into a monograph on *American Charities* in 1894. It was published in

Ely's Crowell series, and it became a highly influential standard textbook in social work (Warner, 1894).

Warner applied statistical methods to the analysis of welfare cases. He was no friend of welfare payments, arguing that they degraded and pauperized the poor and destroyed the incentive to work: "The more generous public relief, the more likely the poor will prefer it to working." However, he rejected the prevailing view that poverty was due primarily to the personal failings and misconduct of individuals and argued that in most cases it was due to misfortunes caused by society or the environment that were outside the control of the individual. Hence, permanent solutions to poverty could be reached only by targeting the more fundamental sources of the personal hardships. He moved to Stanford University as Professor of Applied Economics and Social Science in 1893, the same year that E. A. Ross joined the Economics Department there, but Warner was in poor health and suffered an early death in 1900.

A series of special lectures on criminology and penology was delivered by Frederick Howard Wines (1838-1912) in 1893. Wines had a Doctor of Laws degree and was Special Agent of the Eleventh US Census on Crime, Pauperism, and Benevolence. He had earlier been Secretary of the National Prison Association and Secretary of the Board of Charities of the State of Illinois. An 11-page syllabus of the course of lectures on *Crime and the Criminal* was published by the University of Wisconsin in 1893 (Wines, 1893). This was expanded into a book, *Punishment and Reformation: An Historical Sketch of the Rise of the Penitentiary System*, in 1895, and it was also published in Ely's Crowell series (Wines, 1895).

Jerome Hall Raymond (1869-1928)

Jerome Hall Raymond was one of the first faculty members at the University of Wisconsin whose primary identity was as a sociologist, though he also worked at times as an economist, political scientist, historian, and academic administrator. He was employed as a Professor of Sociology and Secretary of the University Extension Department between 1895 and 1897, but because he was not a formal member of Ely's department and did not pursue a conventional academic career, he has been virtually forgotten in sociology circles today. Yet at the time he was considered one of the brightest, ablest, and most promising young men of his generation.

Raymond was born in Clinton, Iowa, March 10, 1869, but he moved with his mother to Chicago when he was a small boy. Jerome first worked on the street selling newspapers, but when he was older he became the secretary to Frances E. Willard, the noted leader of the women's suffrage and temperance movement in Evanston. He worked for her from 1887-1889,

but he also began study at Northwestern University in 1888. Because of his intelligence, speed, and efficiency, George M. Pullman, the powerful president of the Pullman Palace Car Company, made him his private secretary from 1889 to 1890. In 1890 and 1891 he traveled to Europe and Asia as the secretary of Bishop James M. Thoburn of the Methodist Episcopal Church, completing a circuit of the globe. He returned to Northwestern in January, 1892 and graduated that year with an A.B. degree. The following year he continued his studies mostly at Northwestern and partly at Johns Hopkins University, receiving an A.M. degree from Northwestern in 1893. He then began doctoral work in sociology and political science at the University of Chicago and received the PhD in 1895. During his doctoral studies at Chicago, he somehow also managed to serve in a number of other positions, though it is not clear how he managed to fit them all into this time frame:

- Lecturer in Economics at Chautauqua
- Professor of History and Political Science at Lawrence University in Appleton, Wisconsin, 1893-1894
- University Extension Lecturer in Sociology and Secretary of the Class-Study Department of the Extension Division of the University of Chicago, 1894-1895
- Editor of the *University Extension Magazine*
- (“Jerome Hall Raymond,” 1936, p. 401; *University Record*, vol. 6, - 1902, p. 241; “Personal Note from Wisconsin University: Jerome Hall Raymond,” 1895, pp. 102-103).

Considering the complex and unusual nature of Raymond’s background, it is not surprising that the various accounts of his life are somewhat confused and inconsistent.

Raymond’s rapid educational advancement is testimony to his intellectual brilliance and boundless energy, and this, plus his experience in the Extension Division of the University of Chicago, probably led to his being hired in Extension at the University of Wisconsin in 1895. Ely himself had been a regular lecturer at Chautauqua until he was accused of radicalism in 1894, and he may have known of Raymond’s reputation as a lecturer through his Chautauqua ties. Raymond must have seemed an ideal candidate to build Wisconsin’s adult education extension program.

Wisconsin was one of the first states to establish institutions for extension and adult education. The Morrill or Land Grant College Act of 1862 established a base for the dissemination of research results to the people of the state, and as early as 1885 the state legislature was making appropriations for the College of Agriculture to establish Farmers’ Institutes. By 1887 the Farmers’ Institutes attracted 50,000 people in 300 sessions across the

state. Teachers' Institutes and Mechanics Institutes followed. In 1891 the University of Wisconsin created three new extension programs—one consisting of lecture courses on general subjects, one providing instruction on mechanical and industrial subjects for working people, and one providing correspondence courses for the public. Regular faculty were expected to participate in the extension and correspondence teaching. It was all part of what later came to be called “The Wisconsin Idea” (“History of UW-Extension” University of Wisconsin Extension Web Site).

Even though Raymond was a part of Extension, we know that regular graduate students on the Madison campus could take courses that he taught. In fact, when Henry C. Taylor was beginning his doctoral study in Ely's department, he was particularly attracted to the general courses in sociology and anthropology that Raymond taught. Raymond was noted as a gifted and captivating lecturer, and Taylor seemed to enjoy these courses even more than the sociology course he took with Ely or the history course he took with Frederick Jackson Turner (Taylor, 1941, p. 196).

Just before starting work at the University of Wisconsin, Raymond married Josephine Hunt Raymond, who had graduated from Northwestern University with a Litt.B. in 1892. She had taught English literature at the State Normal School in Oshkosh, Wisconsin (now the University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh) for two years before her marriage. As soon as the Raymonds moved to Madison Josephine entered the graduate program in English at the University of Wisconsin and earned a Litt.M. in 1897 (“Raymond, Josephine Hunt,” [1976], p. 674). Her 264-page master's thesis was on *The Social Settlement Movement in Chicago*, and it was signed by Richard T. Ely and Frederick Jackson Turner. Ely was very much interested in social welfare policy, and he had commissioned a series of lectures on the subject by Amos Griswold Warner in 1892. Jerome Dowd, who joined the department in 1894 also taught courses on charities and did a little research on settlement houses in Chicago while he was at Wisconsin. Whatever the influences were on Josephine, she made an inspired choice of subject. Her thesis attracted wide attention because of the increasing interest in Jane Addams, who had co-founded Hull House, the first settlement house in America, in Chicago in 1889. Editions of her thesis were published in Poland and India, and as recently as 2010 the thesis was reprinted by Nabu Press in the United States. It is remarkable that a master's thesis is still in print 115 years after it was completed and filed. A book she published in 1946, *The Remembered Face of Ireland*, is also still in print. None of her husband's published works are still in print—but neither are the works of E. A. Ross, John L. Gillin, C. J. Galpin, John H. Kolb, or Howard Becker. *Sic transit gloria mundi*.

Raymond's fame spread quickly, and in 1897, after only two years at the University of Wisconsin, he was offered the presidency of West Virginia

University as well as a position as Professor of Economics and Sociology. He was selected over seventeen other candidates from all parts of the country, and was endorsed by faculty at Johns Hopkins, Princeton, and Yale. He was inaugurated on October 13, 1897, with the presidents of Brown University, the University of Chicago, the University of Wisconsin, Washington and Lee University, Bethany College, and the Western University of Pennsylvania (now the University of Pittsburgh) in attendance. He was 29 years old—the youngest college president in the nation (“West Virginia University,” 1897; Ambler, 1958, p. 313; “Youngest College President,” 1897).

Raymond inaugurated sweeping changes in the university in an attempt to modernize it during his presidency, greatly increasing the faculty, doubling enrollment, and insisting on higher standards of scholarship. He was a strong believer that women should have equal rights in higher education—perhaps influenced by his years of work with the feminist leader Frances E. Willard and by his wife Josephine, who was also an active leader in the women’s suffrage movement. He hired the first women faculty members and added departments of art, music, and domestic science to attract more women students. He started the first summer school and even taught courses on economics and sociological theory himself in a summer session. He created the university’s first course elective system, bringing about more diverse course offerings. He also authorized the first hiring of graduate students to assist faculty in teaching undergraduates. His use of faculty committees to bring about these changes over time aroused more and more hostility from old guard faculty. Finally, in 1901 the university’s board stepped in to investigate the complaints and fired Raymond. Though his tenure lasted only four years, Raymond revitalized the university, and his innovations had a strong influence on other universities, particularly with regard to the place of women in higher education (Ambler, 1958, p. 313; “Jerome Hall Raymond,” 1936, pp. 401-402; Barbara Howe, “History of WVU”).

Raymond went back to the University of Chicago and served as an Associate Professor of Sociology and lecturer in the university extension division between 1901 and 1909. In 1909 he once again assumed a university presidency, this time at Toledo University. He once again made significant changes but only stayed for a year. He moved to Knox College where he was Professor of Economics and Political Science from 1910 to 1912. He was a university extension lecturer at the University of California from 1914-1919, but after that he seems to have devoted himself almost exclusively to lectures and writing for the general public.

Through his career Raymond became more and more focused on adult education, and he was more interested in giving public lectures than in writing academic texts or monographs. It was said that he was most at home on the lecture platform—even more than in the classroom. His wife Josephine

was also active in lecturing to women's clubs, suffrage organizations, university extension societies, and similar organizations. They liked to travel extensively in foreign countries and the United States during a part of each year to keep abreast of current problems and social conditions. ("Jerome Hall Raymond," 1936, pp. 401-402). They made Evanston, Illinois, their home base. Jerome died in Evanston on February 22, 1928, at the age of 58. Josephine continued to live in Evanston and played an active role in the community's life, which merited her a place in the *Woman's Who's Who of America*.

Balthasar Henry Meyer (1866-1954)

The first person hired by Ely with Sociology in his academic title was Balthasar H. Meyer. He was born in Cedarburg, Wisconsin, and received bachelor's degrees at both Oshkosh State Normal School and the University of Wisconsin. After studying at the University of Berlin in 1894-1895, he returned to the University of Wisconsin and completed a PhD in 1897. He was appointed Instructor in Sociology in the Department of Political Economy in 1897 and was promoted to Assistant Professor of Sociology in 1899. He was promoted again in 1900 to Professor of Political Economy, and from that point on his work was primarily in economics. It is thought that he taught the first course on insurance in the United States ("Balthasar H. Meyer," *Wikipedia*), but his primary specialty was the economics of transportation and railroads, and he published many books and articles in this area during his career.

In 1905 Meyer was granted leave to serve on the Wisconsin Railroad Commission, and he became Chair of the Commission between 1907 and 1910. In 1910 President William Howard Taft appointed him to the Interstate Commerce Commission and he was reappointed to successive terms by Presidents Wilson, Coolidge, Hoover, and Franklin Roosevelt until his retirement in 1939. He stayed on in Washington, DC as a consultant and mediator for the transportation industry and never returned to the University of Wisconsin ("Meyer, Balthasar Henry," *Dictionary of Wisconsin History*). He died in Washington, DC in 1954 at the age of 87, and is buried in New Haven Cemetery, New Haven, Missouri.

Thomas Sewall Adams (1873-1933)

Thomas Sewall Adams was born in Baltimore and earned a PhD at Johns Hopkins University in 1899. He joined the Wisconsin department as an Assistant Professor of Economics and Statistics in 1902. In 1908 he became Professor of Political Economy (Lampman, 1993, p. 260). He was always

primarily an economist with a special interest in taxation, but he taught a sociology course in social statistics at the beginning of his career (UW Archives 7/33/4, Box 18, Gillin's History of the Department). He was also recruited by Ely to coauthor a textbook on labor problems with Helen L. Sumner (1876-1933), who at the time was an Honorary Fellow in Political Economy. They published *Labor Problems: A Textbook* in 1905. It had a very broad scope and was as much sociological as economic in its viewpoint and analysis.

Adams lived at 14 N. Prospect, not far from Ely's house. Between 1911 and 1915 Adams was a member of the Wisconsin State Tax Commission and participated in drafting many of the state's tax laws. In 1915 he moved to Yale University as a Professor of Political Economy and built a national and international reputation in the area of tax policy. He served as an adviser to the U.S. Treasury between 1917 and 1933 and had a great influence on national tax policy during World War I and the postwar period ("Adams, Thomas Sewall," *Dictionary of Wisconsin History*). He died in New Haven, Connecticut, in 1933 at the early age of 59.

Helen Laura Sumner Woodbury (1876-1933)

Helen L. Sumner (Woodbury, after she married in 1918) never had a regular faculty appointment in the department—I suspect because of her gender—but she played a very important role within the group that established the University of Wisconsin as the premier center for labor research for a period that lasted decades. She was born in Sheboygan, Wisconsin, but moved to Durango, Colorado, at the age of five when her district attorney father was appointed a judge there. Durango was a lawless, wild and wooly mining town founded by the Denver and Rio Grande Railway a few months earlier in the Animas Valley. Dubbed "the City in the Wilderness," it had some 200 residents and 20 saloons in 1881. The Sumner family also homesteaded on a ranch for eight months in Colorado's Montezuma Valley, and later moved to Denver, where Helen attended East Denver High School (Olson, 1971, pp. 650-651).

Helen was admitted to Wellesley College in Massachusetts and as an undergraduate student became interested in social and economic questions. She was able to study with a remarkable collection of women social activists on the faculty there: Katharine Coman (economics and history), Vida D. Scudder and Katharine Lee Bates (literature), Emily Greene Balch (economics), and Mary Whiton Calkins (psychology and philosophy). Helen joined in, publishing a novel defending the free silver doctrine in 1896 during the time of the Bryan presidential campaign—*The White Slave; or "The Cross of Gold."* She also participated in the College Settlements Association and graduated with an A.B. in 1898 (Olson, 1972, pp. 650-651).

Sumner began graduate study at the University of Wisconsin in February, 1902—in political economy with Ely and Commons and in history with Frederick Jackson Turner and Ulrich B. Phillips. She also served as secretary to Ely. Studying with Ely and Commons deepened her commitment to the labor movement but did nothing to dampen her feminist ardor. Commons arranged for her to be appointed an honorary fellow in political economy from 1904-1906, and she contributed a chapter to Commons' edited volume on *Trade Unionism and Labor Problems* (1905) as well as coauthored a textbook on *Labor Problems* with Thomas Sewall Adams in 1905. She took time out in 1906-1907 to carry out a fifteen-month research project on women's suffrage in Colorado for the Collegiate Equal Suffrage League of New York State. She later published her report as a book, *Equal Suffrage*, in 1909. She was just as committed to the woman's suffrage movement and to feminist causes as to the labor movement, and later in 1913 marched in suffrage parades in Washington (Olson, 1971, p. 651).

She returned to the University of Wisconsin and began to collaborate with Commons as a researcher in the American Bureau of Industrial Research at the university. She helped edit the 11-volume series, *A Documentary History of American Industrial Society*, which was published in 1910-1911. She worked particularly on volumes V and VI on the labor movement from 1820 to 1840, and her work on this period enabled her to complete a dissertation on "The Labor Movement in America, 1827-1837." She was granted a PhD in political economy and American history in 1908. A revision of her dissertation was incorporated in revised form in Commons' *History of Labor in the United States* published in 1918, with several of Commons' protégés, including David J. Saposs, E. G. Mittleman, H. E. Hoagland, John B. Andres, and Selig Perlman, listed as co-authors. The book also incorporated Sumner's pioneering "History of Women in Industry in the United States," published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics in 1910, so she was responsible for a substantial proportion of the book, but she was given no co-authorship credit (Olson, 1971, p. 651).

Sumner had worked as a correspondence course instructor at Wisconsin in 1907-1908, something that she did not find attractive, but, unlike a number of gifted male students in the Political Economy Department, she was never offered a regular faculty appointment. Sumner's employment with Commons ended in 1909, and for the next four years she did not find employment commensurate with her training and ability. In a letter to Commons on April 3, 1910, she confided that her ambition was to write a history of industrial democracy in the United States:

I have been looking forward to that for years, and shall never be satisfied until I have realized my dreams. And nothing would please me more

than to have the opportunity of working with you as we worked from 1905 to 1906 when we laid the foundation for the whole study of labor history. I look back upon that year as, in many respects, the most profitable of my life. My ambition, however, is to be . . . an author (Commons papers, quoted by Olson, 1971, p. 651).

Commons, however, offered her nothing more than marginal temporary employment on his labor history, so she moved to Washington, D.C. and took contract jobs with various Federal agencies. One of her first important assignments was to travel to Europe and study industrial courts for the Bureau of Labor Statistics. She produced a report, "Industrial Courts in France, Germany, and Switzerland" in 1910 and became an enthusiastic advocate for the establishment of such courts in America.

In 1913 Sumner joined the newly created United States Children's Bureau, headed by the social reformer Julia Clifford Lathrop, the first woman to head a federal bureau in the United States. By 1915 Sumner rose to become Assistant Chief of the Bureau, but she preferred to work in the investigations division. At the Children's Bureau she published a number of important studies pertaining to child welfare and child labor. In 1918 Robert Morse Woodbury, a Cornell economics PhD, joined the Children's Bureau, and he and Helen Sumner were soon married. Helen then resigned as director of bureau investigations and worked only on contract after that. Helen and Robert collaborated on a notably sophisticated study of *The Working Children of Boston: A Study of Child Labor under a Modern System of Legal Regulation*, which was published in 1922. The Woodburys had no children, and in 1924 they both joined the staff of the Institute of Economics, which later became the Brookings Institution. They retired from the Institute in 1926, but when Helen was appointed Associate Editor of *Social Science Abstracts* in 1928, they moved to New York City. Helen died of heart disease in New York in 1933 at the age of 56 and was buried in Washington's Rock Creek Cemetery (Olson, 1971, p. 652; "Woodbury, Helen Laura Sumner – U.S. Labor History," *Jrank Encyclopedia*; Lobdell, 2000).

Helen Sumner Woodbury was the author of a dozen excellent books and monographs and numerous articles and brief reports dealing with labor history, women's rights, and child welfare during her lifetime. Her work was as much sociological as it was economic, though she retained a self-identity as an economist. She was surely one of the most gifted doctoral students to come out of Ely and Commons' Department of Political Economy during its first two decades. That she was not offered a faculty appointment at Wisconsin seems to me an egregious example of gender discrimination. I might note that in the same period, around 1907-1908, the department also had the opportunity to hire another highly gifted woman—Harriet Boyd-Hawes,

the archeologist wife of the English anthropologist Charles Henry Hawes, who joined the department in 1907. She was much the better of the pair, but apparently she was not even considered for a position and had to be content with being a housewife. They did not remain in Madison long. (See the section on the Hawes couple below.)

Jerome Dowd (1864-1952)

The first faculty member whose primary identity was as a sociologist was Jerome Dowd, hired as a Lecturer in Sociology in 1904. He was born in North Carolina and received an M.A. in 1899 from Trinity College in North Carolina (later renamed Duke University) (Hollen, 1903, p. 9). He served as a Professor of Political Economy and Sociology at Trinity before coming to the University of Wisconsin. He taught courses in general sociology, charities, and corrections in Ely's Department of Political Economy. He also did research in Milwaukee and Chicago on delinquents and on settlement houses, such as Hull House, which had been founded in 1889 (Downer, 1904, p. 114).

During his time at Wisconsin Dowd began an ambitious project to make a "sociological study of mankind from the standpoint of race," and he published the first of three volumes in a "Negro Races" series in 1907 (Dowd, 1907). It was a pedestrian compilation of ethnographic information about West African ethnic groups organized by geographic regions. Unlike many other scholars of that era, he emphasized geographic factors more than biological race in accounting for cultural differences: ". . . each race has its distinctive institutions and special evolution corresponding to the locality in which it lives or has lived." The book was judged adequate for general readers and students but dismissed as of little value to scholars in a review by C. H. Hawes (1908, pp. 442-444), an anthropologist who joined the department just as Dowd was moving to the University of Oklahoma as a Professor of Sociology in 1907. Dowd spent the rest of his career at Oklahoma, where he founded the Departments of Sociology, Anthropology, and Economics. He also played a role in starting the School of Journalism, the College of Business Administration, and the School of Social Work at Oklahoma (Levy, 2005, p. 138).

In 1914 Dowd published a second volume on East and South Africans in his "Negro Races" series that was similar to the first (Dowd, 1914) and in 1926 he finally produced the third volume, *The Negro in American Life* (1926). His examination of African Americans has little of sociological value and is marred throughout by an uncritical acceptance of racist stereotypes and prejudices. For example,

No two Races could possibly offer more striking contrast than the Anglo-American and the Negro. The one has self-reliance, sequestration, Puritan rigor, and an inclination to morbid introspection. The other has a childish spontaneity and nonchalance, and disposition to lean upon any one of strong will and self-assertion (Dowd, 1926, p. 593).

Dowd may have acquired these prejudices growing up in the South in the wake of the Civil War, but he also acknowledged that he was influenced by Ulrich B. Phillips, the historian of slavery who taught at the University of Wisconsin at the same time as Dowd. Phillips became famous—or notorious—for his argument that though slavery was not an efficient or profitable economic system, it was relatively benign in its treatment of the African American slaves. As Fredrickson and Lasch (1967) pointed out, “By compiling instances of the kindness and benevolence of masters, Phillips proved to his satisfaction that slavery was a mild and permissive institution, the primary function of which was not so much to produce a marketable surplus as to ease the accommodation of the lower race into the culture of the higher.” This provoked his critics to compile their own inventories of harsh treatment and atrocities, showing the horrors of slavery.

In a review, Donald Young characterized Dowd’s book as a “biased” work, whose contents “consist largely of poorly selected old material, reprinted (or rephrased) without critical analysis. . . .” (Young, 1928, p. 138). Dowd abandoned efforts to write additional volumes on other races. However, disagreeing with the sometimes derogatory characterizations of Americans by de Tocqueville and other European writers, he published his own *Democracy in America*, mostly in praise of American institutions, in 1921.

Dowd was active in the American Sociological Society from its early years. At the annual meeting in 1909 the Society took up the question of the teaching of sociology for the first time. At the business meeting Dowd offered a motion to “have a committee of ten appointed, including the President of the Sociological Society, to make a report to the next meeting of the Society, consisting of: first, a statement of the subject matter of first courses now given in the colleges of the country; and, second, a suggestion of the subject matter for a fundamental course to serve as a guide to sociological teachers and as a basis for advanced work.” The motion carried, and some of the leading sociologists of the day were appointed: Charles Horton Cooley, Charles A. Ellwood, Henry Pratt Fairchild, Franklin H. Giddings, Edward C. Hayes, Edward Alsworth Ross, Albion W. Small, Ulysses G. Weatherly, James Q. Dealey, and Dowd as chair. In 1911 the committee reported that they had “substantial agreement” on the scope of a fundamental course, but they could not agree on a detailed outline. They suggested that a better approach was simply to communicate to each other their own practices and

preferences, and the remainder of the report consisted only of course outlines from each of the committee members (Rhoades, 1981, pp. 11-12).

Dowd died in 1952 at the age of 88 in Norman, Oklahoma, and is buried in the IOOF Cemetery in Norman.

Charles Henry Hawes (1867-1943)

The first anthropologist to join the Department of Political Economy was not Ralph Linton, as is commonly supposed, but Charles Henry Hawes. He was appointed Lecturer in Anthropology in 1907 and taught both anthropology and sociology courses ("Progress of the University," *Wisconsin Alumni Magazine*, 1907, p. 307; Martindale, 1976, p. 138). Hawes was an Englishman born in London, whose family was engaged in business on the outskirts of London. He married a school teacher who was somewhat older than him, but she died of cancer, and this caused him to change directions in his life. At the age of thirty he entered Trinity College, Cambridge University, and earned B.A. and M.A. degrees. He traveled in France, Belgium, and Switzerland in 1897-1898 and in the Far East (India, Burma, Ceylon, Australia, New Zealand, Philippines, Hong Kong, China, Japan, Siberia, and Sakhalin Island in 1901 ("Diaries of C. H. Hawes, 1887-1935," Bodleian Library, University of Oxford).

Russia and Japan had long been rivals for Sakhalin Island, but in 1901 Russia was in control and they established a penal colony there that was reputed to be their most dreadful. Hawes traveled to Sakhalin with the intention of studying the indigenous peoples of the island—particularly the Ainu. On his arrival the Russian authorities immediately arrested him as a suspected spy, since Russia and Japan were on the brink of war, and it was assumed that Britain would be an ally of Japan. He was kept in custody until he was able to convince the authorities that he was a harmless scientific investigator, and he was finally able to embark on a 600-mile canoe trip to the interior of northern Sakhalin to carry out his research. Afterwards he published an account of his adventures in Sakhalin entitled *In the Uttermost East* (1904) which attracted much attention, largely because of his graphic description of the atrocious conditions in the Russian penal colony. In the 1905 Treaty of Portsmouth, brokered by Theodore Roosevelt (winning him America's first Nobel Prize), Russia agreed to relinquish control of the southern two-fifths of the island to Japan, but retained control of the north. The Soviet Union, and later Russia, reclaimed the entire island as a result of World War II.

In 1903 Hawes went to the island of Crete, "headhunting"—taking measurements of the heads of the inhabitants—for the British Association for the Advancement of Science for the purpose of studying the origins and

movements of peoples. This was a methodology much in vogue among physical anthropologists at the time. He visited the archeological excavations of the Minoan site at Gournia being conducted by Harriet Ann Boyd, an American archeologist, and she helped him with measurements of some of her workmen. Their friendship soon blossomed into a romance, and they were married in 1906. Before the wedding she wrote her cousins, "He's not too much of a Britisher and I'm sure you'll like him when you get used to the accent!" (Allsebrook, 1992, p. 131). He was, in fact, very British, and even after moving to the United States he still always bought his clothes in London and ordered his tea and boot polish from England as well (Allsebrook, 1992, p. 126).

Harriet Boyd-Hawes (1871-1945) was actually the more impressive of the pair. She was born in Boston and received her bachelor's and master's degrees in Classics from Smith College in 1892. After a few years of teaching, in 1896 she decided to pursue her passionate interest in ancient Greece by doing graduate study at the American School of Classical Studies in Athens. When the Greco-Turkish War of 1897 erupted over the status of Crete, Boyd volunteered to work with the Red Cross as a nurse for wounded Greek soldiers. Again, in 1898 she volunteered to do nursing of wounded American soldiers in Tampa during the Spanish-American War, but the war in Cuba ended shortly after she began her duties, so she was able after all to take up her fellowship at the American School in Athens.

After officials at the American School denied her the opportunity to participate in archeological excavations in Corinth because of her gender, she conceived the idea of doing some excavations on her own in Crete, which was a relatively virgin site for archeology. She was able to secure funding from the American Exploration Society of Philadelphia, which was more open to the idea of women in archeology (Dyson, 1998, p. 88). She carried out her first excavations at Kavousi in Crete during four months in 1900, and accepted a position at Smith College that same year teaching Greek archaeology. She went on leave from Smith College between 1901 and 1904 to excavate a more important Minoan site at Gournia in Crete. This was the first major project in Greece or Crete ever directed and published by a woman, and she was the first woman invited to give a series of lectures before the Archaeological Institute of America.

Though her pioneering role in archeology was almost forgotten for a time, today Harriet Boyd Hawes is recognized as one of the "heroines of archaeology" who paved the way for women in the field. In her own time she immediately impressed everyone. This comment by the philosopher William James, who was a fellow passenger on a voyage from Naples to Piraeus in 1905, is particularly revealing:

The best feature of the boat is little Miss Boyd, the Cretan excavatress, from Smith College, a perfect little trump of a thing, who has been through the Greco-Turkish war as nurse (as well as being nurse at Tampa during our Cuban war), and is the simplest, most generally intelligent little thing, who knows Greece by heart and can smooth one's path beautifully (Allsebrook, 1992, p. 124).

The Hawes' first child was born in New York at the end of 1906, bringing to an end Harriet's career as a field archeologist. Henry then accepted a position as Lecturer in Anthropology at the University of Wisconsin in 1907. Their finances were strained because of Henry's meager salary and Harriet's expenses in publishing the record of her work at Gournia with expensive plates, but Harriet won the \$1,000 first prize when she entered a mystery writing contest sponsored by the *Record-Herald* of Chicago. The two of them also collaborated on a popular book about the new archeological discoveries in Crete entitled *Crete, the Forerunner of Greece* (1909)—a book that was very favorably reviewed. In 1909 Charles went off to Crete again pursuing anthropometric research while Harriet remained behind in England with her young son. In early 1910 Henry received a cable from Dartmouth College asking whether he could come immediately to accept a teaching position, so the family traveled back across the stormy Atlantic in the dead of winter (Allsebrook, 1992, pp. 133-136). At Dartmouth Henry again taught both sociology and anthropology classes. He taught a large class in "Introduction to Sociology" and it was a prerequisite for a class he taught on "Ethnology and Archaeology of America" (MacCurdy, 1919, p. 51).

Harriet was never content to be a mere housewife, and she was active in organizations and giving lectures. In 1910 she received an honorary Doctor of Humane Letters degree from Smith College. When World War I broke out in the Balkans Harriet left her family for five months in 1916 and went to Italy and Greece to bring relief supplies and organize relief services for Serbian refugees—both civilian and military. When the United States entered the war she organized a volunteer unit of Smith College women to carry out relief services in French villages near the front lines, and she later worked for the Red Cross as a nurse for refugees and wounded American soldiers for the Red Cross. Henry had just been promoted to Professor at Dartmouth, and he used his sabbatical to go to England to help with the war effort also. At the end of the war Henry took a position as Bursar and later Associate Director of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, which had a very strong collection of Greek and classical art. Harriet took a position at Wellesley College and lectured on the history of ancient art for the next sixteen years. On their retirement in 1936, they moved to Washington, DC, where Henry died December 13, 1943. Harriet lived on until

March 31, 1945, active in political causes for justice to the end (Allsebrook, 1992, pp. 133-226).

Clarence Gus Dittmer (1885-1950)

Clarence G. Dittmer was born in Augusta, Wisconsin, and received his B.A. in 1910 from Hamline College. He earned his PhD in 1921 from the University of Wisconsin. His dissertation was on *A Socioeconomic Survey of Living Conditions in North China*. He joined the faculty at Wisconsin in 1923 as an Instructor in Sociology, later promoted to Assistant Professor (Lampman, 1993, p. 263). He published an *Introduction to Social Statistics* in 1926—the first statistics text by a sociologist at Wisconsin. He left Wisconsin in 1926 and later taught at New York University and retired as Professor Emeritus of Sociology. He died at Antigo, Wisconsin, March 5, 1950 (“Class of 1918,” 1950, p. 30).

Don Divance Lescohier (1883-1961)

Don D. Lescohier was born in Detroit in 1883 to a working class family. His father and his father’s brothers were skilled workers in a stove assembly factory, and they were active members first in a Knights of Labor union and later in an A.F.L. local. His father had only three years of education, and his mother seven. Don was the first person in his extended family, in his neighborhood, and in his high school to go to college. He was able to work his way through college without financial help from his family and received an A.B. and an A.M. degree from Albion College. His younger brother William followed in his footsteps, graduating from Detroit Medical College (now part of Wayne State University) and going on to become President of Parke-Davis and Company of Detroit, at one time the world’s largest pharmaceutical company. After graduating, Lescohier married Ethel Mae Robinson, an Albion classmate.

Lescohier worked briefly as a Methodist minister and in his father-in-law’s dry goods store, but he quickly lost interest in these possible careers. As a teenager he had worked in stove and other factories and had close associations both with active union men and with some management personnel, and he became very much interested in the subject of labor-management relations (Lescohier, 1960, pp. 7-42). He had also lived through the hard times of the 1890s. He wrote in his autobiography, “Those who read accounts of the unrestrained spending of the idle rich and realize how indifferent they were to the sufferings of the masses will understand that the ‘gay nineties’ existed for the few; the black nineties for the many” (Lescohier, 1960, p. 29). Between 1893 and 1896 his own father was completely unemployed for four

months each winter, and he had only two or three days of work per week the balance of the year. From these experiences Don developed a strong sense of social justice and longed to be able to do something to help industrial and agricultural workers.

Lescohier decided to work on a doctorate in economics and intended to go to Northwestern University, but John Gray, the chair of economics at Northwestern advised him that with his interest in labor problems, he would be better off going to Wisconsin and studying with Richard T. Ely, John R. Commons, and E. A. Ross. He did so and studied with each of them, as well as with the other faculty in the department. He seemed to hit it off right away with Commons, and Commons became his primary mentor. When he first arrived Commons told him, "You know more about labor relations than the University will teach you but you need the University to help you understand what you know" (Lescohier, 1960, p. 32). He took a seminar on labor with Commons each semester he was at Wisconsin, but he also took three sociology courses with Ross: general sociology, social psychology, and a seminar on population "which opened a whole new world of social problems to me. I have maintained a continuous interest in population and race problems since that time" (Lescohier, 1960, p. 43). He also enjoyed a non-credit seminar weekly in the Historical Society at which speakers on a great variety of economic, political, and sociological subjects appeared, with "spirited discussion" afterwards.

While he was a graduate student at Wisconsin Lescohier made a field study of working conditions in public utilities in the state, which was published by the Wisconsin Bureau of Labor in 1909. Commons also ran across a newspaper reference to an early labor union known as the Knights of St. Crispin and asked Lescohier to find out what he could about it. He discovered that it was a union of shoe manufacturing workers that originated in Milwaukee in 1867 and soon spread to New York, Massachusetts, Illinois, Ohio, and other states. By 1870 more than 320 "lodges" had been organized with between 30,000 and 60,000 members. It was the largest of all the many unions during the decade after the Civil War, and it won a large proportion of strikes it carried out initially. They were not opposed to the introduction of machines and the factory system, but they strongly opposed the introduction of "green hands" (unskilled workers) to take their jobs at lower wages. They argued that the skilled workers should share in the benefits of the machines and not just the owners. After 1871, however, the union went into steep decline and eventually collapsed. He concluded, "That their efforts failed, like that of most American trades, is the condemnation not of the shoe workers but of our legal and industrial system" (Lescohier, 1910). He later published his monograph as a Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin.

Lescohier left Wisconsin before completing his degree and at the age of 26 took a job as the chief statistician of the Minnesota Department of Labor and Industries. At first he worked primarily doing studies of industrial accidents and safety measures, but later he worked hard to get a workmen's compensation law passed. He was appointed to administer the record system and administrative procedures for workmen's compensation after it passed. He published many government reports on industrial accidents, safety, workmen's compensation, and wages, prices, and rents. While he was working for the Minnesota Department of Labor he also took a part-time job as Professor of Social Studies at Hamline University in St. Paul and taught courses in economics, sociology, and political science over a seven-year period. He also taught a class on "The Social Aspects of Christianity" for a men's group at the Hamline Methodist Church (Lescohier, 1960, pp. 45-51).

After World War I there was a wave of xenophobic feeling against immigrants in America, with many groups seeking to outlaw the use of foreign languages—particularly German—in churches, schools, and public meetings, and to restrict immigration from southern and eastern Europe. The University of Wisconsin's President Charles Van Hise and Dean Edward A. Birge of the College of Letters and Science were resistant to this hysteria, but they believed the University could not ignore the widespread sentiment. Lescohier gave two lectures on labor market problems in Madison in Bascom Hall in July, 1918, and President Van Hise must have heard him. While he was in Madison President Van Hise offered him a position as Associate Professor of Economics to head a new Americanization Program. He accepted and started work at the university the very next month.

Gillin wrote in his 1928 questionnaire that Lescohier was ". . . called to give courses in Americanization and the Race Problem. He now gives one course in sociology entitled 'Immigration and Race Problems'" (Gillin, 1928). According to Lescohier he started the course on "Americanization" in the summer school of 1919, and it was a part of the university curriculum for several years. During the following academic year he began a course on "The American People," which he regarded as a more substantial sociology course dealing with immigration and the composition of the national population, which also lasted for many years (Lescohier, 1960, pp. 53-55). The process of assimilation was a common interest of sociologists during this period after large waves of immigrants had arrived during the previous decades. Lescohier, however, seems to have adopted E.A. Ross' racist views on immigration, advocating reduced immigration from Europe as a way of preventing the reconstitution of a "reserve army" of surplus workers and protecting the jobs, wage levels, and working conditions of present workers. He warned the proposal of some to "reopen our gates to Oriental immigration is

nothing less than suicidal” (Lescohier, 1919, p. 488). It was a reprise of Ross’ fulminations of twenty years earlier.

Don and Ethel had one adopted son and three children born in St. Paul and Madison. All of his children later graduated from the University of Wisconsin in Madison, including his daughter Josephine, who majored in sociology and became a social worker in North Carolina and California (Lescohier, 1960, pp. 52-52). Ethel died in 1946 and Don remarried to Mary Elizabeth Amend (1901-1984) in 1948. Mary had been trained as a journalist and worked with the American Friends Service Committee among the poor in the coal mining area of West Virginia during the depression. After meeting Eleanor Roosevelt, she worked on the Roosevelt re-election campaign of 1936 in New York, and later came to Wisconsin to work with the W.P.A. in Milwaukee and Madison. In 1942 she became the Managing Editor of *Land Economics*, the journal founded by Ely, and continued in that position with an office in the Wisconsin Social Sciences Building for 32 years, until 1974 (Lescohier, 1960, pp. 72-74). She died April 7, 1984, and her ashes were placed in the mausoleum at Forest Hill Cemetery in Madison.

Though he was an Associate Professor at Wisconsin, Lescohier had never written his dissertation. In 1919 over a period of six months he dictated his entire dissertation on “The Labor Market” to his secretary in the Americanization program, and it was published as a book by Macmillan (Lescohier, 1919). He was awarded the PhD in 1920. It was widely used as a textbook in courses on the labor force. It was notable in advocating social insurance as the best method for dealing with unemployment—some fifteen years before Franklin D. Roosevelt reluctantly agreed to include unemployment insurance in the Social Security Act after being pushed repeatedly by his Secretary of Labor, Frances Perkins, the “beating heart” of the New Deal. He started teaching a course on “The Labor Market” in 1920 and he taught it until he retired in 1953. He also started a new course in Personnel Management in 1921 and he taught it for 21 years until it was transferred to the School of Commerce. After World War II enrollment in the course tripled, averaging almost 600 students a semester. He even taught a course, “Human Relations for Engineers” in the Mechanical Engineering Department for three years (Lescohier, 1960, p. 71).

One of the more interesting pieces of research carried out by Lescohier and his assistants in 1923 was a sociological study of labor conditions among wheat harvesters in the big Midwest wheat belt for the U.S. Department of Agriculture. They started out in Fort Worth and moved north following the harvest through Oklahoma, Kansas, Nebraska, South Dakota, and North Dakota. Everywhere they found farmers expressing extreme hostility to the I.W.W. or “Wobblies” and pressuring police to arrest organizers and run off union members. Lescohier and his assistants talked with union leaders,

visited the hobo jungles where most of the workers lived, and mingled with the workers as much as possible. One of his assistants even got arrested in the company of an I.W.W. organizer.

The agricultural section of the I.W.W. had been founded in 1915, and it had been quite successful in attracting members among the homeless, unattached, and extremely poor male migrant agricultural workers. Unlike ordinary industrial unions, they did not seek written labor contracts, but attempted to use strikes and coercive power to gain whatever wage increases they could. Most of the I.W.W. members worked only sporadically, maintaining that the way to destroy capitalism was to deprive capitalists of labor that they could exploit. One worker said, "We don't want an honest day's work for an honest day's pay; we want the abolition of the wage system" (Lescohier, 1923, p. 376). Their numbers were sufficient that sometimes they could stop any worker from accepting a job in the harvest for a local area, and this forced farmers to raise the wage rate until the union permitted the men to work. The implied threat of violence against any worker who went against the I.W.W.'s directions was enough to keep them in line. Inside the hobo jungles the union also maintained discipline among its members. They shared their money in common, and drinking and gambling were forbidden. In one encampment they studied there were 75 men, and only 3 were foreign-born. Lescohier was surprisingly sympathetic to the I.W.W. agricultural workers, concluding that they were too isolated, unattached, and without resources to constitute much of a revolutionary threat:

They are demoralized by our existing social institutions . . . but they are a social tragedy rather than a social menace. They will never be the basis upon which social revolution will rest. . . . The organization has been of some value in society in awakening the homeless, migratory laborers of the Northwest to a desire for a higher economic and social status. . . . The nation cannot avoid what the I.W.W. stands for by forcible suppression of the organization, and should not try. It can avoid revolutionary organization among the workers only by removing the economic and social disadvantages that are the source of revolutionary discontent (Lescohier, 1923, pp. 379-380).

About the same time Nels Anderson, a young sociology graduate student of Robert Park and Ernest Burgess at the University of Chicago, was hanging out with and studying hobos in their jungles in the Chicago area. He published *The Hobo* in 1923—the first field research monograph of a long line that came to characterize the Chicago School of Sociology. It was hailed as the first participant observation study, but it appears that Lescohier and his assistants were doing similar research, though less detailed and nuanced.

In 1924 Mary Anderson, a secretary at the Madison Y.W.C.A., asked Lescohier if he could offer a special summer session course for eight young working women who were not high school graduates and who did not have the credentials for normal entrance to the university. He discussed it with the summer school dean, and the dean approved, provided no college credits would be given. Eight young women did come that summer to be taught by Lescohier, and the experiment worked out well. The project continued each summer, and soon several men who also lacked credentials were included. Lescohier withdrew after three years, but then Selig Perlman became chair of the supervising committee, and he built the program into a summer school program for members of labor unions. It became the School for Workers within the Division of Extension and has continued ever since. It boasts that it is “the oldest, continuously-operating, university-based labor education program” in the United States. The program tries to educate workers about issues of concern in the workplace. Today it offers several hundred programs each year to several thousand union officers, union members, and management representatives, mostly in Wisconsin, but also in other states and even foreign countries. It is an important component of the Wisconsin Idea.

Lescohier became something of a public intellectual, like Ross, writing for the general public as well as for academics. He published articles in *The Atlantic Monthly*, *The American Review*, *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, *La-Follette's Magazine*, and the *Harvard Business Review*. He was invited to appear on a public panel in Chicago in 1932 to debate the question, “Which Offers More for the Future: Communism, Socialism, or Capitalism?” Scott Nearing, a revolutionary Communist (who nevertheless had been kicked out of the American Communist Party for being too independent) argued for Communism and naively maintained that eventually the authoritarian state would wither away. The more sophisticated Norman Thomas upheld the cause of democratic socialism. Lescohier was chosen to defend capitalism and fend off the attacks of his more famous opponents. In my estimation he trounced the doctrinaire Nearing and held his own against Thomas, but only by supporting a reformed capitalism, not the actual capitalism of the day. He conceded that capitalism had produced a maldistribution of wealth, but he believed it could be corrected by use of the graduated income tax and by setting “the labor unions of the country free from the legal disabilities and restraints that have impeded their efforts” (*Which Offers More for the Future*, 1932, p. 53). The radical retort, of course, was that the “ruling class” would prevent such reforms. Lescohier also maintained that as China, India, and other less developed countries become industrialized, developed capitalist countries will no longer be able to dump their surplus production abroad and will have to build the purchasing power of their domestic

market. He was optimistic that capitalist countries would also learn how to prevent economic depressions, but that was whistling in the dark as the country was even then plunging deeper into the Great Depression.

Lescohier retired in 1953 when he reached the mandatory retirement age of 70, after 35 years in the Wisconsin Department of Economics. In his retirement he taught economics courses for a year at Centre College in Danville, Kentucky, and for two years at Marquette University in Milwaukee in the School of Business Administration and the Department of Economics. He published his autobiography in a limited edition in 1960 and died the following year in 1961, with a memorial service conducted at the First Unitarian Society meeting house.

Joyce Oramel Hertzler (1895-1975)

Joyce O. Hertzler was born in Jordan, Minnesota. He received a B.A. at Baldwin-Wallace College in Berea, Ohio, and came to the University of Wisconsin for his M.A. in 1919 and his PhD in 1920. His doctoral dissertation was a history of utopian thought, and he published it as a book in 1923. In 1920-21 he served as an Instructor of Economics in the Wisconsin Department of Economics, and from 1921 to 1923 he taught in the same department as an Instructor of Sociology (Lampman, 1993, p. 264). In 1923 he moved to the University of Nebraska and spent the rest of his career there. He was Chair of the Department of Sociology for twenty-two years, and “came to personify Sociology” at the university. He also presided over the emergence of the Department of Anthropology and the School of Social Work. He played a major role in the founding of the Midwest Sociological Society and was a nominee for President of the American Sociological Society in 1943 (Babchuk, 1976, p. 7).

During his career Hertzler published eleven books on a range of subjects, reflecting his wide-ranging curiosity. These included *Social Institutions* (1929), which was an early version of the functionalism that came to dominate sociology later, and books on population problems, the social thought of ancient civilizations, laughter, and an advanced general text on social processes.

In 1965 Hertzler published *A Sociology of Language*, which was recognized by Roger W. Shuy, the Distinguished Research Professor of Linguistics at Georgetown University, as an important early contribution of sociologists to the emerging field of sociolinguistics (Shuy, 1990, pp. 188-189). Hertzler had no formal training in linguistics and had little interest in the forms of language, the central focus of most of the scholars in linguistics. He warned that the study of language is such a broad field that it is difficult for sociologists, anthropologists, and linguists to have a deep knowledge of each other's disciplines, and hence they are vulnerable to making mistakes

and being harshly criticized by specialists from other areas (Hertzler, 1965, p. 9). Sure enough, Hertzler's book was later savaged in a history of sociolinguistics by Stephen O. Murray, who concluded that Hertzler's work made no significant contribution to the field (Murray, 1994, pp. 424-425). Ironically, Murray is himself a sociologist—not a linguist defending his turf from an interloper. Since Hertzler did no original research in sociolinguistics and did not contribute new theoretical or methodological ideas, Murray is probably right that he was far less important in the history of the field than Stanley Lieberman, who was on the sociology faculty at Wisconsin during the 1960s. Hertzler retired from Nebraska in 1961 but remained productive, publishing three books before his death in 1975.

Philip Hilmore Person (1891-1980)

Philip H. Person received an A.B. degree from Kearney State Teachers College (now the University of Nebraska-Kearney) in 1923. Following this he did graduate work in sociology in the Wisconsin Department of Economics in the 1920s. He completed a master's thesis on *Discrimination Against Foreign Born Residents* in 1925 and a PhD dissertation on *The Penology of Jeremy Bentham* in 1929. He was appointed Instructor of Sociology in the department for 1927-1928 while he was completing his graduate study (Lampman, 1990, p. 266). Afterwards he worked with University of Wisconsin Extension in Milwaukee and remained there until his retirement in 1953. He was regional director of the National Association of County Agricultural Agents and was secretary of the Wisconsin Association of County Agricultural Agents for ten years. He carried forward the progressive traditions of his mentors and was the first president of the Milwaukee Chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union. He was also a charter founder and for twelve years president of the Milwaukee branch of the International Institute of Wisconsin ("The Wisconsin Alumnus Salutes Retiring Faculty Members of 1958," 1958, p. 26). He was active in the Midwest Sociological Society and served as a director representing Wisconsin in 1947 and 1948. He died in 1980 and is buried in Riverside Cemetery, Appleton, Wisconsin.

Early Social Work Instruction

From the very beginning Ely recognized the importance of questions of social welfare and relief, and he himself taught a course on charities and crime. So did Jerome Dowd. After John Gillin arrived in 1912, the department began to give more sustained attention to the need for training students in social work. Finally, the department began to bring in professional social workers—though at a junior level—to teach social work courses. These were all women,

and no doubt most of their students were also young women who saw social work as one of the few professions that was relatively open to their gender.

By far the most important of these teachers of social work was Helen Isabel Clarke (1894-1986). Her mother was a Cherokee from near Wagoner, Oklahoma, but she married a New Yorker, and Helen was born in New Haven, Connecticut ("Alexander Adams Clingan, 1801-1864," n.d. She earned a B.A. degree from Smith College in 1917, and worked as a social worker in settlement houses in New York City. There she also took courses in what later became the Columbia University School of Social Work—the oldest school of social work in the United States. Afterwards she took a job in community planning at the Division Office of the American Red Cross in Chicago (Wood, 1980, p. 67). In 1921 she was recruited by John L. Gillin to come to the University of Wisconsin for the explicit purpose of developing a professional training program in social work at Wisconsin, and she was appointed Instructor of Sociology in the Department of Economics. Gillin had worked with Clarke at the Red Cross after World War I when he was on leave from the university (UW Archives, 24/2/3 Box 71, Soc-Anth, Oct. 10, 1951). The American Red Cross financed her initial appointment in an effort to demonstrate to academic authorities that social work education had a legitimate place in the university curriculum. The demonstration succeeded, and she remained at the University of Wisconsin for the rest of her career. In 1926, however, she took time out to go to the University of Chicago to earn an M.A. degree.

At Wisconsin Clarke taught undergraduate courses in social work and found field placements for students at social service agencies and settlement houses. She had about fifteen students in case work and fifteen in group work in the beginning (Wood, 1980, p. 68). The 1926 Wisconsin *University Bulletin* had a special section that listed courses in social work, with the following preamble:

The demand for trained workers in the different fields of Social Service is greater than can be supplied. The fields include family and child welfare, juvenile protection and probation, mother's pension, medical and psychiatric social work, and the work of school attendance officers, Community Chest executives, and visiting teachers. To help supply this need The Department of Economics has coordinated the courses offered by the University which provide training for Social Work thereby giving students who desire a liberal education the fundamental and technical training which will hasten their preparation for these fields ("Early History and Traditions of the School," n.d.

When Sociology and Anthropology split off from Economics in 1929, the social work courses went along to the new department. By 1940 there

were seven social work courses offered, including 300 hours of field work in local social welfare agencies, but most of the teaching was done by Clarke alone. During the Great Depression the need for social workers became ever greater, but the legislature and the Board of Regents were oddly resistant to the urgent requests for greater funding and more resources for the program. To cope with the rising demand and the lack of adequate financing, Clarke organized workshops and institutes throughout the state to provide short courses, ranging from three days to three weeks, to train several hundred emergency public assistance workers.

In the 1930s Clarke went to Dean George Sellery and asked what were the prospects for a woman without a PhD in the university. He said that the PhD was a useful credential but was not essential. He advised her to write and publish to make up for the lack of a PhD (Wood, 1980, p. 68). She did, publishing *Social Legislation; American laws dealing with family, child, and dependent* in 1940 and *Principles and Practice of Social Work* in 1947. *Social Legislation* was a very impressive 655-page tome, far more ambitious than most PhD dissertations. John R. Commons wrote in a Foreword to the book,

I have seen Helen Clarke's methods of teaching. She is an investigator with her students. They are not routine workers repeating what is told them—they begin their study by learning how to improve the conditions and the attitudes of men, women and children who are most in need of improvement in their homes and in their work. . . . Like everybody who starts with individual cases of need or distress, Miss Clarke realizes that the individual and family are conditioned in their choices and alternatives by the social environment of which they are a part. The science of environment is sociology. The pragmatic part of sociology is administration both of private association and of government, which sets the goals and the opportunities for individuals and associations (Clarke, 1940, p. vii).

Finally, in 1944, as the end of World War II was approaching, the university began to plan an expansion of its social work program. Clarke, however, was passed over and a younger male professor, Arthur P. Miles, who had been a county administrator for the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission and Regional Statistician for the U.S. Social Security Board, was put in charge of the program. Two years later in 1946, after having been given greater resources, Social Work became an independent department with Miles as chair. Still later it became an independent School of Social Work with Miles as director (“Early History and Traditions of the School,” n.d.

The Wisconsin social work program did not grow as rapidly as those of

many other universities and was handicapped in seeking federal funds in the 1940s and 1950s, because it resisted the national trend in social work to adopt a psychiatric model based on Freudian theory. Wisconsin's social work leaders always insisted on maintaining close ties with the social sciences and looking toward the environment as the primary source of the individual's inability to function effectively. There was a heavy emphasis on social science courses in the curriculum. By the late 1960s the influence of the psychiatric model had waned and most schools moved back toward the kind of approach that Wisconsin never abandoned (Wood, 1980, p. 69).

The program has shown immense growth since its early beginnings as an appendage of the Department of Economics and the Department of Sociology and Anthropology. More than 10,000 students have completed bachelor's, master's, and PhD degrees in social work since then ("Alumni—School of Social Work," n.d.). Helen Clarke died in Madison in 1986 at the age of 92 but is buried in Pioneer Memorial Cemetery in Wagoner, Oklahoma, near the graves of her father and mother in what used to be the Cherokee section of Indian Territory.

Helen Clarke was not entirely alone in teaching social work in the 1920s and 1930s. Frances P. Brayton (b. 1886) earned a B.A. degree at Lawrence University in 1908 and did social work in Oshkosh, Wisconsin, as Superintendent of Poor in 1916 and in Grand Rapids, Michigan, as Assistant Secretary of the Federation of Social Agencies in 1920. She was appointed Instructor of Sociology in the Department of Economics to teach social work courses between 1925 and 1927 (Lampman, 1990, p. 266).

A more lasting, but part-time, presence was Elizabeth Yerxa (b. 1884). She had a B.A. from the University of Minnesota and carved out a career as a government official in welfare agencies of the state of Wisconsin. She worked first for the State Board of Control, primarily in the Juvenile Department, and was concerned particularly with giving help to illegitimate children and providing foster homes for children at risk ("State's Social Needs Viewed," 1936, p. 10). She later became Director of the Bureau of Child Welfare in the State Department of Public Welfare, and she participated in the 1940 White House Conference on Children in a Democracy. She was appointed Lecturer in Sociology in 1925 to do part-time teaching of social work, and she continued to teach from time to time at the university through the 1930s (Lampman, 1990, p. 266). She retired from the Wisconsin Department of Public Welfare in 1949 and returned to her family in Minneapolis ("To Retire: Elizabeth Yerxa . . ." 1949, p. 9).

None of the women social workers who taught courses in social work in the Department of Economics or the Department of Sociology and Anthropology was ever given a tenure track appointment as an assistant professor or better.

CHAPTER 7

Charles Josiah Galpin (1864-1947)

Charles J. Galpin was the most humble and self-effacing of the principal notables I have included in this review, but he may well be regarded as the father of rural sociology, the father of human ecology, and the father of empirical research in sociology at Wisconsin. In a Foreword to Galpin's autobiography, T. Lynn Smith paid this tribute to Galpin:

More than is true of any other single person, Dr. Galpin's life history records the evolution of Rural Sociology in America. More than anyone else, he commands the respect and admiration of all people interested in the sociology of rural life. More than any other individual, he stands for American Rural Sociology in the other countries of the world (Galpin, 1938, p. xi).

Early Life, Education, and Career in New York

Galpin was born in Hamilton, New York, in March, 1864. His father was the son of a Virginia farmer, his mother the daughter of a New York farmer, and all but one of his aunts and uncles were farmers. His father attended Divinity School at Colgate University and spent his whole career as a pastor in rural parishes in Michigan and New York. Charles thus spent his childhood entirely in rural areas and attended country schools (Kolb, 1948, p. 132). He was the first child born to any of his father's Colgate classmates and they adopted him as the "class boy." They voted to pay his expenses to send him to college at Colgate.

At Colgate Galpin was a very good athlete and played pitcher on the university baseball team. He wrote that he was "one of the first there to develop the 'curve'," and, like John R. Commons, who played college baseball about the same time at Oberlin, he believed he was one of the very first curveball pitchers (Galpin, 1938, p. 3). Actually, baseball historians believe that a semi-pro player named William Arthur "Candy" Cummings was the first person to throw a curveball in a game in 1867, and the curveball had been growing in popularity ever since, in spite of attempts to outlaw it.

There were no sociology courses at Colgate during the years he

attended—1882-1888—and he did not become focused on any particular field. After finishing college, he married Zoe N. Galpin in 1888. They never had any children. He thought of taking up law in a lawyer's office but then decided to try teaching first. He took a position for three years teaching science and mathematics at a rural secondary school—Union Academy in Belleville, New York. Then he taught history for three years at Kalamazoo College in Michigan, after which he returned to Union Academy in Belleville as Headmaster. He remained there for the next ten years, and he began to develop a deep interest in the life of the village and farm people in the area.

During this 16-year period of teaching, by force of necessity I lost much of my timidity in the presence of people, but fortunately retained a habit of close observation of what was taking place around me, and a spirit of inquiry as to what lay behind public events and public opinion. The school I administered was the real nerve center of the farm community, and the people themselves, rooted in education by choice, were uniquely socialized; and quite unconsciously I fell into step. I was obliged to think and act on matters of community policy touching community behavior (Galpin, 1938, pp. 5-6).

During these years Galpin also became an enthusiastic supporter of the application of science to farming, and he established the first department of agriculture at the high school level in the United States at Union Academy in 1901 (Galpin, 1938, p. 6). He also went on leave to seek further education for himself. He spent a year at Harvard studying with William James, Hugo Münsterberg, Josiah Royce, and George Palmer in the Department of Philosophy. He wrote his master's thesis with James on Ernest Haeckel's writings in support of Darwin's work on evolution. He also spent a summer at Clark University studying anthropology and child and adolescent psychology with G. Stanley Hall (Galpin, 1938, pp. 6-9).

There followed a six-year period of illness that made it impossible for him to continue teaching. Whether it was mental illness or some physical condition, Galpin and his doctors were never able to determine, but he suffered from crippling insomnia. During the period of his illness he bought 40 acres of cutover sandy land in Michigan and sought to farm with very primitive tools. He shed his professional role and became "just a hale fellow with all sorts of persons, all spheres of life, all methods of making a living." His life among the poor farmers in this marginal farming area clearly gave him a greater empathy and understanding of the hard lives of rural people (Galpin, 1938, pp. 9-10).

Galpin and Henry C. Taylor in Wisconsin

When Galpin recovered his health and was able to sleep again, he did not at first want to return to the teaching profession, fearing that his illness might recur from the stress. Instead, one of his brothers persuaded him to undertake the supervision of the building of a dairy plant to process milk in the small town of Delavan in Walworth County, Wisconsin. He became well acquainted with the community and made extensive visits with the dairy farmers in the area. He got the business off the ground and running successfully, but in 1905 he was persuaded by another of his brothers to take a new job in Madison, Wisconsin. His younger brother, Frederic Tower Galpin, had become the minister of the newly reconstructed First Baptist Church on the corner of Dayton and Carroll Streets in 1904. He wanted to develop an active program of participation for the youths in the church, and appointed his brother Charles to be "University Pastor." This was not intended to be a traditional ministerial position, but a new type of role focused on providing social and spiritual counseling to university students. It was, in fact, the first such position ministering to university students in the country (*First Baptist Church of Madison Records, 1833-1966*). Galpin wrote in his autobiography,

The job was so new I had to create the procedure. Quite naturally I drifted into being especially helpful to the pathologic personalities and to those suddenly confronted by crises. I found myself mixing horse sense with what has come to be known as psychiatry. . . . Many of these boys and girls had left the little church back home, and had come to the University without any substitute for home religious nurture (Galpin, 1938, p.13).

While Galpin was serving as a university pastor in Madison he became a close friend of Henry C. Taylor (1873-1969), an agricultural economist in the University of Wisconsin College of Agriculture and an important influence in the development of rural sociology. Taylor was born on a farm near Stockport, Iowa. He first studied at Drake University but continued on at Iowa State College, where he earned a B.S. in agriculture in 1896 and an M.S. in 1898. He then went to the University of Wisconsin where he began doctoral study in the field of economics under the direction of Richard T. Ely. Ely welcomed him with the words, "You are the answer to my prayers," for he was looking for students who were interested in applying economics to the improvement of farmers' lives. At Ely's suggestion, in 1899 Taylor took time off from his studies at Wisconsin to go to Europe for two years to study at the London School of Economics and Political Science, where

he took courses with Beatrice and Sidney Webb, who were friends of Ely (Gilbert and Baker, 1997, p. 294). He also studied with historical economists at the University of Halle-Wittenberg and the University of Berlin. While in England he gathered data for his dissertation on “The Decline of Landowning Farmers in England,” traveling by bicycle to interview at more than one hundred farms and writing his dissertation in a London library.

Taylor returned to Wisconsin to complete his degree in economics in 1902, and his dissertation was published as a 66-page Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin in 1904 (Parsons, 1991). There was no provision in the University of Wisconsin budget for teaching agricultural economics, a brand new field, but as an Ely-protégé Taylor was hired to teach economic geography and economic history. The dean was unsympathetic to new instruction in agricultural economics at first, but gradually Taylor won him over and was authorized to start giving lectures and eventually a course on the economics of farm management for agriculture students. He published the first textbook on agricultural economics, *An Introduction to the Study of Agricultural Economics*, in 1905 in The Citizen’s Library of Economics, Politics, and Sociology edited by Ely. In 1909, to the consternation of Ely, Taylor was successful in breaking off a piece of Ely’s small empire to found the nation’s first Department of Agricultural Economics in the College of Agriculture.

From the beginning of his graduate study at Wisconsin, Taylor had a great interest in sociology as well as economics. He took Ely’s course on “Fundamental Institutions of the Present Socio-Economic Order,” Frederick Jackson Turner’s course on the “History of the West,” as well as courses in general economics and economic history. He was especially attracted, however, to the courses in sociology and anthropology offered by Jerome Hall Raymond. In these courses he read works by Albion W. Small, George E. Vincent, Edward B. Tylor, Augustus Henry Keene, Herbert Spencer, Lester F. Ward, and others. Though Raymond was reputed to be a brilliant lecturer, Taylor became dissatisfied with the lack of solid empirical data in sociology at that time:

I then hoped to find in sociology the general answer to the problem of building a more abundant rural life. . . . The general effect of my studies in the field of sociology, when contrasted with the effect of the courses I was getting in economics and history, was to make me feel that sociology as taught at that time was made up too largely of broad generalizations with limited meaning. As I continued my studies . . . I never lost sight of the human side of the rural problem, but my attention became focused more and more upon the economic conditions and forces affecting the farmer (Taylor, 1941, p. 196).

Galpin and Taylor became acquainted through their work and activities together in the First Baptist Church in Madison. They hit it off together both personally and intellectually and became very close friends. They played handball together, went on long hikes through the countryside, and hunted together. Their conversations were not so much about the economics of farm management and marketing as about broader philosophical issues relating to farming. Galpin had studied with the philosophers William James and Josiah Royce at Harvard, and Taylor had also taken courses in philosophy and psychology in college. Taylor wrote, "These studies, along with a common interest in the problems of everyday life, provided the ground on which Galpin and I met" (Taylor, 1941, p. 196).

Galpin wrote in his autobiography about how his thoughts about rural life began to crystalize in 1910 as a result of these conversations with Taylor:

This friendly exchange of thoughts on rural life and work with a pioneer instructor in the economics of farming proved to be a turning point in my drifting career. . . . He constantly referred to the fact that little was known in a systematic way about the play of social forces in farm life, and virtually nothing as to the metes and bounds of rural communities (Galpin, 1938, p. 14-16).

Meanwhile, others were also concerned about the problems of country life, including President Theodore Roosevelt. Roosevelt appointed a Commission on Country Life in 1908 composed of seven distinguished men—all urban based and middle class—under the chairmanship of Liberty Hyde Bailey, a famed horticulturist at Cornell University. It was funded by a \$5000 grant from the Russell Sage Foundation—not from the government. Roosevelt directed the Commission to analyze the "deficiencies" of agriculture and country life and make recommendations of ways that they could be improved. He emphasized not just increasing the economic efficiency and productivity of farming, but also improving rural social conditions, so that farm families could have a more dignified, satisfying, and attractive life. Roosevelt gave them a four-month deadline to complete their report, and they engaged in a whirlwind of activity to try to accomplish this feat, including holding hearings at thirty different locations across the country and sending out over 500,000 questionnaires to farmers—and receiving back an impressive 115,000. They also asked rural people to organize meetings in local schools to discuss the problems of rural life and to forward reports to the Commission.

The Commission did submit a report within five months on January 23, 1909, but little of the questionnaire data was analyzed or published. The Commission concluded that there were two main problems with country

life. First, farming was not as profitable as it should be, given the labor and energy that the farmer expends and the risks that he takes. Second, the lack of social development and amenities in the countryside makes life there less attractive than it is in urban areas. They went on to make a number of recommendations, but they were fairly obvious ones that the commission members could have made even before they began their hearings and data-gathering. Roosevelt submitted the report to Congress, but it refused to appropriate the money to publish it in volume to permit wide distribution, since it saw Roosevelt's use of commissions as a way of intruding on their authority. They also turned down a request for \$25,000 to permit the Commission to complete its work on the mass of collected data (Peters and Morgan, 2004; Larson and Jones, 1976; Bowers, 1971; Ellsworth, 1960). Over the last half century, the bulk of scholarly opinion has been quite critical of the Country Life Commission, but more recently Peters and Morgan have argued that many of the criticisms were misguided and unfair. They praised its report:

. . . It is deeply democratic and forward looking, even prophetic. Taken as a whole, the report can be seen as one of the first articulations of a broad vision of agricultural sustainability, grounded both in a deep concern for the educational, physical, economic, political, and cultural welfare of rural citizens and communities and in a commitment to the protection of the natural environment (Peters and Morgan, 2004, p. 311).

Taylor was disappointed with the Report of the Commission on Country Life and felt it showed the same kinds of deficiencies he had seen in the works of sociologists. He felt that some research should be started on the social aspects of rural life at the University of Wisconsin, and toward that end he organized an informal seminar that met regularly between February and June, 1910, at his home or at the homes of other members of the seminar. Members of the group included L. C. Gray, J. Clyde Marquis, Thomas L. Harris, and his friend Galpin. They all read the Country Life Commission Report, but they wanted to move beyond it to consider what an agricultural college could contribute to "discover the true character of the rural life problem." Each member of the seminar conducted one meeting, and Galpin was the last to make a presentation.

Galpin had been thinking back to the rural community he knew best—Belleville, New York—where he had lived for sixteen years. He realized that a set of organizations centered in Belleville served to knit the farm families and the village of 600 people into a community. For his presentation he brought a 15 by 24-inch sheet of cardboard on which he sketched a map of



CHARLES JOSIAH GALPIN
(UW ARCHIVES)

the village and the surrounding countryside. He placed a tack in the cardboard for each home and beside it he placed another tack for each relation that home had with some social or economic organization in the area. Taylor later wrote, "When he showed us his chart, we got a very definite impression of the extent to which each home was connected with the social agencies of the community, whether it was the academy, the church, the grange, the Masonic order, the woman's club, or any other organization" (Taylor, 1941, pp. 197-198).

Galpin's presentation greatly stimulated the discussion of the seminar. Taylor spoke to him afterwards and encouraged him to "proceed with the development of his method" in Belleville. During the next

summer Galpin did initiate a more formal study to see which homes plotted on a map participated in the greatest number of organizations (Taylor, 1948, p. 121). He did not go to Belleville himself to compile the data but in 1910 secured the services of the local librarian he knew in Belleville. She spent three months drawing maps and mapping the location of about 300 homes in the village and the surrounding farming area. She also made a roster of all the local organizations—some 27 in number—and determined which households belonged to which organizations. She placed round circles of different colors by each household to represent which organizations each belonged to. Household memberships ranged from 0 to 15 organizations, so in many cases there were long "comet tails" of little circles attached to the houses. She also collected information on whether the families were owners or tenants, were on main roads or back roads, and were on good land or poor land (Galpin, 1938, pp. 16-17; Kolb, 1959, pp. 138-139). Though all of the research had been carried out by the librarian, she was not named and did not receive credit in any of the publications based on the research.

When Galpin examined the maps she prepared, he found that farm tenants were in fewer organizations than farm owners and that those on main roads were active in more organizations than those on back roads. It appeared, though, that the community had definite boundaries and that farmers and villagers were tied together in a single community by the interrelationships stimulated by organizational memberships. This simple ecological study greatly excited Galpin, and he immediately showed it to Taylor. Taylor

was impressed and said, “Galpin, this is a piece of rural social research. Show it to Ross, and see what he says” (Galpin, 1938, pp.17-18). Galpin was disappointed and felt a little intimidated when Ross seemed less impressed, but Taylor invited Galpin to present his paper entitled “The Social Agencies in a Rural Community” before the First Wisconsin Country Life Conference in February, 1911 (Galpin, 1911). He used two lantern slides—one to show the open country and the other to show the village. Since the lantern slides could not show colored dots, black and white symbols on a new set of charts were used. The charts were drawn by an undergraduate student named William Schoenfeld, who later became Dean of the Oregon College of Agriculture. Galpin’s paper and charts as well as other papers presented were published by the College of Agriculture simply as a report of the conference (Taylor, 1941, p. 198).

Galpin Begins Rural Sociology at Wisconsin

After the conference Dean H. L. Russell of the College of Agriculture told Taylor that he would consider a proposal to hire someone to begin work on the study of country life. Taylor was already convinced that his department should start offering courses on “rural social problems and the human life factor in agriculture.” There were some sociology graduate students who could have been hired, but Taylor instead recommended Galpin, a 47-year-old man without a PhD and with no formal training in sociology. Taylor wrote three decades later,

He was chosen not just because he had shown an interest in rural life but because he had shown a spark of originality in his approach to the study of the subject. He had manifested the power to think. He could see the relations of things. He could see the significance of the commonplace. In his thinking he did not start with abstract or imaginary concepts and deduce conclusions from them. He started with elementary facts; he systematized the facts on the basis of known relations. . . . It is easy to find people who can organize and tabulate facts in accordance with an established system. But persons who can plan fact-gathering and fact-organization in a manner to throw new light on an old subject are few and far between (Taylor, 1948, pp. 119-120).

The Dean approved the offer of a half-time appointment to Galpin at a meager salary of \$600 for the 1911-1912 year. Galpin had some misgivings about whether he could handle a stressful teaching role again, but he accepted. When Taylor told him, “Galpin, you are a John the Baptist,” he replied, “I hope that does not mean I will lose my head” (Taylor, 1941, pp. 198-199).

Unmindful of the possibility that disability might return, he plunged into a whirlwind of activity in his new job. In his first year he gave ten speeches to 3,000 people in seven counties, he taught a lecture course on rural life in the Department of Agricultural Economics, he arranged for 23 social surveys of rural communities by residents, he served as Secretary for the Second Wisconsin Country Life Conference, he edited two bulletins, and he carried out a number of other functions. The next year his position was made full-time and he was even more active. In addition to teaching and research, he did heroic duty in extension, spending 41 days away from Madison and delivering 41 speeches on aspects of rural life to 6500 people in 16 counties. During the eight years he remained in the department he continued to work in this fashion, and in 1918 published *Rural Life*, one of the earliest textbooks in rural sociology. Galpin's academic year salary never rose above \$2,150. Taylor marveled at the prodigious amount of valuable work that Galpin did for an incredibly small outlay of funds—a total of only \$19,514 for the entire Rural Life budget over the eight-year period (Taylor, 1948, pp. 124-129). His ability to make a small budget stretch to accomplish far more than could be expected would be called upon again when he moved to Washington, DC.

Taylor was opposed to using the term “rural sociology” to refer to the courses that he asked Galpin to teach, and the term “rural life” was adopted instead. Galpin's office door bore the label “Rural Life,” and the 1911 Staff Directory listed him as a Lecturer on Country Life. Lowry Nelson pointed out that Cornell University and some other institutions showed the same reluctance to embrace the term “rural sociology” in the early years, and it was not until 1939 that Cornell switched from “rural social organization” to “rural sociology.” Nelson suggested that it was partly due to the fact that sociology did not yet have a well-accepted place in the curriculum, partly from the desire to avoid having the field confused with “socialism,” and partly because the term implied merely the study of rural society rather than finding solutions to its problems. Because some rural sociologists were unhappy with the implication that they were something other than real sociologists, he thought that the term might be abandoned someday (Nelson, 1969, pp. 32-33). Increasingly, it is.

Rural Neighborhood Research

Finding no textbook available on the subject, Galpin decided to use the report of Roosevelt's Country Life Commission as the basis for his course on rural life. Galpin also wanted to bring in some research findings from a study of rural life in a Wisconsin community. In August, 1911, he made a trip to Delavan in Walworth County, where he had worked for several months in

1904, to consider making a study similar to the one he had done earlier in Belleville, but with a more systematic collection of data and a greater focus on trade relationships.

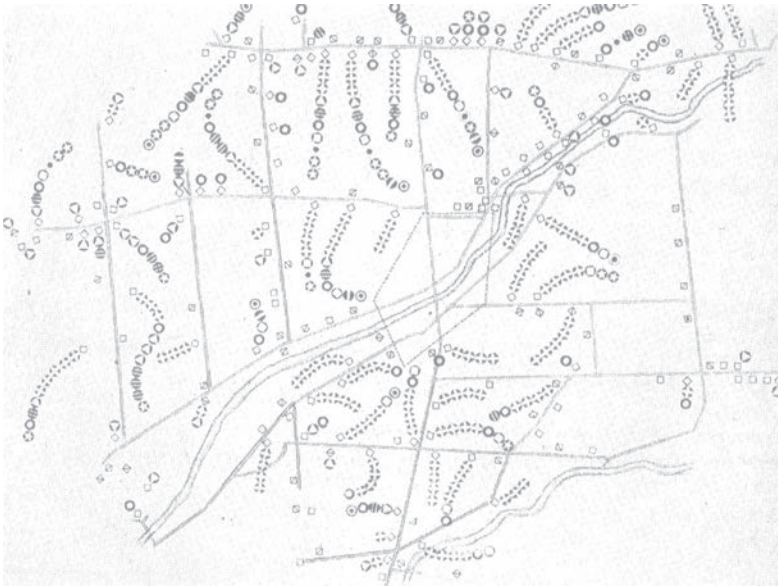
In January, 1912, Galpin published an experiment station bulletin with instructions on how a Wisconsin rural community could conduct a survey similar to his Belleville study, but the procedure he recommended involved direct interviews with families rather than with storekeepers or heads or secretaries of organizations. This was quite different from what was done in the Belleville study. He even included two maps showing the location of the houses in the Belleville area as “samples”: “The two maps herewith represent the total socialization of homes in a rural community as determined by an actual social survey” (Galpin, 1912, p. 10). The maps included ten different symbols indicating different organizational memberships of each family. He did not identify the community, describe the methodology, or give credit to the librarian who gathered and mapped the data. If you examine his maps today, you can readily understand why Ross may not have been impressed, because the maps are loaded with too many different types of data and are interlaced with “comet tails” that make relationships even more difficult to discern. Such are the humble beginnings of empirical research in rural sociology. Fortunately, Galpin was a quick learner and by the time he undertook his Walworth County study he developed a more sophisticated methodology and learned to prepare separate maps for different types of organizational memberships or community ties.

Galpin sold his plan to make a study of Walworth County to Taylor, who then convinced the Dean to fund it with \$400. Galpin had 3000 schedules printed up and a base map was prepared by W. A. Schoenfeld showing each farmhouse in the county, along with the names of families living on farms in each vicinity. He recruited a staff of volunteer interviewers—teachers, high school principals, clergymen, bankers, and librarians—to collect the data, though he did the village of Delavan himself. The helpers did not interview the farmers themselves but went to the leading dry goods merchants, and each grocery, bank, milk factory, village paper, village clergyman, high school principal, and library and asked whether each of the families on the list purchased articles or used services at that establishment. Trade communities and communities based on newspaper circulation, milk processing centers, churches, high schools, and libraries were demarcated on the basis of the data collected (Galpin, 1915, and Galpin, 1938, pp. 23-25).

Galpin began the Walworth County study with the following questions:

Is there such a thing as a rural community? If so, what are its characteristics? Can the farm population as a class be considered a community?

Or can you cut out of the open country any piece, large or small, square, triangular, or irregular in shape and treat the farm families in this section as a community and plan institutions for them? (Galpin, 1915, p. 1)



RURAL NEIGHBORHOODS NEAR BELLEVILLE, NEW YORK (C. J. GALPIN
"A METHOD OF MAKING A SOCIAL SURVEY OF A RURAL COMMUNITY,"
UW AGRIC. EXPERIMENT STATION, CIRCULAR 29, DEC., 1912, P. 8)

It took two years to complete the field work. After gathering, mapping, and analyzing the data, Galpin concluded that distinct rural communities did indeed exist and the people within them were bound together by interrelationships generated by contacts through trade and other organizational memberships. He also coined the term "rurban" to refer to communities with both farm and town or village people bound together through common associations.

The findings were published in a 34-page Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station Research Bulletin 34, "The Social Anatomy of an Agricultural Community," in May, 1915. Before the bulletin went to press Galpin asked E. A. Ross to write a preface to it, and Galpin was delighted that this time Ross was very complimentary: "He pronounced it 'a good example of induction, and as much a discovery as sighting a planet'" (Galpin, 1938, p. 25). H. L. Russell, the Agriculture Dean, however, excised the preface, saying, "What has Ross got to do with anything in the College of Agriculture?" Galpin always regarded Ross as "a friend of Rural Sociology," even though they were in separate departments and colleges. Friendly relations and cooperation in

graduate education between Sociology and Rural Sociology at the University of Wisconsin have continued ever since. More than half a century later Leo F. Schnore in the Department of Sociology so admired Galpin's seminal work that he had the bulletin reprinted, and he passed out copies to his human ecology students.



TRADE COMMUNITIES IN WALWORTH COUNTY, WISCONSIN
(C. J. GALPIN, "THE SOCIAL ANATOMY OF AN AGRICULTURAL COMMUNITY,"
UW AGRIC. EXPERIMENT STATION RESEARCH BULLETIN 34, MAY, 1915, P. 7.)

Six years before Galpin published his bulletin, Charles Horton Cooley expressed similar views in his famous work on primary groups, emphasizing how physical contact and common interests and activities create intimate social bonds:

Of the neighborhood group it may be said, in general, that from the time men found permanent settlement upon the land, down, at least, to the rise of modern industrial cities, it has played a main part in the primary, heart-to-heart life of the people. . . . Where there is a little common interest and activity, kindness grows like weeds by the roadside (Cooley, 1909, pp. 25-26).

Cooley, however, was a theorist who spent virtually his whole life in Ann Arbor, Michigan, and did no empirical research on primary or neighborhood groups. Galpin's research in Walworth County was a major breakthrough in sociology using empirical research to validate theoretical constructs and employing mapping techniques to show the spatial distribution of human interaction. It was a path-breaking study for the field of human ecology, and Robert E. Park of the University of Chicago gave it credit for stimulating him to make his first studies of ecological areas in Chicago (Kolb, 1948, p. 137). The Walworth County study also demonstrated the nature and importance of rural communities, and it began to show relationships among variables, such as wealth and organizational memberships. It really set the agenda for rural sociological research for the next two decades. In fact, this type of ecological study became so popular that it may have delayed rural sociologists from moving on to consider a wider range of questions.

Dean H. L. Russell of the College of Agriculture, who gave support to Galpin's series of studies and bulletins, said, "Professor Galpin has been fortunate in opening a fresh vein of thought that bids fair to be a mine of interesting richness in that it offers a pertinent and tangible foundation for the molding of rural life, not on a basis of separate development where the city and the country are unrelated to each other, but where the two forms of expression are mutually dependent on each other" (Galpin, 1918, pp. ix-x).

Teaching Rural Sociology

Galpin was successful in his teaching and was given a full-time appointment as Instructor in Agricultural Economics in 1912. He said that Taylor pushed his economics students into one or more of his courses on rural life, and "this gave me a chance to graft a little, only a little, mind you, rural social humanism upon some fine rural economic stock" (Galpin, 1938, p. 29). He had an office in Agriculture Hall, for the first three years in the basement—Rooms 51 and 56. In 1914 he was promoted to Assistant Professor of Agricultural Economics and moved up to Room 316 on the third floor, where he enjoyed looking out over Lake Mendota. Agriculture Hall was built in 1902 and has remained largely unaltered ever since. It was added to the National Register of Historic Places in 1985.

Galpin was also very active in publishing a series of Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletins ranging from 15 to 58 pages: *Rural Social Centers in Wisconsin* (1914), *Social Surveys of Rural School Districts* (1914), *Rural Clubs in Wisconsin* (1916), *The Country Church* (1917), *Rural Relations of High Schools* (1918), *The Rural Community Fair* (1919), and *Farm Tenancy* (1919).

There is an interesting story about the country church bulletin. Galpin was greatly inspired when he read Augustus F. Beard's 1909 biography, *The Story of John Frederick Oberlin*. Oberlin (1740-1826) was an Alsatian pastor whose ministry was among the rural poor in the remote and barren Ban-de-la-Roche area in the Vosges mountains on the border of Alsace and Lorraine.



AGRICULTURE HALL, HOME OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY AND COMMUNITY
AND ENVIRONMENTAL SOCIOLOGY SINCE 1911
(R. MIDDLETON, 2011)

His work there earned him a reputation as a “Protestant saint.” Oberlin College was named after him. Galpin wanted to acquaint the rural pastors of Wisconsin with Oberlin’s work in helping his parishioners build schools, build roads and bridges, and improve their agricultural techniques. He prepared a 10,000-word digest of the book, and after eight months of negotiations with the author, he got permission to print and circulate his abridgement. When he sought permission from Dean Russell to publish it, however, “the Dean looked the first page over, and remarked, “This is history. We can’t print history” (Galpin, 1938, p. 27). Henry C. Taylor, his department chair, advised him to get some photographs of Wisconsin country churches, add some material about their social programs, and add a preface on the church as an agent of change and social control. He collected 21 pictures of rural churches, mostly from Dane County, and scattered them through the first 26 pages. Then he added his digest of the biography of Oberlin under the innocuous title “The Life Story of a Great Country Pastor” (Galpin, 1917). He chose as a title for the new manuscript *The Country Church: An*

Economic and Social Force and returned to the Dean, knowing that both the Dean and the Governor must approve all Experiment Station bulletins.

The Dean read the title. “That sounds good,” he said, without looking up, meanwhile turning the pages, looking at the photos. “Wisconsin churches, I see.” “Protestant and Catholic. Good. Let’s get this right through the Governor . . . and into the press at once.” Ten thousand copies went flying free to the clergy, and by special permission I was allowed to sell at cost as many copies as I could. I sold 30,000 copies more (Galpin, 1938, p. 28).

Galpin also initiated many extension activities in an effort to improve rural life in Wisconsin:

My theory was simple: show farm people what other people have done, and constantly praise farm people for what they are doing. Imitation would do the rest. I went anywhere. No place was too remote, too small. I ballyhooed like any circus barker for consolidated schools, social centers, farmers’ clubs, farm and town co-operative effort, county fairs, play days for country schools, school district self-surveys, church interest in social improvement, county country-life conferences (Galpin, 1938, p. 31).



CHARLES J. GALPIN RESIDENCE, 1916-1919, BELLEVUE APARTMENTS,
29 E. WILSON STREET (R. MIDDLETON, 2012)

Galpin's Residence

Galpin and his wife lived in a number of places in Madison, most of which are now gone, but they spent their last few years in the city at the Bellevue Apartments at 29 E. Wilson St., two blocks southeast of the Capitol and backing up against Lake Monona. It was the largest and most expensive apartment building in the city. The building was the last project of the local builder Charles E. Marks, who went bankrupt after spending \$90,000 to construct the 36-unit building. All the units were one-bedroom and ranged from only 650 to 950 square feet, but the building contained all the latest luxuries, including leaded glass bookcases, elaborate woodwork, fireplaces, electric elevators, food service delivered by dumbwaiter from the basement, laundry and trash chutes linked to the basement, a centralized vacuum, refrigerator systems, an early intercom system, and natural light that entered through four shafts running vertically through the building. The building was purchased in 1958 by the family of Karl Paul Link, the University of Wisconsin biochemist who isolated the hemorrhagic factor produced in spoiled sweet clover hay. This led to the development of warfarin and warfarin sodium, which became the leading anti-clotting medications for humans. The current owner is Karl Paul's son Tom, who has spent vast sums to restore and maintain the building, which is now on the National Register of Historic Places. Apartments are still rented out or loaned to progressive groups by Tom Link (Martell, 2011).

Galpin never earned a PhD, but in 1919 he was awarded an honorary Litt.D. degree from Colgate University ("Death Takes Dr. C. J. Galpin, 1947, p. 338). Out of respect, most people referred to him as Dr. Galpin after that.

Galpin and Henry C. Taylor

In the spring of 1919, in the latter days of the Wilson Administration, Henry C. Taylor was brought to Washington DC to become Chief of the Office of Farm Management in the US Department of Agriculture. Taylor could best be described as a progressive who strongly believed in government programs to solve problems. He was certainly not a radical, and he declared that radicalism represented a "pathological condition" that should be diagnosed and prescribed for by an expert (Gilbert and Baker, 1997, p. 298). He was clearly ambitious and eager to try his hand at molding government policy.

I was surprised to see that the economic historian Harry C. McDean used the pejorative term "Social Darwinist" to describe both Taylor and Galpin. He recognized that the term did not quite fit, since it is usually reserved to describe thinkers like Herbert Spencer and William Graham Sumner, who believed in a *laissez-faire* struggle for dominance and survival among

individuals, groups, and classes. Consequently, he labeled them instead as “Reform Social Darwinists”—which is, perhaps, an oxymoron—but he uses the term to suggest that they wanted to use the government to provide aid to the “superior” persons or groups in the social struggle (McDean, March, 1983).

There is an element of evolutionism in Galpin’s 1918 textbook, in which he discusses how the “psychology of farm life” has changed as farming has substituted machine power for muscle power. He believed that hoe culture led to farmers being individualistic, independent, animistic, conservative, and land-minded, and these traits were reinforced and became fixed through a process of inbreeding of the land-minded with the land-minded. The rise of the machine in agriculture, however, is leading to the replacement of the muscle-dominant farmer with a more “cerebral” type of farmer:

The landminded who stay upon the land will be less and less the purely muscular and more and more the cerebral; that is, the variant now escaping from the hoe-farmer’s farmstead will, in all likelihood, begin to take a second look at farming as an occupation admitting of some adventure, curiosity, ingenuity, and possibly profit. . . . ‘If science captures farming,’ the cerebral type of rural engineer will begin to modify rural institutions in accordance with the changing habits of rural thought and action. Presumably as the machine farmer becomes more like other men in the conduct of his occupation, he will become more like other men in his institutions (Galpin, 1918, pp. 50-51).

Galpin saw this as a positive development, but a development that would require extensive rural social reorganization. His textbook, his teaching, and his encouragement of research were all directed toward aiding this reorganization. I do not see any denigration of or hostility toward traditional farmers in his writing, for he believed in the ability and resilience of such farmers. I think it is unfair to characterize him as a “Social Darwinist,” even of the “reform” variety.

There is, however, a much stronger element of “Reform Social Darwinism” in Henry C. Taylor’s work. Take, for example, the following passage in the 1919 edition of Taylor’s widely used textbook, *Agricultural Economics*:

Furthermore, the Darwinian idea of evolution through the struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest when viewed in the light of our present knowledge of the variations in the economic productivity of men leads to the view that it is those who are less capable as producers who are in danger of not being able to make a living in normal times. This means that there is a process of natural selection going on which

tends to eliminate the less efficient, and thus lift the average of human efficiency. The ultimate good resulting from this evolution should not lead to ignoring the suffering of these who are on the lower margin. Society should care for them in a humane way which will not encourage their reproduction. . . . It would seem at times that the inefficient have large families and the efficient small families, and that this militates against progress in the average intelligence of the farming population (H. C. Taylor, 1919, p. 114).

Taylor was born on a farm near Stockport, Iowa, and while he was growing up his father expanded his farm operation from 60 to 600 acres by buying up the farms of early settlers. Taylor had a strong bias against backward chronically unsuccessful farmers and feared that their presence might retard the advancement of the more able and “cerebral” farmers. In addition, he worried that as farmers acquired more education and became more prosperous, they would want more of the finer things in life, which are more accessible in the cities. This might cause a drain of the “higher” type of farmer out the rural areas, and the countryside would become a dumping ground for backward, unintelligent, degenerate, and lazy farmers incapable of advancement (McDean, Winter, 1983, p. 18). Galpin, who was heavily influenced by Taylor, may have shared some of these concerns about the farm-to-city migration, but I see little evidence of the same kind of hostility to the rural poor. He himself had been a poor farmer working with primitive tools on marginal cutover land in Michigan during his six years of insomnia and illness. With his outgoing personality he had warm relationships with rural people wherever he went.

Evidence of Galpin’s supportive views of common farmers appears in some of his speeches. In a speech he gave at the University of West Virginia in 1920, he was still expressing his alarm that “seasoned farmers” were abandoning farming for city life, but he also saw the possibility of farmers building institutions in the countryside that would make rural living more rewarding:

For decades the farmer and his family had been left out of account by everybody except the politicians and retail traders. The farmer was just negligible from a wide social point of view—till Roosevelt discovered the farmer as a social being. Then America found that the occupation of farming had for a century marooned the farmer and his family in a sea of open country and had shut off his world connections! (p. 159) But when farming came to be generally understood to deprive people of the social privileges, and it was found that a constant stream of successful farmers, right at the height of their success on the farm, were leaving the

farming enterprise in order to have a chance at the institutional life of the world, then the American economist points out that agriculture and the whole movement toward scientific farming is being weakened by the withdrawal of the seasoned farmers from the land. (p. 160) . . . But as an antidote for my deepest despair . . . I conjure up to my vivid memory the actual farm men and women of America I have known—men and women who have had faith and courage in farm life. I think of the community of ordinary farmers in which I lived for thirteen years. I recall their masterful maintenance of institutions; the academy, the churches, the grange, the clubs, the cooperative creamery, college bred farmers and farm housewives. And I rise to my feet and say: “The seed is here. The soil is here. Rural organization in America will come.” My hope burns anew. . . . Cheer your heart with faith in the common man and in the common task; faith in the farmer as a thinker and organizer; faith in the native seed of rural social life (p. 164). (Galpin, 1948a).

In a later speech in 1930 at Virginia Polytechnic Institute, he continued to show his faith in common farmers and also expressed some concern about the effects of modernization in the countryside:

Agriculture is and has been the occupation of the yeoman type of man—the commoner, the ordinary run of men and women of normal, all-round instincts and abilities. Agriculture has always been, still is in fact, and probably always will be, an occupation of moderate economic reward. Manual labor in farming is mixed with intellectual effort. This will probably always be the case, in spite of the “machine age” appearing on the horizon of agriculture (p. 165) . . . I believe in a rural culture of its own kind, designed to preserve the farmer and his family in their role. I believe in keeping the farmer liberty-loving, free, independent, so far as may be consistent with a free cooperation by understanding and agreement with his fellows. I believe in a machine farming which does not destroy the farmer in creating production. I believe in many small farms, as well as many large farms (p. 169) . . . My philosophy of rural life, in a nutshell, is this: The nation is always in sore need of a yeomanry, independent, generic, potent. Build up the farmer where he is on his yeoman base. In attempts to improve your yeoman, don’t so metamorphose him that you destroy him . . . Cheer your heart with faith in the common man and in the common task; faith in the farmer as a thinker and organizer; faith in the native seed of rural social life (p.170). (Galpin, 1948b).

Before accepting the appointment to head the Office of Farm Management, Taylor secured the approval of Secretary of Agriculture David Franklin Houston to reorganize the agency. He met secretly with twenty-six of the nation's leading agricultural economists as well as Assistant Secretary of Agriculture J. L. Christie, and they agreed that seven departments should be established—cost analysis, finance, labor, land economics, economic geography and history, farm life, and farm organization. Taylor's primary objective was to push noneconomists and agronomists into the single department of farm organization or out of the organization entirely, leaving the agency almost entirely in the hands of agricultural economists. He intended to appoint his friend and Wisconsin colleague, C. J. Galpin, however, to head the farm life department (McDean, Jan., 1983, pp. 65-71).

Galpin in Washington

Galpin had spent part of the year 1917-1918 on leave from the University of Wisconsin to do war camp community work, but finding the work unfruitful, he returned to the university in November. In April, 1918, Taylor offered him a position heading a new division in the Office of Farm Management at double his university salary. Both Dean Russell and President Edward A. Birge tried to get him to stay. They promoted him to Associate Professor of Agricultural Economics, and they offered to meet the salary offer of the US Department of Agriculture (Taylor, 1941, pp. 201-202). Galpin, however, accepted the offer of the new job in Washington. He explained in his autobiography,

The one big inducement to go was Taylor. He was going. I would still be with him. The arguments put up by Dean Russell and President Birge, were all absolutely valid. But I was harnessed up emotionally with Taylor, and sink or swim, I would stay with Taylor (Galpin, 1938, p. 35).

I believe he also had a strong desire to work on a wider stage to encourage sociological research on the problems of rural life in universities and agricultural experiment stations across the country. He continued to do this for the rest of his career—long after his friend Henry Taylor was forced out of his Washington job.

Secretary Houston appointed a group of twenty-eight "rural life leaders" to meet in Washington on May 1-3, 1919, "to consider the subject of farm life studies as one of the divisions of research work of the proposed Bureau of Farm Management and Farm Economics." Galpin was a member of the committee, as were Henry C. Taylor and many of the leading scholars in the field of rural sociology, including Dwight Sanderson, Bradford Knapp,

Thomas N. Carver, Alfred C. True, Oliver E. Baker, and A. M. Loomis (C. C. Taylor, 1948b). McDean summarized their thinking based on unpublished committee documents in the National Archives:

Together the committee voiced its concern that “the more intelligent and able members of the [farm] community” were moving to the city. The elite farmers made this move because the cities offered “the arts and institutions of modern civilization” that had yet to develop in the countryside. This flow of talent left behind on the nation’s farms those who were “less capable and less cultured.” Should this migration pattern continue uninterrupted, a cycle of “cultural and racial decay” would lock into the countryside. . . . Arguing that a Division of Farm Life Studies was essential to the Bureau, these social scientists declared that the division could help elite farmers establish “many farm life organizations” that together could “promote a better farming, better living, and clearer thinking. . . .” This new rural life would halt the movement “into the cities” of the superior farmers (McDean, Jan., 1983, pp. 71-72).

Secretary Houston accepted the committee’s recommendation to form a Division of Farm Life Studies, and Galpin was formally appointed to head the new Division. The agency was soon renamed the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, and was known by that name for most of its 34-year life. Galpin bought a place on Little Falls Street in Falls Church, Virginia, only a mile from his grandfather’s old farm, and settled into devising a program of action for his new agency.

Taylor was a master of bureaucratic infighting and was able to consolidate control of his agency and purge most noneconomists in short order. He was aided by the appointment of a sympathetic Secretary of Agriculture, Henry C. Wallace, in 1921. Taylor was, however, somewhat abrasive in personal contacts and was called “Red” by some of his friends because of his quick temper. Curiously for someone in his position, he had a generally low opinion of farmers and was injudicious enough to express his feelings in public. He wrote about trends toward “racial degeneration” among rural people, and he got into trouble several times when he expressed such views when testifying before Congressional committees. According to a transcript in the archives, quoted by McDean,

One such occasion prompted Frank Harrison, assistant to Secretary of Agriculture Edwin Meredith, to admonish Taylor privately for speaking “of the inferiority of farm people in general.” Taylor was told: “That is a very dangerous thing, especially before a [congressional agriculture] committee . . . when we are trying to get funds.” Harrison claimed too

many farm state politicians think like Senator Gilbert N. Haugen and believe “that the people out west are just as good as anyone else” (McDean, Jan., 1983, p. 74).

Finally, in 1922, Agriculture Secretary Henry C. Wallace and Taylor were able to win funding from Congress that permitted them to found the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, which superseded Taylor’s former agency. The Division of Farm Population and Rural Life went along to become a part of the new BAE.

Galpin assumed office on May 14, 1919. His first budget for the fiscal year 1919-1920 was a meager \$20,390, which supported a staff of only four professionals and one clerk. His agency was never to have a large budget or staff. His largest budget was in 1929-1930, which supported five full-time professionals (C. C. Taylor, 1948b, pp. 147, 153).

He immediately set out to organize and finance a series of studies of successful community enterprises. He had an antipathy toward the numerous writings about the “defects, petty frailties, peccadillos, and shortcomings” of rural life and wished to point out “the good things in American rural life and tell the stories of how they were accomplished” (C. C. Taylor, 1948b, pp. 147-148).

One of Galpin’s most important and influential accomplishments was among the first tasks he undertook in Washington—initiating a census of agriculture in the 1920 Federal Census. He got his questions into the census instrument just under the wire, but was later dismayed when the Census Bureau, running short of funds, decided to tabulate the farm and agriculture data only for states and for only a few simple characteristics—not the full data for counties. Galpin’s protests were ignored, so he decided to publish a demonstration of what an agriculture census should be by carrying out a full set of tabulations for eight widely scattered counties in the 1920 Census. The Census Bureau printed 3,000 copies of a special bulletin with the county tabulations, and this created a demand for more detailed information for the whole country. The Census of Agriculture of 1925 and of 1930 included tabulations by counties for the whole country (Galpin, 1938, pp. 38-47).

When Galpin first arrived in Washington little research on rural life and conditions was being done in colleges and universities. After making his first tour of state colleges of agriculture, Galpin developed a program of cooperative research agreements with colleges of agriculture to encourage rural research. He wrote that he believed,

Each college of agriculture should have a man and finally a staff whose business was to come to know more and more perfectly the farm life of his state These key rural-life men in the states would be the eyes,

fingers, and ears of the Federal unit of rural-life research (Galpin, 1938, p. 39).

Galpin, however, made little progress in persuading Colleges of Agriculture to add rural sociologists to their staff:

As I talked with the deans and directors of experiment stations, I failed to interpret correctly the glassy look of boredom that stole into their eyes, gently masked by a fine courtesy. When their interest failed to kindle, I thought it a perverse hardness of heart. Little then did I suspect that it might take 50 years to get the seed of rural sociology planted and growing in all the state colleges of agriculture (Galpin, 1938, p. 40).

To make his Division's research budget stretch farther and stimulate research on rural life as widely as possible, Galpin began a program of cooperative research grants, which funded research by social scientists at state agricultural experiment stations under the loose supervision of Galpin's Division. The first cooperative project agreement was signed in February, 1920, with the Agricultural Experiment Station of West Virginia, where the Director of Extension was Nat T. Frame, one of Galpin's former students at Belleville Academy. Six more cooperative projects were also initiated that year—studies of farm tenancy in Missouri, Nebraska, and Iowa, and studies of rural social groupings in Wisconsin, New York, and Montana. In the next two years cooperative projects were continued on social groups and new ones begun on villages, trade centers, institutions, farmers' standards of living, and attitudes. By the time of his retirement in 1934 more than a score of publications on locality groups had been published as a result of cooperative research projects (Larson and Zimmerman, 2003, p. 91). These were stimulated directly by his own pioneering study in Walworth County.

As Carl Taylor wrote, Galpin "promoted research and rural sociology by the leavening and stimulating process and accomplished exceedingly large results with exceedingly small expenditure of funds" (C. C. Taylor, 1948b, p. 153). By 1934 the Division had engaged in cooperative research with 48 colleges and universities in 37 states. It had also conducted its own studies directly in 43 states—outside of cooperative agreements with other institutions. Some 217 research studies were made and published, 101 by cooperating institutions in the states, and another 21 bulletins and 95 mimeographed reports were published directly by the Division. Furthermore, Galpin himself made 160 speeches and others on his staff made 31 speeches in 32 states to proselytize on behalf of rural sociology (C. C. Taylor, 1948b, pp. 148-149, 154).

Henry C. Taylor tried to protect Galpin's small division, but it was

constantly under threat of elimination or sharp budget cuts. In 1925, however, Galpin lost his protector. Agriculture Secretary Henry C. Wallace, who had been a sympathetic ally of Taylor, died in 1924, and President Calvin Coolidge, who had succeeded President Warren G. Harding the year before, had different views on farm policy. Coolidge was influenced particularly by business-minded Herbert Hoover, his Secretary of Commerce. Hoover and Taylor were involved in an angry dispute over whether the Department of Commerce or the BAE should have the primary responsibility of collecting agricultural information from around the world. Responding to pressure from business leaders, Coolidge and Hoover were also strongly opposed to the McNary-Haugen bill, and they both suspected that Taylor was one of the bill's strong proponents. Taylor denied that he was a partisan on the issue, but the newly appointed Secretary of Agriculture, William M. Jardine, publicly fired Taylor in 1925 on specific orders from Coolidge (Taylor, 1992).

Taylor was very angry and made several speeches in Iowa complaining that the Coolidge Administration was not interested in the welfare of farm people but only in cheap food for urban workers. Taylor then went back to work at Richard T. Ely's Institute for Research in Land Economics, which had by then moved to Evanston (Gilbert and Baker, 1997, p. 299). He was still the most influential agricultural economist in the country and was generally regarded as the founder of the field. Though his career in Washington lasted only six years, he had a major impact on the organization and functions of the USDA and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. Six of the divisions within the BAE were headed by Taylor's Wisconsin protégés (Gilbert and Baker, 1997, p. 301). He went on to serve in many influential positions after he left Washington, most particularly as the Managing Director of the Farm Foundation after 1935. Kenneth H. Parsons, a later agricultural economist at Wisconsin, described him as "the dean of agricultural economics worldwide; probably no other person influenced the shape of the agricultural economics profession as much as he did" (Parsons, 1991; C. C. Jones, 1958; Penn, 1969).

After Henry C. Taylor's departure Galpin was unable to secure gains in resources during his remaining years as head of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life. In fact, there were sharp budget and staff cuts. Galpin hung on, but became more cautious.

Galpin was the first rural sociologist to play an active role in the international agriculture scene. He made his first trip to Europe in the summer of 1896 when he was 32 years old. He took two of his rural students from Belleville Academy on a summer walking tour through England, Scotland, Wales, and France. He made a second trip in 1914 as World War I was breaking out. Because of the war he altered his trip to spend time in Denmark studying rural life and the cooperative movement there. Pictures he took

during his Scandinavian trip lined the shelves of one wall in his office at 318 Agriculture Hall, and he made full use of them in his classes and extension work (Kolb, 1948, p. 132). In 1926 he spent six months on an official assignment visiting thirteen European countries and studying their agricultural institutions and problems. He also served as a U.S. delegate to the General Assembly of the International Institute of Agriculture in Rome and to the International Rural Life Conference in Brussels (Larson and Zimmerman, 2003, p. 26). He maintained a strong interest in international agriculture throughout the rest of his career.

Another milestone accomplishment in Galpin's career in Washington was recruiting Pitirim Sorokin at the University of Minnesota to undertake the compilation of a comprehensive sourcebook in rural sociology. Galpin had read Sorokin's *Contemporary Sociological Theory* and realized that no other sociologist was his equal in breadth of world-wide knowledge and scholarly acumen. Sorokin persuaded his colleague Carle C. Zimmerman to assist in the task, and Galpin appeared as the third co-editor, though his only contribution apparently was to approve the selections. Three hefty volumes of approximately 700 pages each were published in 1930 to 1932. The preface, which was written by Galpin, gave Sorokin full credit:

It should be stated also that most of the introductions, selections, and systematization of the material and, in general, the greater part of the work of the *Source Book* were done by Professor Pitirim Sorokin. Without the encyclopedic knowledge of the literature of rural thought and of sociological theory that he brought to this task and his indefatigable attention to the details of arrangement and interpretation, the *Source Book* would not have been thought possible at this time (Sorokin, Zimmerman, and Galpin, 1930, vol. 1, p. x).

Galpin and Carl C. Taylor

Carl C. Taylor was another pioneer rural sociologist, 20 years younger than Galpin, who played a major role in the early development of rural sociology and whose life was intertwined with Galpin's. After early achievements, he came to the State College of Agriculture and Engineering of North Carolina (now North Carolina State University at Raleigh). He was the director of one of the first cooperative research projects sponsored by Galpin's Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, with Fred R. Yoder and Carle C. Zimmerman serving as graduate assistants. The project was a study of farm tenancy among white families on reclaimed land in southeastern Missouri, and it was intended to become a USDA bulletin. Galpin wrote in his autobiography that the draft version revealed "unsuspected violent contrasts between the

houses, churches, and school buildings of the landowners and those of the tenants and hired men,” and when the Dean of the College of Agriculture saw it, he refused to permit it to be published. Galpin wanted the USDA to publish the study, but after the Dean’s refusal became known, he could not secure approval from the USDA. Regretfully, he put the photos and manuscript away in a file, but he continued to sponsor other cooperative research projects with Taylor in the 1920s (Larson, Williams, and Wimberley, 1999, pp. 536-537).

In spite of the setback with the Missouri study, Taylor’s career at the State College flourished, and in 1923 he was appointed Dean of the Graduate School. He also served as Vice-President of the college and as Director of a new Bureau of Economic and Social Research. In 1927 he was elected President of the North Carolina Conference for Social Service, an organization that was anathema to conservatives. He was widely regarded as the most eminent member of the faculty. Then, suddenly in June, 1931, the President and Trustees dismissed Taylor from the college and eliminated his position. There was no tenure system at the State College. A subsequent AAUP investigation concluded that the dismissal was primarily due to a personal and policy conflict between Taylor and the President of the college, and that Taylor’s political beliefs and research on rural inequality played little role (Larson, Williams, and Wimberley, 1999). There was no doubt about the President’s personal hostility to Taylor, but I find it hard to believe that Taylor’s liberal views and support for the rural poor did not play a significant role, given his earlier troubles with the Missouri study. In fact, the AAUP report states that one of the trustees, an alumnus who edited the *Textile Bulletin* of Charlotte, was the chief spokesman of reaction in the state, and had often criticized Taylor, as well as other faculty members: “To Mr. Clark any one suggesting that the present economic system is not perfect, or that the state has any concern with hours or conditions of labor, thereby proves himself a ‘red,’ and a dangerous citizen” (Larson, Williams, and Wimberley, 1999, pp. 543-544).

Taylor was unable to find another academic job and did not have steady work for the next two years. When the Roosevelt New Deal administration took office, however, he entered national government service, first as a special adviser to the program director for the new Subsistence Homesteads Division in the Department of the Interior. When Galpin retired in 1934, Theodore B. Manny served as Acting Head for a year, but in 1935 Secretary of Agriculture Henry Wallace appointed Carl Taylor to head Galpin’s old Division of Farm Population and Rural Life. Taylor remained in government service in a variety of agencies until his retirement and never returned to academia. He was elected President of the Rural Sociological Society in 1939 and President of the American Sociological Society in 1946—one of

only four persons to serve as president of both organizations. (The others were William H. Sewell, Dwight Sanderson, and Charles P. Loomis.) (Larson, Williams, and Wimberley, 1999, p. 533).

When Galpin retired from the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life on June 30, 1934, his budget had been decimated, his staff had been cut in half, and the cooperative research program had withered away (Galpin, 1938, pp. 62-63). Programs and financial support in the Division, however, were about to be expanded greatly after the first two years of the New Deal. Theodore B. Manny served as Acting Head of the Division until September, 1935, when Carl C. Taylor became the new Head. Galpin remained in his residence nearby in Falls Church, Virginia, at 147 Little Falls Street, and continued to serve as an adviser in the Division. He regularly came to the office one day a week and had a desk in a room adjoining Carl Taylor's. Taylor wrote glowingly,

. . . The door [was] always left open between the two rooms. This arrangement was made in order that I might have his wise counsel and that he might not quickly sever his influence over the work which he had so faithfully and effectively guided for 15 years. . . . I developed a deeper appreciation not only of his fertile mind but of his great sagacity. . . . Of all men that I have ever known, he was the least a salesman of himself (Carl C. Taylor, 1948b, pp. 154-155).

During this period of retirement Galpin confided to Taylor that he had made a big mistake in dropping out of the fields of farm tenancy and level of living research following the initial studies he sponsored. He said he had abandoned studies in these area because others "seemed to feel they should have a monopoly on them." He admitted, "I was wrong in the whole matter, Carl, because farm tenancy and the farmer's level of living are fields to which rural sociologists should make their contributions and I hope you will find ways by which to again initiate work in these fields" (C. C. Taylor, 1948b, p. 152). He did. Carl C. Taylor was especially noted for his concern about rural poverty.

Galpin died in Falls Church on June 1, 1947. Carl C. Taylor wrote in his obituary, "Because of the era in which he lived and because of his own keen imagination and the opportunities which came to him, no other single person will probably ever make so great a contribution to the development of rural sociology as did Dr. Galpin" (C. C. Taylor, 1948a, p. 104).

John Harrison Kolb (1888-1963) and Rural Sociology in the 1930s

C. J. Galpin was the initiator of rural sociology or “rural life studies” at the University of Wisconsin, but it was his successor, John H. Kolb, who founded the Department of Rural Sociology and built it into one of the two leading centers for rural sociology in the country. He remained the dominant figure in the department through the 1940s and was widely regarded as one of the foremost scholars in the field.

Early Life and Education

Kolb was born on a farm near Berlin, Wisconsin—about 80 miles north of Madison—on April 18, 1888. He attended Northwestern College in Naperville, Illinois, a Chicago suburb, and received a B.S. degree in 1912. The following year he received an M.A. degree from the University of Chicago. He did agricultural extension work at the University of Minnesota between 1913 and 1917. He married Charlotte Hillestad in 1916, and they had three children—Paul Harrison, Jean Louise, and Lucia Ann (“Kolb, John Harrison,” *Who Was Who in America*, 1961-68, vol. 4, p. 540). He worked as a YMCA secretary during World War I, and in 1919 he began doctoral work in the Department of Economics at the University of Wisconsin. He apparently intended to study with C. J. Galpin, but Galpin went with Henry C. Taylor to Washington DC just before he arrived, and he never had the opportunity to take a course or work directly with him in graduate school. He was powerfully influenced by Galpin’s previous research, however, and Galpin pointed the direction for much of his own research for the next two decades (Wileden, 1979, pp. 6-7).

Kolb’s PhD dissertation was a study of rural neighborhood groups in Dane County, Wisconsin—an extension of Galpin’s ecological research in Walworth County—and it was published as an Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin under the title *Rural Primary Groups: A Study of Agricultural Neighborhoods* (1921). This was a part of six cooperative studies of rural neighborhoods sponsored by Galpin’s Division of Farm Population and Rural Life—one each in Missouri, Montana, New York, North Carolina,

Washington, and Wisconsin. Kolb tried to distinguish between neighborhood and community, defining neighborhoods as “that first rural grouping beyond the family which has social significance and which is conscious of some local unity” (pp. 5-6). He regarded the neighborhoods as psychologically based, but to delineate them he described and measured them in geographic terms. He began by sending a card to rural families in Dane County through the teachers and students in rural schools asking “By what name is the country neighborhood called in which you live?” Plotting the responses on a map he found 121 named neighborhoods, but interviews revealed that 26 were “nonfunctional” or “inactive,” leaving 95 active neighborhoods. His research further explored the origins, changes, processes, functions, and bases of solidarity in the neighborhoods (Larson and Zimmerman, 2003, pp.88-89).

The Founding of the Department of Rural Sociology

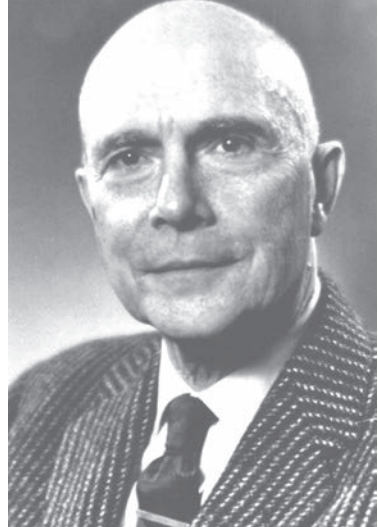
Kolb was a graduate student assistant in the Department of Economics in 1919. While he was still a graduate student he was hired by the new chair of Agricultural Economics, Benjamin H. Hibbard, as an Instructor in Agricultural Economics in 1920. Kolb received the PhD in 1921 and was promoted to Assistant Professor of Agricultural Economics the same year. He was promoted again to Associate Professor in 1923 and to Professor in 1925. The rapid advancement from Instructor to Full Professor in just five years was probably due to an attractive offer he received from the University of Illinois to come build a strong sociology department there (Gleach, 2009, p. 240). In 1929 his title was changed to Professor of Rural Sociology, even though the Department of Rural Sociology was not founded until the following year.

Ely had supported the teaching of agricultural economics in the Department of Political Economy, and courses on farm economics had been given there by William Scott since 1893. Henry C. Taylor, who had been one of Ely’s students, was brought into the department in 1902 to teach agricultural economics. Taylor believed that he would have a better chance to build a strong teaching and research program in agricultural economics if he could establish a separate Department of Agricultural Economics within the College of Agriculture, and he won the support of President Charles R. Van Hise—probably because the US Department of Agriculture required that their cooperative programs had to be administered through colleges of agriculture (Shaars, 1972, p. 9). The Department of Agricultural Economics was thus established in 1909 over the strong opposition of Ely, who resisted all diminutions of his domain.

The teaching of rural sociology was begun within the Department of Agricultural Economics by C. J. Galpin and was carried on by Kolb after

his departure. It was not possible for a student to major in rural sociology at first, though agricultural economics students were required to take some “rural life” courses. In the first semester of 1928-29, Kolb was teaching two courses that were still listed in Agricultural Economics: an undergraduate course on “Rural Life” (34 students) and a graduate course, “Seminary in Rural Social Organization” (11 students) (Lampman, 1993, p. 40). The remainder of his time was spent on research for the Agricultural Experiment Station (Gillin, 1928).

Kolb chafed at the tensions within the Department of Agricultural Economics when budgets were drafted and funds allocated and started advocating for a separate Department of Rural Sociology. The Dean of Agriculture, H. L. Russell, was sympathetic and in 1930 created the new department within the College of Agriculture, with Kolb as chair and with E. L. Kirkpatrick, A. F. Wileden, and Conrad Taeuber as the only other members (Wileden, 1979, p. 16). He remained as Chair of the Department of Rural Sociology from 1930 to 1949 and was largely responsible for building the department into one of the two leading rural sociology departments in the country (Wileden, 1964b, pp. 95-96).



JOHN HARRISON KOLB
(UW DEPT. OF SOCIOLOGY)

Kolb's Research and Service

More than Galpin, Kolb was interested in social change, and he did three replication studies of the neighborhoods in Dane County at roughly decade intervals. He also did two follow-up studies of Galpin's Walworth County study, with the assistance of two graduate students. He was thus a pioneer in doing longitudinal studies in sociology to better understand the process of social change. He found that locality was playing a progressively lesser role in the group life of rural people as transportation and communication became easier. As early as 1927 he read a paper at the meetings of the American Sociological Society in which he made this point:

Locality no longer holds the farmer and his family to such restricted social or business contacts as formerly. Greatly increased facilities for transportation and communication have made farm people free to

make associations on the basis of special interests and particular desires (Wileden, 1964b, p. 97).

In 1924 Kolb took leave to do research with Edmund deS. Brunner from Columbia University at the Institute for Social and Religious Research. They collaborated in the study of rural social change and in 1932 worked together again in a restudy of 140 rural villages (Nelson, 1969, p. 59; Wileden, 1979, pp. 7-8; Wileden, 1964a, p. 115).

Kolb and Brunner also co-authored an introductory textbook in rural sociology that went through several editions. My first full-time teaching job was in the Department of Economics and Sociology in 1956-57 at Kansas State College in Manhattan, Kansas, where I was filling in for a rural sociologist who was on leave doing development work in India. The only rural sociology course I had ever had was a very good one at the University of Minnesota taught by Lowry Nelson—who had studied with Galpin, Ely, and Kolb—but I was assigned to teach four classes of introductory rural sociology each semester using Kolb and Brunner's textbook. I thought the textbook was simplistic and dull and my own fledgling lectures were not much better, but I made it through the year. I escaped to Florida State University the next year.

Kolb not only published many books and articles but was very active serving in various organizations and providing assistance to government agencies. He played an important role in the early work of the American Country Life Association and served on the President's Commission on Recent Social Trends (1932), the Rural Social Research Division of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (1935), the Wisconsin Citizens Commission on Social Welfare (1937), the Wisconsin Committee on Rural Community High Schools, and the White House Conference on Children and Youth, 1959-1960).

Kolb's Residence

When John Kolb and his wife Charlotte first came to Madison with their young son Paul and baby daughter Jean, they lived in a small apartment house at 223 Clifford Court with two other families while John was completing his study for the PhD. This was right on the shore of Lake Mendota, just off Lake Mendota Drive, about four miles west of Agriculture Hall. By the 1930s they were living in a very attractive home at 1142 Waban Hill in Nakoma, but in 1940 they moved to an even more beautiful place right on Lake Mendota at 3644 Lake Mendota Drive in Shorewood Hills. The house is nestled among trees, with the lake coming up to the backyard. The Blackhawk Country Club golf course with its several Indian effigy mounds stretches

away up the hill on the other side of the road. In the 1950s, however, when Kolb was in his 60's, they moved to a neat red-brick house fronting on Lake Wingra at 2906 Arbor Drive.

Kolb as Teacher

Kolb was recognized as an outstanding lecturer and a gifted organizer and leader, but he tended to be rather formal and stiff in his interactions with people. Wileden remembered him this way:

He was a very different kind of person than Galpin. Galpin was a warm, outgoing sort of person, while Kolb, on the other hand, was a rather reserved person who seemed to resist letting other people get to know him on a personal basis. And he was ambitious, both for himself and for the field of rural life endeavor. This began to show up almost immediately. Every talk that he gave, every meeting of his class had to lead up to a dramatic climax—an appeal for something. This made him a very popular teacher and speaker, and it also pointed the direction in which the field, later called “rural sociology,” would move in the years ahead (Wileden, 1979, p. 7).



JOHN H. KOLB HOUSE — 3644 LAKE MENDOTA DRIVE
(R. MIDDLETON, 2012)

Kolb could also be quite imperious in his dealings with graduate students. Olaf Larson grew up on a farm near Edgerton, Wisconsin, about 30 miles southeast of Madison. He enrolled in the University of Wisconsin in

Madison and earned a bachelor's degree in agricultural journalism and soils in 1932 and a master's degree in agricultural journalism in 1933. He had only one course in rural sociology as an undergraduate—with Kolb—but Kolb recognized his promise and recruited him for the graduate program in rural sociology in 1934. After one year in the PhD program Kolb instructed him to take the very rigorous PhD prelims in sociology—six five-hour written exams to be taken over a two-week period. Only one was in the field of rural sociology. This was a scary proposition for Larson, and he probably would not have taken them so soon if he had not been pushed by Kolb, but he passed and was congratulated by E. A. Ross. He then went off to the University of Minnesota for a year as an exchange student to study with F. Stuart Chapin and Read Bain before starting his dissertation research.

Larson intended to return to Madison to write his dissertation, but Kolb intervened again and instructed him to take a job as an assistant professor at Colorado State A&M College at Fort Collins (now Colorado State University). This interrupted Larson's academic training, but Kolb had reasons of his own for wanting a rural sociologist in Colorado. The New Deal had started a rural research program in the mid-1930s, with coordination by a number of rural sociologists, including E. L. Kirkpatrick (from the University of Wisconsin), Dwight Sanderson from Cornell, and Kolb. Kolb was intent on placing a rural sociologist in Colorado to coordinate rural research there for the first time, and that is why he sent the 25-year-old Larson there, even though he had spent only three years in graduate school—one in agricultural journalism, one in sociology at Wisconsin, and one in sociology at Minnesota. He spent three years working in Colorado, but then Carl Taylor in the US Department of Agriculture recruited him for another government research job in Amarillo for the Southwest Region. It was not until 1941 that he was finally able to complete a dissertation and secure the PhD. Kolb offered him a job at Wisconsin, but he turned it down because he had misgivings about being under the thumb of his very dominating major professor (Fuguitt and Larson, 2001; Larson, 2011, pp. 165-166). After several more years of government service, Larson went to Cornell University in 1946 and became one of the leading scholars in the Department of Rural Sociology there.

Arthur Frederick Wileden (1896-1986)

The Purnell Act was passed by Congress in 1925 and included a clause authorizing the expenditure of experiment station funds for “such economic and sociological investigations as have for their purpose the development and improvement of the rural home and rural life . . .” (Nelson, 1969, p. 86). Kolb was able to utilize these funds to start new lines of research and add to his staff. The first person he brought in was Arthur F. Wileden, who

was the son of a farmer in Walworth County. He had taught in a one-room school, and had also served as a principal and teacher in an agricultural high school. He attended the University of Wisconsin in Madison and received a B.S. in agricultural economics in 1924. He had taken a course with Kolb in studying for his master's, and Kolb persuaded him to switch fields and study for an M.S. degree in Rural Life, which he received in 1926. When Kolb went on leave in 1924-1925 to collaborate with Edmund deS. Brunner in New York, Kolb appointed Wileden as a graduate assistant to teach his regular course on rural life while he was away. The next year in 1925 he was given an appointment as Instructor in Agricultural Economics, and he went on to teach various rural sociology and extension courses and do research in subsequent years. In 1929 he was promoted to Assistant Professor of Rural Sociology, and then to Associate Professor in 1935 and Professor in 1949.

One of the first pieces of research that Kolb assigned to Wileden was a project on rural interest groups in five Wisconsin counties, and this began a new and promising line of research in rural sociology. Kolb and Wileden published an Experiment Station Bulletin on rural interest groups that was, according to Wileden, controversial among rural life workers, who had become wedded to ecological studies (Kolb & Wileden, 1927). The concern with interest groups, however, signaled a more sociological and action-oriented approach to rural society.

Kolb must have felt that we had made some important discoveries because he began to insist that every research study must have implied social action implications. He must have been touched by pressures from University administrators and the general public that, like other fields of agricultural research, rural life research must also point the way to desired social action. The result was the preparation and publication of a sister Wisconsin Extension Service Bulletin entitled, "Making Rural Organizations Effective." This opened the door, at Kolb's insistence, to an almost entirely new approach for working with these kinds of groups to be financed by the Cooperative Agricultural Extension Service (Wileden, 1979, pp. 9-10).

Kolb and Wileden employed the case study method in studying the 351 special interest groups they identified in five Wisconsin counties. Charles Horton Cooley praised their research at the 1928 ASA annual meeting, saying that it represented a welcome contrast to the usual rural sociology studies that were timid about presenting nonquantitative data. Sorokin, Zimmerman, and Galpin's sourcebook also cited the research as one of the best examples of a study that recognized the increasing importance of functional groupings in rural society (Larson and Zimmerman, 2003, p. 120).

Wileden received a Social Science Research Council Fellowship to do further graduate study at Cornell University in 1928, but he never completed a PhD, which limited his academic career. He did, however, become the first Extension Rural Sociologist at the University of Wisconsin, and he continued in this position until his retirement in 1966. His specialty was community development, and he gave assistance to rural institutions and organizations in their efforts to provide services, such as recreation and cultural arts. He also taught a course on community development from 1949 until his retirement. He wrote four books on rural community development as well as a number of other monographs, bulletins, circulars, and articles—both popular and professional. He was President of the American Country Life Association, which recognized his extraordinary service in 1966. He was also honored by the Wisconsin Extension Workers Association, Epsilon Sigma Phi, and the Wisconsin Development Association. Eugene A. Wilkening wrote of him, “He devoted his life to increasing the ability of people to enhance their quality of life through the use of their local organizations and institutions as well as their personal skills and efforts” (Wilkening, 1986, p. 21). Wileden died in 1986 and his wife Harriet followed in 1990.

Conrad Taeuber (1906-1999) and Irene Barnes Taeuber (1906-1974)

In 1930-31 Kolb employed a young married couple who had been doing doctoral work in sociology at the University of Minnesota—Conrad and Irene Barnes Taeuber. Conrad was appointed as an Instructor and Irene as a research assistant in the Department of Rural Sociology.

Irene was born in Meadville, Missouri, in 1906. Her father, who alternated between farming and barbering, did not want her to go to college, but with her mother’s encouragement, she was able to complete a bachelor’s degree in sociology at the University of Missouri in 1927. She supported herself through scholarships and an assortment of jobs. She went on to complete a master’s degree in sociology at Northwestern in 1928, and then moved to the University of Minnesota to work on a PhD in sociology. There she met and married Conrad Taeuber, a fellow graduate student in sociology, in 1929 (Keyfitz, 1980, p. 672).

Conrad was born in Hosmer, a rural village of about 200 people in north central South Dakota. He went to the University of Minnesota to study sociology and received a bachelor’s degree there in 1927 and a master’s degree in 1929. He spent nine months in 1929-1930 at the University of Heidelberg in Germany gathering data for his dissertation on “Migration to and from Selected German Cities: An Analysis of the Data of the Official Registration System for 1900 to 1927.”

Irene and Conrad had both studied with Pitirim Sorokin and F. Stuart Chapin and had finished all their PhD work except for the dissertation when they decided to take the jobs offered to them by John Kolb at the University of Wisconsin's Department of Rural Sociology. Conrad was assigned to assist in Kolb's restudy of Dane County neighborhoods, which had first been studied ten years earlier, and also to perform "related duties" in Extension, such as promoting amateur dramatics and arranging for competitions between different rural drama clubs in southern Wisconsin. Irene's job was to perform statistical and clerical work for a monograph on rural social trends that Kolb and Edmund deS. Brunner were preparing. They not only fulfilled their research and service obligations for Kolb but also completed their own dissertations during the year and received their PhDs from the University of Minnesota at the commencement in 1931.

Conrad and Irene apparently found the kind of research they did at Wisconsin in rural sociology appealing, and they continued to do statistical and demographic research for the rest of their lives. General sociologists were doing very little quantitative or statistical research at the time. Conrad remarked in his autobiography in 1990 that "The rural sociologists seemed to have their feet more firmly on the ground than some of the others in the sociology departments" (Taeuber, 1992, pp. 235-236). The Taeubers stayed only one year at Wisconsin. Through the good offices of F. Stuart Chapin, both of the Taeubers secured teaching positions at Mount Holyoke College in South Hadley, Massachusetts, in 1931—Irene as an Instructor and Conrad as an Assistant Professor.

Two years later the Taeubers moved to Washington, DC, where Conrad began a long and distinguished career working with a variety of federal and United Nations agencies. At first he worked as an economic analyst with the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, the New Deal's primary relief agency, led by Harry Hopkins. It later became the Works Progress Administration. Taeuber began a series of studies of the rural population that highlighted the problems of poverty and public relief in the Depression. He also strongly encouraged research by rural sociologists in the state colleges and became one of the most influential voices in the field of rural sociology. In 1935 he joined the Bureau of Agricultural Economics as an administrator and was responsible for the annual estimates of the flow of population to and from farms. In this position he was involved in the preparatory work that led to the founding of the UN Food and Agricultural Organization. He became FAO's first Chief of its Statistics Division, and he was responsible for collecting and publishing data on agricultural production and marketing, as well as all aspects of rural life around the world. When FAO moved from Washington DC to Rome in 1951, however, he relinquished the position, since Irene's career could not be continued

away from the Washington DC-Princeton area (“Conrad Taeuber,” 2013).

Conrad then joined the Bureau of the Census as its first Assistant (then Associate) Director of Demographic Fields, meaning that he served as the Bureau’s chief demographer. He improved the Bureau’s communications with the public, restarted its monograph series, and fostered its analytic capability by hiring staff with graduate training in demography (“Conrad Taeuber,” 2013). When Richard Nixon became President, however, politics intruded into the Census. The Social, Economic, and Statistics Administration (SESA), was created within the Department of Commerce to supervise the Bureau of Economic Analysis and the Census. It was stocked with conservative Nixon loyalists to manage the collection and release of “sensitive” economic and social data. In his oral history interview Taeuber remembered, “Word came down that the Bureau was to employ Mr. X, Mr. Y, Mr. Z; and Mr. X was to sit—given an office next to the Chief of the Population Division—and he would review all [figures] issued by the Population Division.” At the end of Nixon’s first term he required resignations of all the officials who served at the pleasure of the President. George Brown, the Director of the Census, and Conrad Taeuber were among those whose resignations were accepted (Taeuber, 1989). Taeuber wrote in his autobiography that the Administration was concerned that the Census officials were “pushing statistics on poverty, unemployment, racial segregation, and other social problems” (Taeuber, 1992). Those were not on the Nixon agenda.

After leaving the Census in 1973, Conrad moved to Georgetown University and became the Director of its Center for Population Research. Under his leadership the Center focused on policy aspects of population study. During his long career he received numerous honors and awards. He served as President of the Population Association of America in 1948-49, and the PAA gave him the Robert J. Lapham Award in 1991 for “contributions to population research, the application of demographic knowledge to improve the human condition, and service to the population profession.” Conrad also received the American Sociological Association’s Distinguished Career Award for the Practice of Sociology in 1986, and the Distinguished Rural Sociologist Award of the Rural Sociological Society in 1991 (Taeuber, 1992, pp. 245-248). In retirement he and his second wife Dorothy moved to Nashua, New Hampshire. Dorothy died there in 1998 and he died in 1999 at the age of 93.

Irene also had a distinguished career as one of the leading demographers of her generation. Though she did not have a university professorial appointment, except as a visiting professor, she had a lifelong affiliation with the Office of Population Research at Princeton University while continuing to reside with Conrad and her sons Richard and Karl in suburban Washington. She had helped Frank Lorimer, secretary of the newly organized

Population Association of America, to prepare a periodic bibliography of recent articles on population in 1935. When the Office of Population Research was established at Princeton the next year, she became a member of its staff and co-editor of *Population Index*, the successor to the bibliographic series she had been working on. She worked mainly from her study at the Library of Congress in Washington and did the 175-mile commute from her Hyattsville, MD, home to Princeton only once every week or two. She had the major responsibility for *Population Index* from 1937 to 1954 and also wrote a quarterly column on "Current Items." She asked to be relieved of this responsibility after 1954 so that she could devote more time to her own research (Keyfitz, 1980, p. 672).

Irene was a prodigious scholar, producing some sixteen books and monographs (many co-authored) and about 250 articles, but she was not promoted to Senior Research Demographer at OPR until 1961. She felt that she did not receive as much clerical and research assistance as did some of her male colleagues at OPR, but she was nevertheless extremely productive. She began to do studies of international demography just before and during World War II at the behest of the League of Nations and the US State Department. She agreed to do a study of Japan's population and made several trips there after the war. She published the landmark book *The Population of Japan* in 1958, which was universally acclaimed. She went on to study the population of more than a dozen other countries in Africa, Latin America, and Oceania. At the time of her death she was collecting materials to do a major book on the population of China, showing that it was bringing its population growth rate under control. Her analysis was confirmed when China later began to release accurate census data. In recognition of her contributions to demography, she was elected President of the Population Association of America in 1953-54 and vice president of the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population in 1961-65. She was the first woman to be elected to either position (Keyfitz, 1980, pp. 672-673).

Irene Taeuber retired from OPR in 1973 and died of pneumonia in 1974 at the age of 68. She was buried at Maryland National Memorial Park in Laurel, MD. Some 63 linear feet of her papers are archived at The State Historical Society of Missouri.

The Taeubers' heritage in demography and sociology was picked up and ably carried forward by their two sons, Richard C. Taeuber and Karl E. Taeuber, and Karl's wife Alma, all of whom became PhD demographers. Karl and Alma joined the Wisconsin Department of Sociology in 1964, Karl as an Associate Professor of Sociology, and Alma as a demographic Research Scientist.

Ellis Lore Kirkpatrick (1884-1964)

When Wileden left for further graduate study at Cornell University in 1928, Kolb brought in Ellis Lore Kirkpatrick, using Purnell funds that he had available (Wileden, 1979, p. 10). Kirkpatrick was born in 1884 in South English, a tiny hamlet in southeast Iowa. Kirkpatrick earned a B.A. in horticulture at Iowa State College and did master's degree work at Colorado Agricultural College (now Colorado State University). While he was there in 1918 he and his wife, Grace Martfield Kirkpatrick, published a bulletin on *Preparation and Use of Dried or Dehydrated Vegetable Products*. He then went to Cornell University to study rural sociology and agricultural economics with Dwight Sanderson, George F. Warren, and others.

During World War I American farmers were encouraged to increase their production of commodities to permit massive exports to the war-ravaged European countries. When the war ended government guarantees of high prices also ended, and European economies began to recover. The overseas markets could no longer absorb the US surpluses, and agricultural prices in the US plummeted in 1920, initiating a decade-long farm depression that preceded the general Great Depression of the 1930s. Most of the economists in the Bureau of Agricultural Economics were strong believers in the controversial McNary-Haugen bill in Congress to raise the domestic price of farm products by having a federal agency purchase agricultural surpluses and sell them overseas. They sought a system of farm subsidies based on a concept of "parity"—government guaranteed prices for farm products that would give farmers—at least the "cerebral" progressive ones—an income with purchasing power comparable to that of their urban counterparts. The bill never became law, since President Calvin Coolidge vetoed it twice at the behest of business leaders and Herbert Hoover, his Secretary of Commerce. Economists in the Bureau of Agricultural Economics and Secretaries of Agriculture Henry C. Wallace and Henry A. Wallace continued to support the parity idea throughout the 1920s and beyond. To support their advocacy of McNary-Haugenism they needed to develop the technical capacity to define parity in what appeared to be an objective manner, and to this end they supported research efforts to measure quantitatively the consumption patterns of farm families so that they could be compared with the consumption patterns of urban families. These were designated first as standard of life, then as standard of living, and finally as level of living studies (McDean, March, 1983, pp. 80-81).

Probably the first study that attempted to assign monetary values to all the items of family living was carried out by George F. Warren of Cornell University in 1909 in Livingston County, New York (Duncan, 1941, p. 304). Ellis Kirkpatrick, then one of Warren's doctoral students at Cornell,

was recruited by C. J. Galpin to do an additional study for his dissertation research a short time later in the same area using household account books. The study was financed with funds from the USDA's Office of Home Economics and Galpin's Division of Farm Population and Rural Life. With the help of two home economists and his wife, Grace Martfield Kirkpatrick, Kirkpatrick interviewed and gathered data from household budget accounts of 295 farm owners and 107 tenant farmers in Livingston County, New York. It was not intended to be a representative sample of farmers, for only farmers who enjoyed "moderate success" were selected for study. I presume he was following instructions from his funders in Washington who wanted to establish a standard of "parity" based on the more successful farmers. Kirkpatrick's study was valuable mainly through his development of innovative quantitative techniques to express the dollar value of farm-produced products and the overall standard of living of a farm family. He completed his PhD in 1922, and his dissertation was published as a New York Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin in 1923 as *The Standard of Life in a Typical Section of Diversified Farming* (Larson, 2003, pp. 47, 72; McDean, March, 1983, pp. 81-82).

As soon as he completed his PhD, Kirkpatrick was recruited to work in Galpin's Division of Farm Population and Rural Life in Washington, DC. Galpin made farm family living research one of the chief fields of interest in his division, and he put Kirkpatrick in charge of conducting and supervising most of the studies. This research was to occupy Kirkpatrick almost full-time for the next six years.

Soon after his arrival at the bureau Kirkpatrick met with Galpin, his immediate superior, and Lewis C. Gray, head of the Land Economics Division of the BAE, to plan a study of farm levels of living in eleven states. These were carried out through cooperative agreements with state extension and experiment station personnel, but they were directly supervised by Kirkpatrick. He instructed the field researchers to study only the "farmers who enjoyed average or above average prosperity," since they wanted to establish a fairly high standard of living that would be comparable to that of urban workers of the same level of ability. McDean, who examined archival records of meetings in the BAE, commented, "Their reasoning was obvious: they were concerned with aiding only the 'higher type' of farmers" (McDean, March, 1983, p. 82). Between 1922 and 1924 the researchers selected 2,886 white farmers for study, and the farmers agreed to keep detailed household account books for a one-year period. The data were used to calculate the value of all goods consumed, but there were also specific details on a very large number of what they termed "advancement goods." They believed that the number of advancement goods provided an index for identifying superior farmers, and they hoped to use the information to support their argument that parity

for the best farmers was necessary to stop their migration to the city (McDean, March, 1983, pp. 82-83). A summary of these studies was published in 1926 as a USDA Bulletin (Kirkpatrick, 1926). New social scientists were coming into Galpin's Division, and many of them suggested other variables that might predict interest in advancement goods and success in farming, and in subsequent years Kirkpatrick had to keep adding more items to the field questionnaires of his researchers, including race, genealogy, stage in the life cycle, religion, cultural interests, educational level, and the farmers' knowledge of mechanics, economics, and science. A number of other studies of levels of farm living were also conducted in the 1920s, including one of African American farm families, and most of the studies were published as bulletins of the USDA or the agricultural experiment stations of the states.

As a culmination Kirkpatrick gathered together and synthesized all the studies of farm standards or levels of living done in the 1920s and published it in book form as *The Farmer's Standard of Living* in 1929. In the book he concluded that the "farmer's standard of living" ranged from \$1016 in Wisconsin to \$2012 in New York and averaged \$1,598. He believed that this standard compared favorably with that of urban workers, though his farm standard was based on "farmers of the higher rank" and he was comparing it with data from "working class Americans of the lower rank." He pointed to a number of variables related to the farmer's standard of living, including education, size of farm operation, ownership, off-farm work, and stage in the life cycle, but he was hesitant about drawing conclusions about advancement goods without further research (McDean, March, 1983, pp. 83-84; Larson, 2003, pp. 73-76; Kirkpatrick, 1929). Henry C. Taylor wrote approvingly in 1926, "No single type of rural study has awakened more thought than the study of the standard of living and cost of living of farm families The results have been taken back to the communities and made the base of a better living program" (H. C. Taylor, 1992, pp. 145-146.)

Kolb also saw this as a promising line of research that would bring the rural family within the purview of rural sociology, and he recruited Kirkpatrick to the Wisconsin Department of Rural Sociology in 1928. On first arrival, however, Kirkpatrick did an important study of social participation—a follow-up to the earlier study done by Kolb and Wileden. Wileden had begun the new study of rural interest groups and the family, but when he left for further graduate study at Cornell, Kirkpatrick took over. The research was carried out in nine rural school districts in the same five Wisconsin counties as the original study. Within each district data on different levels of participation in organizations were collected through interviews with all persons over ten years of age. Both quantitative analysis and case studies compared districts high and low in participation. It was published as a bulletin in 1929 as *Rural Organizations and the Family* (Kirkpatrick, 1929b).

This study was supported by cooperative research funds from Galpin's Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, but though this was one of the best studies of social participation to date, funds to support research in this area dried up after the early 1930s (Larson, 2003, p. 121).

The continued farm depression and the arrival of the Dust Bowl and the Great Depression in the 1930s gave research on rural incomes much greater urgency. Kirkpatrick and various research collaborators produced a large number of studies in this area for Wisconsin in the 1930s. Kirkpatrick came to be recognized as the nation's leading authority on the subject. Galpin had always been careful to work cooperatively with academics from Home Economics, who tended to regard the family as their turf, and Kirkpatrick tried to do the same. May L. Cowles (b. 1892) from the Wisconsin Department of Home Economics became a frequent collaborator with Kirkpatrick, and they worked together well (Wileden, 1979, pp. 10-11).

Whereas Henry C. Taylor and his students, who dominated the Bureau of Agricultural Economics in the 1920s, had been focused on finding ways to keep the best farmers from giving up farming and migrating to the cities, in the 1930s they began to give greater attention to the problem of farm poverty and the means of dealing with it. For the most part the same group of agricultural economists also dominated farm policy of the New Deal agricultural agencies, and they still had a tendency to "blame the victim" rather than the system when considering the problem of farm poverty. They identified pockets of farm poverty, which they termed "pathological areas," where there was severe destitution and runaway soil depletion and environmental destruction. This included the southern Appalachian plateau, the Ozarks, the Cutover area of northern Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Washington, and the Dust Bowl area. It was only later that economic historians, such as Carter Goodrich and Earl O. Heady, recognized that these areas were mainly fed by migrant streams of unemployed workers from urban areas (McDean, Summer, 1980, p. 21). Richard Ely in the 1890s had seen the cutover area of Wisconsin as a land of opportunity for farm settlers, but by the 1920s he had changed his mind and described the farmers in the area as backward, immoral, and dangerous. The national press agreed and wrote of the cutover as a magnet for criminals, welfare dependents, the unemployed, and the poor (Gough, 1997).

Generally, the economists in the New Deal agencies adopted policies based on identifying the farmers who were most progressive and competent and directing most of their aid to this select group. It was a kind of triage strategy applied to farm assistance. They were not unconcerned about the poorest stratum of farmers, but their solution to the problem of farm poverty was mainly to encourage the movement of the poorest farmers out of farming and into the urban labor force, which was largely outside their realm of

responsibility. By doing this they felt that they would enhance conservation efforts and remove some of the obstacles that kept the able farmers from expanding the size of their farm operations and becoming more profitable. By contrast, agricultural economists in Canada, who were more removed from Henry Taylor's sphere of influence, tended to see poor plains farmers more as victims of drought and the economic depression, and they sought to aid even the poorest farmers. They did not "cherry-pick" the better off and ablest farmers as recipients of aid (McDean, Winter, 1983, pp. 24-26).

M. I. Wilson, Howard Tolley, and L. C. Gray—all followers of Henry Taylor—did not want to reduce the rural population to the point that it would be difficult to provide modern community services, so they created the Subsistence Homesteads Division within the Department of Interior in 1933 to create new rural towns for displaced farmers and urban workers. Recipients would be settled on a small piece of land and encouraged to grow much of their own food, but they were also expected to have at least part-time nonfarm employment. They believed that industrial factories would move to these new towns to take advantage of lower wages and overhead costs. Congress actually funded 14 new communities to be built in the Great Plains, but by the time construction was completed in 1935, not one industry agreed to relocate to the new towns. M. I. Wilson, who headed the program, was forced to resign and the program itself was quickly scuttled in 1935. About the same time the liberal reformers within the Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA) were forced out to appease the cotton growers in the South (McDean, Winter, 1983, pp. 22-24; Gilbert and Howe, 1991, pp. 211-215).

After the AAA purge President Franklin D. Roosevelt came under intense criticism from the left, and he realized that the US Department of Agriculture was not a hospitable home for efforts to relieve rural poverty. He therefore created the Resettlement Administration outside the USDA in 1935 to be headed by Rexford Tugwell, a progressive agricultural economist from Columbia University who was part of Roosevelt's original Brain Trust. The agency was staffed largely with liberals who were not trained as agriculturalists in the conservative land grant colleges. Tugwell was centrally concerned with rural poverty and with conservation of natural resources. The Resettlement Administration was the one bright spot for African Americans among the agricultural programs of the New Deal—or possibly among all New Deal programs, which in most cases blatantly discriminated against African Americans. Tugwell administered the agency in a color-blind way, and African Americans received an almost equitable share of the aid (Hiltzik, 2011, pp. 314-316). Tugwell wanted the government to buy up misused land and convert it to more suitable purposes, such as forestry or recreation. Though he was certainly not one of Henry Taylor's followers, Tugwell

also believed that large numbers of poor farmers needed to be resettled in nonfarm jobs, but near existing urban and industrial centers. As a temporary measure the Resettlement Administration also built 95 relief camps in California to permit better living conditions for 75,000 displaced migrant workers. It began to construct suburban housing too, including “Greenbelt Cities,” such as Greendale, WI, Greenbelt, MD, and Greenhills, OH.

Tugwell was a lightning rod for attacks from conservatives, who called him “Rex the Red.” The agency was also attacked for lavish spending, and the Supreme Court ruled that the building of housing was a function of states, not the Federal government. Tugwell ruefully remarked that the beneficiaries of the Resettlement Administration—poor black and white rural folk—had “no influential citizens, no campaign contributors, and hardly any voters—almost none in the poll-tax states” (Hiltzik, 2011, p. 316. Feeling the heat, Tugwell resigned from the Roosevelt Administration at the end of 1936.

In early 1937 the Resettlement Administration was transferred into the more conservative USDA and later that year was rechristened the Farm Security Administration. The FSA had a number of programs to attack the problem of farm poverty, including farm loans and grants to aid the rehabilitation of poor farmers and tenant purchase programs. It also tried to enforce wage, housing, and work standards for farm workers (Gilbert and Howe, 1991, p. 214). Nevertheless, the FSA also funneled most of its aid to the better-off farmers. In spite of this it was denounced as a radical agency and became the object of concerted attacks by conservative business leaders and the powerful Farm Bureau. Wartime mobilization also changed the priorities of the Roosevelt Administration, with everything subordinated to the war effort. In 1943 Congress effectively neutralized the agency by slashing its budget and in 1946 what was left of it was transformed into the docile Farmers’ Home Administration (McDean, Winter, 1983, pp. 22-24; Gilbert and Howe, 1991, pp. 214-217). “Agrarian intellectuals” had attempted to institute a “Third New Deal” for agriculture with a commitment to democratic planning and participation in the latter part of the 1930s, but conservative forces blocked their efforts and reforms ground to a halt by 1942 as President Roosevelt subordinated everything to the war effort. As Gilbert notes, many of the progressive agrarian leaders began to turn their attention to international agrarian reform, and many of them worked on international aid and rural development programs after the end of World War II (J. Gilbert, 2015, pp. 256-260).

A personal note—my wife’s father, Emory Hall, was a dirt-poor tenant farmer in South Dakota in the 1930s and 1940s, and he was bitterly resentful of many of the policies of the Resettlement Administration and the Farm Security Administration, which he had assumed were designed to help poor

farmers like himself. He was forced to move to a different farm in South Dakota six times between 1928 and 1948, and during the worst years of 1933 to early 1936 he could work only as a wage laborer, mostly with the WPA at \$5.50 a week, though Federal guidelines specified a wage almost twice as high. Even that was a step up from four months working on a relative's farm at 50 cents a day. In 1936 the Resettlement Administration gave him a loan of \$1,111, which enabled him to pay off some debts and get back into farming. Some of his draft horses had died of equine encephalomyelitis, however, and when he sought a larger loan to buy a tractor, his request was denied by the RSA, and he was required to buy draft horses again. He calculated—correctly—that a tractor would be more economical for his farming operation and would give him a better chance of getting ahead. The RSA rejected similar requests from neighboring farmers who were also poor, but many of them were less scrupulous about obeying the law and used RSA loan money illegally to buy used tractors.

Emory's wife, Ethel Hall, who had to keep the budget records mandated by the RSA and later by the FSA, also resented the petty bureaucratic rules regarding the form of the records, and the condescension of the young college educated urban women who knew nothing about farming who were hired by the agencies to make periodic visits to inspect the records. The FSA continued the anti-tractor policy of the RSA for poor farmers. It was not until 1944 that Emory was finally able to buy his first tractor with family funds, an International Harvester Farmall H, which brought greater prosperity and enabled him to break free from the control of the FSA. I can't help wondering if the RSA and FSA considered my father-in-law one of the "backward ne'er-do-well tenant farmers" who are incapable of becoming prosperous and who should leave farming entirely. If so, they were wrong, as his subsequent life as a farmer demonstrated. One of his sons became one of the wealthiest farmers in the county, and all five of his other surviving children earned graduate degrees and had very successful careers in science and the professions.

During his years in Wisconsin in the 1930s Kirkpatrick did a number of studies on rural rehabilitation and resettlement. In 1933 he went on leave to work for a time with the Federal Emergency Relief Administration in Washington. Many of the New Deal agencies, particularly the Resettlement Administration, called on him for advice on needed programs and on how to select families that had the best chance to succeed if resettled or given aid. For example, in 1936 he did a study of 290 rural families whose sub-marginal lands were optioned for purchase and considered for resettlement in the Forest County portion of the Crandon Federal Land Purchase Area in the cutover region of northern Wisconsin. The area had been delineated by the Land Policy Section of the AAA and the Wisconsin Rural Rehabilitation

Corporation with the intention of converting the submarginal lands to forestry and recreational purposes. He found that the families were extremely poor, with the farm families having an \$800 level of living and the nonfarm families even less. Kirkpatrick concluded,

With respect to the prospect or suitability for rehabilitation, data for the entire group of families in the land purchase area, of which these are a part, indicate that 2 in 5 are capable of remaining or becoming again self-supporting although a part of them will need temporary assistance to do so. One in two of the remainder can be placed on a self-sustaining basis if provided with sufficient aid and supervision; the majority of these will require employment opportunities, some in connection with or supplemental to farming. The remaining ten or twelve per cent are incapable of self-support because of old age, permanent disability, or irresponsibility. It is evident, therefore, in any land evacuation program that fully as much if not more attention must be given to provision for the care of the rural unfortunate and underprivileged, than to any other group of families (Kirkpatrick, 1936, p. 56).

The sociologists in Galpin's Division of Farm Population and Rural Life had little or no role in what Gilbert and Barker refer to as the First Agrarian New Deal period of the Roosevelt Administration in 1933 and 1934 (1997, pp. 283-284). During this period the dominant Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA) was focused on reducing agricultural production and increasing farm income for the larger farmers through higher commodity prices. Galpin's Division reached its lowest point during this period, with a miniscule budget and a professional staff of only two (Larson, 2003, p. 195). When the Second Agrarian New Deal began in 1935, however, not only was the RSA founded but the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) began to provide more direct aid to the poor. The FERA soon became the Works Progress Administration, under the direction of Harry L. Hopkins. Hopkins, who was intent on pumping as much economic aid as possible out to the public, asked Kirkpatrick to be his Rural Relief Adviser, and Kirkpatrick brought a group of rural sociologists to Washington and initiated a system of cooperative research agreements with state colleges of agriculture to conduct rural surveys for the Washington office. These were modeled after the cooperative agreements that Galpin had worked out during the 1920s. (Larson, 2003, p. 195).

Wileden, in his history of the Department of Rural Sociology, wrote that there was a falling out between Kolb and Kirkpatrick that led to Kirkpatrick's leaving the department. He did not indicate the reason for the tensions in the written history, but he told a colleague that Kolb was upset that

Kirkpatrick had permitted a female staff member to accompany him on a field trip. Wileden doubted that there was any impropriety, and suggested that Kolb was unusually strait-laced and prudish. Perhaps Kolb was also slow to accept women as field researchers, whereas Kirkpatrick regularly worked with women professionals from home economics. In any case, there is no evidence that the Kirkpatricks had any marital disruption, and he and his wife had a life-long partnership.

I suspect there were more fundamental reasons for the disaffection between Kolb and Kirkpatrick. Kirkpatrick was formally in the Department of Rural Sociology for ten years, and he was never promoted from Associate Professor to Professor. Kolb had been elevated from Associate to Full Professor in only two years. There may have been a growing rivalry between the two for leadership in the department also, and Kirkpatrick may have chafed at Kolb's domineering style. Kolb was four years younger than Kirkpatrick, though Kolb had earned his PhD a year before Kirkpatrick. Kirkpatrick, however, was a more prolific publisher of books, bulletins, government reports, and articles. He also had closer relationships with officials in the Federal agricultural agencies in Washington—the primary dispensers of money for rural research. During his time at Wisconsin he had leaves to serve as a rural relief analyst and adviser in the Federal Emergency Relief Administration and Assistant Regional Director of the Resettlement Administration. In 1937 Kirkpatrick took leave from the university again to work with the Rural Rehabilitation Division of the Resettlement Administration in Washington. He never again returned to the University of Wisconsin (Wileden, 1979, p. 11-12).

For the next few years Kirkpatrick worked in government and nongovernment agencies in Washington, DC. In 1938 Kirkpatrick gathered together the results of the cooperative studies on rural rehabilitation carried out in eight different types of farming areas in Alabama, Arkansas, Wisconsin, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, Wyoming, and Colorado. He published a summary volume entitled *Analysis of 70,000 Rural Rehabilitation Families* (Kirkpatrick, 1938). On the basis of his analysis he called for more research on why certain families were rejected for rural rehabilitation loan programs, on what happened to those who were rejected, and why some families failed after being accepted (Larson, 2003, p. 200). This work was done for the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life and the Social Research Section of the Farm Security Administration, both now headed by Carl C. Taylor, a rural sociologist who was a militant defender of the rural poor. Kirkpatrick also collaborated with Carl C. Taylor and Helen Wheeler on a monograph on *Disadvantaged Classes in American Agriculture* for the Farm Security Administration (C. C. Taylor *et al.*, 1938). They estimated that one-third of the farm population had “submarginal standards of living” (p. 61). Although Kirkpatrick was committed to the view that most marginal farmers needed

to be moved into the urban labor force, he displayed far more concern for the poor who were displaced than did most of the agricultural economists who had come through Henry C. Taylor's Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

Kirkpatrick had done a study of farm young people for Galpin as early as 1927 when he was still in Washington and he continued with a small survey of 250 rural high school students in southern Wisconsin in 1933 (Kirkpatrick, 1935). He found that a majority of both boys and girls expressed a preference to continue living on a farm rather than in a town or city, even though most were aware of a retrenchment in their standard of living in the recent past. Through the rest of the decade he did other studies of farm youths and became increasingly concerned about the limited opportunities for young people in farming. For more than ten years he served as chair of the Youth Advisory Committee of the American Country Life Association and was responsible for organizing its conferences (Kirkpatrick, 1940, p. vi). After he left Wisconsin for Washington, he published a number of books and pamphlets between 1939 and 1945 dealing with farm youths for the Youth Section of the American Country Life Association, The Home Missions Council of North America, and the American Youth Commission of the American Council on Education. Henry C. Taylor was a member of the American Youth Commission, and Dwight Sanderson, Carl C. Taylor, and Edmund deS. Brunner were on the Rural Committee of the American Youth Commission—no doubt contacts that facilitated his research in this area. Kirkpatrick himself held the position of Secretary of the American Youth Commission, and also was a member of its Advisory Committee (Kirkpatrick and Boynton, 1941).

The outpouring of publications from Kirkpatrick came to a halt in 1945. In the late 1940s he returned to academia. This time, however, he accepted a post teaching sociology at a liberal arts college—Marietta College in Marietta, Ohio. He retired there as Emeritus Professor of Sociology, and he was awarded an honorary Doctor of Laws by Marietta College in 1963. He continued to live in Marietta after retirement and died there October 8, 1964, at the age of 80. He and his wife Grace Martfield Kirkpatrick are buried in Mound Cemetery in Marietta—one of the oldest burial grounds west of the Appalachian Mountains.

George William Hill (b. 1900) in Wisconsin

George William Hill was another sociologist who played a major role in the Department of Rural Sociology in its early years. He was born September 26, 1900, in Ely, Minnesota, an iron-mining center on the edge of what is today the Boundary Waters Wilderness Area. He was the son of Joseph and Anna Mathilda (Halonquist) Hill, Finnish immigrants who settled in

the area to work in the mines. Finish immigrants tended to value education more highly than most other European immigrants in the latter part of the century, and George was able to attend the University of Minnesota and earn an A.B. degree in 1932. He also attended the University of Chicago for a time. After that he worked as a research supervisor with the Federal Emergency Relief Administration in charge of rural research in Midwestern states until 1935. Among other things, he did research on rural migration and farm abandonment in South Dakota. In 1936 he came to the Wisconsin Department of Rural Sociology as an Instructor and at the same time began study at the university for a PhD in sociology (UW Archives, 9-21/3-3, Box 4, Folder George W. Hill).

During the Great Depression there was much Federal money available for research by rural sociologists, and as a young Wisconsin faculty member he was able to do research in Wisconsin on rural relief trends, land retirement, and problems in the cutover area of northern Wisconsin. He was able to use his research on the last for a 172-page PhD dissertation, "Man in the 'Cut-Over': A Culture Care Study of Social Relationships," in 1940. A 71-page summary with Ronald A. Smith as a co-author was published as Research Bulletin 139 by the Agricultural Experiment Station of the UW College of Agriculture in 1941. They sought to explain why some farmers in northern Wisconsin were successful and others were not. They concluded that only about one-fifth of the farm families in the cutover were "in distress," and they had generally been failures before moving into the area. They argued against the proposal to depopulate the cutover by removing the farmers and converting it to forestry and recreational use. Instead, they favored a program of carefully selecting farmers who were well prepared and assisting them in migrating into the area. This was in sharp contrast with his colleague Kirkpatrick's conclusion four years earlier that only about 40 percent of the current farmers in the cutover were capable of remaining in the area and remaining successful self-sustaining farmers, and Richard T. Ely's even harsher view that the farmers in the cutover were "backward, immoral, and dangerous." The policies of the Department of Agriculture under Henry Taylor's influence generally favored forcing inefficient and unsuccessful farmers off the land and into the urban labor force.

Hill's view of the cutover area was no doubt strongly influenced by his own Finnish background and his intimate knowledge of Finnish American culture. Hill retained a strong Finnish ethnic identity from his youth. He spoke and wrote Finnish fluently and had a strong interest in both the Finnish American community and his ancestral country of Finland. With John Kolehmainen, he later coauthored the definitive history of Finns in Wisconsin—*Haven in the Woods* (Kolehmainen and Hill, 1951). In the draft of a proposed text for the dust jacket of the book, he wrote,

If a traveler of the decade before World War I stopped to trace the ring of an axe in north Wisconsin, there was almost a fifty-fifty chance that he would have found the axeman to be a Finnish immigrant. The Finn would have been working either as a laborer in the lumbering industry or in the clearing of his “forty” preparatory to farming in this last frontier of Wisconsin opened to permanent settlement. Whether or not it was because of the similarities in the topography, climate, and vegetation between Finland and the pine forest region of Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Michigan, this area was favored over all others of the nation by Finnish immigrants (Wisconsin Archives 9/21/3-3, Box 5, Folder S, 1948-50).

Because of his sensitivity to issues of ethnicity, he included an ethnic cultural component in much of his research. He began to ask the question, “Does the cultural background of a rural people have any influence upon the prevailing type of farming, ratio of farm tenancy to farm ownership, value of farm land and buildings, tax delinquency, relief acceptance, and other related sociological phenomena?” (Hoelscher, 1998, pp. 151-152). It seemed obvious to him that ethnic cultural background made a real difference, and county agricultural agents confirmed him in his belief. In Price County, for example, he found that the farmers of Czech background were far more productive and prosperous than their Finnish neighbors. In the state as a whole “old stock

Americans” or Yankees fared considerably worse than such groups as the Germans, Czechs, Norwegians, and Poles, who were “inclined to view the land as a precious acquisition, to be cherished as a home and to be handed down to the children unencumbered” (Hoelscher, 1998, p. 158).

Research on Wisconsin’s twenty-two major ethnic groups became his central focus for several years, even while he was working on his PhD. The Works Progress Administration (WPA) made three project grants between 1937 and 1942 to fund the Wisconsin Nationality Project, which provided a large staff of over 50 persons to carry out research on Wisconsin’s ethnic groups.

This was a small but important part of the government employment program that provided jobs for an average of 43,000 people a year in Wisconsin between 1935 and 1940 (Lakore, 1966). Hill was project director, and three graduate students served as project supervisors. The staff recoded 400,000 schedules of the 1905 Wisconsin state census, punched the data on Hollerith cards, fed them through counter-sorter machines, and constructed 4,141 tables that were bound in eleven volumes (Hill, 1940). Apparently, there was never more than a short bulletin published analyzing the mass of

HOLLERITH CARD USED FOR GEORGE W. HILL'S ETHNIC GROUP STUDY (UW ARCHIVES)

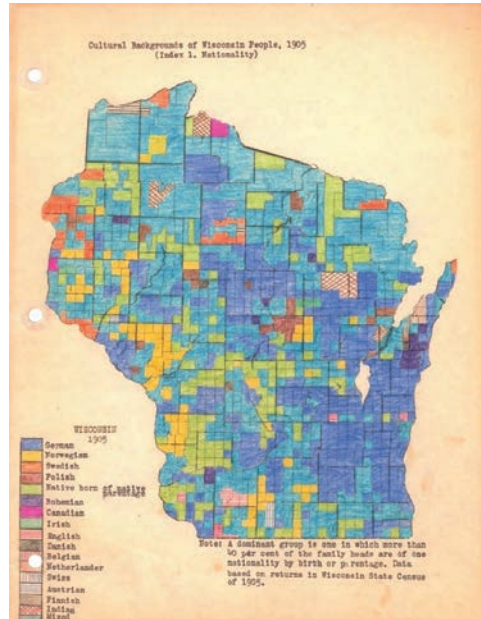
tables produced by the study, and the physical location of the eleven volumes of tables and the recoded schedules today is unknown. The results are probably lost apart from a few accounts that Hill wrote for particular ethnic groups in a few counties. A report by T. C. McCormick in 1948 stated that a 25-chapter book by Hill and W. Carman Lucas entitled *Americans All* was in press describing in detail the various national groups of Wisconsin—Germans, Poles, Norwegians, English, Irish, Welsh, Swiss, Swedes, Belgians, etc. (UW Archives, 24/9/3 Box 79 Sociology). I have found no record of this book and believe that it never appeared in print.

Hill did use the 1905 census data to construct an ethnic map of Wisconsin showing each township in which one nationality group, by birth or parentage, constituted more than 40 percent of the family heads. Additional data were also collected through fieldwork. It was published as a supplement to a University Bulletin, *Wisconsin's Changing Population* (1942) and Rand-McNally printed 11,000 full-color copies of the map, entitled "The People of Wisconsin According to Ethnic Stocks" (Hill, 1940; Hoelscher, 1998, pp. 152-

155). It was widely distributed and brought Hill much favorable attention. The documentation of the state's cultural diversity began to serve political ends too, especially to oppose the Nazi doctrine of racial superiority of Aryan peoples. The *Milwaukee Journal* proclaimed Wisconsin's cultural diversity its biggest asset, and it published a full-page simplified color version of Hill's map, with an extended commentary:

Wisconsin is living proof that democracy can and does work. It is a concentrated segment of democracy, in which people of all heritages work together for the welfare of all. It refutes totalitarian claims of racial

superiority. . . . There is no such thing as racial purity or cultural homogeneity, either here or on the other side of the water. But we do have homogeneous ideals and values on which we can anchor our democracy (quoted by Hoelscher, 1998, pp. 159, 161).



DRAFT VERSION OF HILL'S ETHNIC MAP OF WISCONSIN FOR 1905
(UW ARCHIVES)

It seems clear to me that Hill had a quite different outlook on farmer abilities and the reasons for poverty than Henry C. Taylor and perhaps Ellis Kirkpatrick. Taylor and Kirkpatrick tried to identify “progressive” farmers who were educated and ready to adopt new technologies and scientific management. Hill believed that some of the most successful farmers were those from central European ethnic groups who were very traditional in their orientation to farming and dedicated to taking the best possible care of their land through old tried-and-true methods.

Taylor and Kirkpatrick were concerned with the problem of rural poverty, but believed that the best solution was to encourage the movement of poor farmers out of agriculture altogether. Hill, I believe, was much more concerned with providing aid to the poorest farmers—an orientation that came to full fruition in the next part of his career in Latin America. When Hill was working in a wartime administrative post in Carl Taylor’s Division of Farm Population and Rural Life in 1945, he wrote a memo to Taylor expressing his strong approval of the Farm Security Administration’s

experiment in providing rehabilitation assistance to the very poorest stratum of farmers in the country. "He stated that he was impressed with it as 'a rare sociological contribution' in the field of rural rehabilitation research, 'outstanding in comparison' with much of the research in this area by sociologists in the past decade" (Larson, 2003, p. 210).

This experiment represented a significant departure from past policies of the New Deal agricultural agencies. By 1938 it was becoming clear that there was an increasing tendency to provide rehabilitation services only to the "better risks," largely because of an emphasis on the repayment of loans. In this experiment, which was begun in 1938 and lasted for four years, services were provided to 606 low-income families in widely dispersed areas. It included African American sharecroppers in one Georgia county, white sharecroppers in another, a Spanish American area in New Mexico, a poverty pocket in the southern Appalachians, and part-time farmers in a cutover area of Washington. They were provided with more intense supervision than in the standard programs, and the supervisors were given more leeway in the use of grant and loan funds. Rural sociologists in Carl Taylor's Division of Farm Population and Rural Life were responsible for evaluating the experiment, and reports were prepared by Conrad Taeuber, Rachel Rowe (Swiger), Olaf F. Larson, Charles P. Loomis, and Glen Grisham. In spite of difficulties caused in part by disruptions from the war, they concluded that the results showed promise in helping the groups at the very bottom of the socioeconomic ladder to escape from dire poverty if they were provided with the proper opportunities and individualized assistance (Larson, 1993, pp. 208-210).

When World War II broke out, a severe labor shortage developed, for 20 percent of the prewar civilian labor force was called up for military service. The shortage was particularly severe in the agricultural sector, for there was a need for much greater food production in spite of the declining labor force. Hill got the notion that large numbers of male and female workers among the unemployed and underemployed in Wisconsin could be recruited to work in agriculture and industry. He carried out a study that showed that such a program was eminently feasible, but that the US Employment Service "had no knowledge of effective rural employee recruiting methods and that it failed totally to meet the needs of agricultural employers." Based on his findings a state organization was created to "bring this available reservoir of idle manpower into the labor market." In October, 1942, Hill was called to Washington, DC, by the Secretary of Agriculture to create a farm employment service on a national level that was similar to the Wisconsin program. At first he worked only part-time at the federal level, but later he went on leave to devote full time as the director of labor policy planning for the War Food Administration. As a part of the program agricultural workers

were recruited from Mexico, Jamaica, the Bahamas, Honduras, Barbados, and Newfoundland, as well as German and Italian prisoners of war. The program was a great success, and in spite of the loss of workers to the armed forces—most of whom never returned to agriculture—food production increased each year throughout the war years (Wisconsin Archives 9/21/3-3, Box 1, Folder Hill—Personal).

Hill's Work in Venezuela and Latin America

Hill was certainly best known within the state for his research on Wisconsin ethnic groups, but the second part of his career devoted to agrarian issues in Latin America is equally significant. Very few American sociologists were interested in Latin America before 1946. Notable exceptions were Nathan L. Whetten, Eyley N. Simpson, and Frank Tannenbaum in Mexico; Carl C. Taylor in Argentina; T. Lynn Smith in Brazil; Clarence O. Senior in Puerto Rico and Mexico; and Lowry Nelson in Cuba. Hill's work in the War Food Administration came to an end when at the request of the Secretary of State he accepted an appointment to the government of Venezuela as advisor on immigration and colonization issues. Officials in Venezuela were interested in him because of his work on migration and colonization in the cutover area of Wisconsin. The US Department of Agriculture wanted him to remain an employee of the US government and serve as a consultant on loan to Venezuela, but officials in Venezuela regarded the position as politically sensitive and insisted that he be employed directly by the Venezuelan government so that he would be responsible only to them (UW Archives 9'21'3-3, Box 6, Folder Glen Taggart). He accepted this arrangement and secured an extended leave from the University of Wisconsin. He and his wife and children traveled to Caracas in March, 1945. They remained in Venezuela for one year until March 1, 1946, while he developed a plan for colonization of undeveloped lands. Hill was the first Wisconsin sociologist to make a real commitment to service in Latin America and less developed countries and established a precedent that was later followed by a host of other sociologists in Rural Sociology and Sociology, as well as social scientists in other departments and the Land Tenure Center.

On October 18, 1945, Venezuela's Acción Democrática party under the leadership of Rómulo Betancourt joined dissident military leaders in a coup to overthrow the 27-year dictatorship of Juan Vicente Gómez. Betancourt established a reform democratic government and began to put into action a land redistribution program he had been advocating since 1937. He moved cautiously, however, for no government agency had done any planning for agrarian reform, there were few agronomists and technicians to administer an ambitious program, and there was not even a cadastral survey to identify

what lands were owned by whom (Alexander, 1982, pp. 270-271). Hill was already in Venezuela when the coup occurred, and though he no doubt welcomed the installation of a President who was more committed to agrarian reform and aiding the poor, his work was disrupted by a complete turnover among the agricultural officials he was working with. Hill became very much interested in the problems of rural poverty and extreme inequality in land holdings in Venezuela, and he began to publish papers, first on immigration and land settlement, his original assignment, but later on the need for land redistribution and a more thorough agrarian reform.

After Hill submitted his final report on social and economic conditions affecting land settlement and immigration, he was delighted that the new government was adopting many of his suggestions. The Betancourt government wanted him to stay on, but he and his family wanted to return to Madison. He wrote to his friend Paul Landis,

They have wanted us to stay, but this is not the country or culture for us. We have had a lot of fun, and many heartaches as well. What with a revolution and a complete change in personnel, conditions have been difficult. I am glad it is over and we are enplaning on March 1 for Madison (UW Archives, 9/21/3-3, Box 1, Folder Hill, Personal).

He would later change his mind and spend much of his subsequent life, including some of his most productive years, living and teaching in Venezuela and other parts of Latin America. In 1946, however, he very much wanted to return home. He had been away for four years—three in Washington and one in Caracas—and he had been promoted to full professor at Wisconsin the year before.

Incidentally, when he returned to Wisconsin in 1946, he reported that manufactured items that were rationed or still in short supply in the U.S., such as cars, refrigerators, or nylon stockings, were readily available in Venezuela. U.S. manufacturers were circumventing the wartime price controls that were still in place by selling their goods in South American markets (“Professors in the News,” 1946, p. 14).

William H. Sewell joined the Rural Sociology Department in 1946, the same year that Hill returned from his four-year absence. During the 1946-47 year Sewell taught “Methods of Research in Rural Sociology”, but Hill taught a graduate “Research Seminar,” as he had in earlier years. In it he explored “scope and method in current research in community organization, standards of living, population, farmers’ organizations, social institutions, rural government.” He also co-taught a course on rural Community and Welfare Organizations with John Barton.

Hill immediately began to catch up on what was happening with

migrant agricultural workers in Wisconsin. About 4,000 agricultural workers of Mexican and Hispanic descent came up for the first time from Texas to work in the fields in Wisconsin during the summer and fall of 1947. Hill launched a study of this new group of workers, who appeared to be giving Wisconsin a trial. He interviewed a sample of these workers and found that they came largely in family groups, and most of the children also worked in the fields. The children nearly all had irregular school attendance records, and the families had low incomes and suffered from poor health conditions. Hill predicted that this group of migrant workers would likely make up the largest group of seasonal workers that Wisconsin farmers would come to depend on in the coming years. He recommended that the workers should be given greater opportunities in community affairs, and that greater attention should be given to their health problems. He also sharply criticized the *tro-querro* system of labor recruiting with dishonest crew chiefs cheating both the workers and the farmer employers. In collaboration with Gregorio Beltram, an Ingeniero Agronomo in the Facultad Nacional de Agronomía, Medellín, Colombia, he published an Agricultural Extension Service Bulletin in 1948 on *Texas-Mexican Migratory Agricultural Workers in Wisconsin*—a line of research that was later continued by Doris P. Slesinger in numerous publications between 1977 and 2000.

Hill also continued to work on the Wisconsin Nationalities Project, which had been left unfinished when he went to Washington. In a 1947 report to the Rockefeller Foundation he indicated that much progress had been made in collecting field data on the acculturation of Norwegian families in Vernon County and Danish and Polish farm families in Clark County, but the studies had not yet reached the analysis stage (9-21/3-3, Box 1, Folder 1946-47, General, A-B). I am not aware of any resulting publications.

In January, 1947, Hill received a letter from Edwin J. Kyle, the American Ambassador to Guatemala, asking whether he might be interested in a position as a Cultural Relations Attaché in Guatemala, where the US was developing an agricultural program. Hill expressed cautious interest, but he commented, “Frankly, I had not given any real thought to the possibility of returning to Latin America until this arrival of your letter which now brings up the question” (UW Archives, 9/21/3-3, Box 1, Folder Hill, Personal). Among other things, he wanted to know if there would be opportunities for an Attaché to do some social research in the field. This inquiry did not lead to any positive development, but three years later Calvert Dedrick, the Coordinator of International Statistics for the US Bureau of the Census tried to recruit him as a consultant to work in census offices in Latin America. They were already working in Chile, Ecuador, Panama, Nicaragua, and Haiti and expected to do work in Paraguay, Uruguay, and some of the Central American Countries, and possibly in the Far East. Carl Taylor had suggested

him as an ideal candidate (UW Archives, 9/21/3-3, Box 5, Folder S 1948-1950). The archival records do not indicate whether he received a formal offer from the Census, but he did go to R. K. Froker, who became Dean of the College of Agriculture in 1948, to ask for a counter-offer to match the much higher salary he had been offered at another job. Sewell, who had become chair of Rural Sociology by then, relayed the Dean's response: "He is very anxious that you remain at Wisconsin because he thinks very highly of your work. . . . However, he points out that it is against his policy and that of the administration to grant raises to meet offers from other institutions or to prevent men from taking more attractive opportunities in other work" (UW Archives, 9/21/3-3, Box 5, Folder S, 1948-50). Disappointed, he decided to leave the University of Wisconsin in 1950, and Wisconsin sociology lost, next to Sewell, its most energetic empirical researcher. Hill's final research at Wisconsin was a demographic study of the fertility of the farm population of Wisconsin from 1848 to 1948, but it did not appear in print in *Rural Sociology* until 1951 after he had left the university.

It is not clear whether the new job Hill accepted was with the Census for a year or two or with the Venezuelan government. In any case, he was soon back in Venezuela on a long-term basis. In 1952 Hill published a book on land settlement in Venezuela and founded the Department of Sociology and Cultural Anthropology at the Universidad Central de Venezuela in Caracas—the leading university in Venezuela. He was appointed Professor of Sociology, and he built an excellent department. In 1959 he published a monograph on Trinidad, a sociological study of the Tacarigua community. In 1960 he published a textbook in Spanish, coauthored with his wife, Ruth Oliver Hill, and Jose A. Silva M.—*La Vida Rural en Venezuela* (1960). It was published for the Ministerio de Sanidad y Asistencia Social of the Venezuelan government.

During Hill's previous stay in Venezuela, the Betancourt government had made a beginning to its agrarian reform program, and by the end of 1947 the government had redistributed 73,770 hectares to 6,000 peasants from properties confiscated from the heirs of Gómez. By 1948 agricultural colonies covering 29,350 hectares were established for some 1,130 families, including many new immigrants. Betancourt did not run for President in 1948, but stood aside for his friend, Rómulo Gallegos, a novelist and political novice, to be elected President in Venezuela's very first honest, democratic election. What was intended to be a permanent agrarian reform law was passed in 1948, and it established the Instituto Agrario Nacional as the administrative department to carry out the reform. A few weeks later, however, Gallegos was overthrown in a coup by a military junta led by Marcos Pérez Jiménez (Alexander, 1982, pp. 271-272, 295).

After Hill returned to Venezuela he became a Technical Adviser to

the Instituto Agrario Nacional, but he was powerless to prevent the Pérez Jiménez regime from dismantling the Betancourt reforms. It put an immediate stop to the agrarian reform program. Peasants were evicted first from redistributed private lands and later even from public lands. Large quantities of public lands were also transferred to favored private owners. By 1958 some 96 percent of the peasants who had received land from the previous government had been expelled from their plots (Landsberger, 1969, p. 69). Even in the face of the reactionary Pérez Jiménez dictatorship, which was strongly supported by the Eisenhower Administration, Hill persisted in his efforts in Venezuela. In 1951 he attended the International Conference on Land Tenure and Related Problems in World Agriculture, held in Madison, and he presented a paper on the earlier efforts at agrarian reform in Venezuela (Hill *et al.*, 1956). This is the landmark conference that planted the seeds that resulted in the establishment of the Land Tenure Center at Wisconsin a decade later.

It was not until Pérez Jiménez was overthrown in 1958 and Betancourt was again elected President that an agrarian reform program was resumed—this time with greater vigor. An agrarian reform law was passed in 1960, and in the first four years land was distributed to perhaps 200,000 families. Most of the distributed land was public land. Owners of private lands that were redistributed were compensated at market value, and the peasants who received land paid nothing for the land (Alexander, 1982, pp. 502-505; Wilpert, 2005).

In 1964 Hill published a popular article on “Latin America’s Most Explosive Problem” in the stalwartly conservative *Reader’s Digest*, the world’s largest circulation magazine (Hill, 1964). This was somewhat surprising, since just a few months earlier the magazine hailed the military coup that overthrew Brazil’s democratically elected President João Goulart as a “triumph over Red subversion.” Goulart’s plan to redistribute nonproductive properties larger than 600 hectares (1483 acres) was one of the main reasons for his overthrow. U.S. government documents declassified in 2004 indicate that the U.S. government and CIA aided and abetted the coup with the explicit approval of President Lyndon Johnson (Kornbluh, 2004). In the article Hill argued that rural unrest was Latin America’s most explosive problem, and the best way to fight communism and prevent another Castro-type revolution was to carry out effective agrarian reform programs. He warned against radical programs like the ones in Mexico following the 1910 revolution, the revolution in Bolivia in 1952, and in Castro’s Cuba. He touted the Venezuela land reform program as a model that other Latin American countries should follow:

Now Venezuela's program . . . is proving that the *right kind* of land distribution can build democracy and close the gates to communist infiltration. Betancourt's program wisely preserves private-property rights. Instead of destroying big commercial farms vital to the economy, Venezuela generally exempts from redistribution all tracts being *productively* farmed. The government has thus far resettled 66,000 campesino families on former public land, or on underused land that is purchased at fair prices from private owners (Hill, 1964, p. 174).

This kind of appeal resonated with the *Reader's Digest's* conservative anti-communist stance, and was also consistent with the Alliance for Progress program for Latin America announced by John F. Kennedy in 1961 and continued by the Johnson Administration through 1968. Hill's optimism about the Venezuelan agrarian reform, however, was misplaced. Thiesenhusen classified it as a "minimalist" program that did not lead to any fundamental alteration in agrarian structure (Thiesenhusen, 1995, p. 162). When land distribution came to an end in 1974 only 150,000 to 200,000 families had received land, whereas it was estimated in 1960 that 280,000 to 380,000 families were in need of land (Handelman, 1979, p. 46). Most of the distributed land was virgin public land in remote, relatively unsettled areas, far from markets. Only 6 percent of private farm land was redistributed. Over 80 percent of the recipients never received a title, and most had difficulty securing commercial credit, government credit, or technical assistance. Venezuela also suffered from the "Dutch Disease," with the petroleum bonanza creating inflation that made it impossible for Venezuelan farm products to compete with cheaper imported agricultural products. Almost half of the land recipients failed and had to give up farming, moving to the city. In 1960 35 percent of the population still lived in rural areas, but by the 1990s only 12 percent remained there, and enormous slums or *barrios* grew up and stretched for miles on the outskirts of Caracas and other major cities (Handelman, 1979; Handelman, 1981; Wilpert, 2005). Moisés Naím, a conservative, writing in 2001, emphasized the dismal economic performance of Venezuela in spite of its oil revenues:

In the past 20 years, critical poverty has increased threefold and poverty in general has more than doubled. Since 1980, in Latin America only Nicaragua, Haiti and Guyana have experienced a worse economic performance than Venezuela Real wages are 70 percent below what they were in 1980 (Naím, 2001).

By the time Hugo Chávez took office in 1998 agriculture had declined to only 6 percent of GDP—the lowest in Latin America. Venezuela was also

importing 70 percent of its food—the only Latin American country that was a net importer of food. Possibly fearing another coup, Acción Democrática had tried to avoid antagonizing the landed elite, and the major estates were left largely untouched. In 1961 2.2 percent of landholders controlled 78.8 percent of cultivable land; a decade later after most of the land distributions 3.1 percent controlled 76.5%. The net result was that by 1998, according to the World Bank, Venezuela had the second greatest land inequality in Latin America (Handelman, 1981; Handelman, 1979; Ellis, 2011). Chávez reinstated an agrarian reform program in 2001, but an opposition deputy complained that still in 2012 large estates remained a serious issue in Venezuela and that 1 percent of farms accounted for 48 percent of all lands (“Large Estates Are Still a ‘Serious Issue’ in Venezuela,” 2012). The economic programs of the Chávez government, however, reduced the poverty rate from 62.1 percent in 2003 to 31.5 percent in 2008, and the extreme poverty rate fell from 29.5 percent to 9.5 percent. Average real incomes also grew by more than 50 percent (Brouwer, 2011, p. 79). The Gini coefficient has been decreasing, and in 2009 Venezuela became the South American nation with the most equal income distribution (Brouwer, 2011, p. 158).

During the 1960s, while the U.S. government was still giving tepid support to agrarian reform programs in Latin America with the Alliance for Progress, Hill went on to do more studies and publish articles not only on Venezuela, but also on Honduras (1962), Costa Rica (1963-64), and Guatemala (1967-68). He participated in a Latin American Economic Development Conference on the development of Chile, Mexico, Brazil, and Peru in 1966. In 1974 he even went outside Latin America to produce a paper on manpower problems and programs for the smallholder rubber sector in Thailand. I have found no records concerning his subsequent career and life.

When Thiesenhusen did a summing up of the experience of agrarian reform in Latin America in 1995, however, he presented a bleak picture. Most of the reforms in most countries had little effect in improving the lives of poor farmers or *campesinos*, though they did play a role in helping to create a modern commercial agricultural sector. For the most part only the better off and organized peasants benefited, but even those who did receive land rarely received the credit, fertilizer, seed, irrigation water, and technical advice that they needed to succeed. The governments themselves often undermined or reversed the reforms, sometimes blatantly, as in Chile and Guatemala, but more often in stealth in subtle and surreptitious ways through macroeconomic policies (Thiesenhusen, 1995, pp. 173-176). Hill fought for the *campesinos* throughout the last part of his career, and he was followed by a long line of Wisconsin social scientists in this effort. They also continued to experience the same frustrations.

John R. Barton

Another faculty member who joined the Department of Rural Sociology in 1936, the same year as George W. Hill, was John R. Barton. He was not really trained as a sociologist and came to the department in an unusual way, but William H. Sewell, who got to know him after he arrived a decade later, thought very highly of him:

John Barton was one of the wisest men I ever knew, but he wasn't trained much in sociology. I think he'd been to Yale Theological School. And he'd gotten interested in the folk school movement in his various visits around the world, and when Christensen became dean of the College of Agriculture he brought John in to run the short course for the farm kids and make it look a folk school in Denmark. And John did that, but then later deans didn't like that idea and kicked John out. Kolb had given him a rank of associate professor in the department, so he came to lodge with rural sociology. Really never had any effect on the graduate program, but he was a marvelous teacher and one of God's own gentlemen and he stayed here until he retired, and soon after died (Sewell Oral History Interview 2,1983).

Kolb's Retirement and Death

Kolb taught at the University of Wisconsin for 38 years and retired in 1958. He was the founder of the department and the first chair, presiding for 19 years. He was an able administrator and was able to build the department with many able scholars. The later development of the department is traced in Chapters 18 and 20. Kolb's legacy continued at Wisconsin, but after he retired he moved to California and did some teaching at the University of California at Davis. He was also a visiting professor at Cornell University in 1961-62 (Wileden, 1964b, p. 96). He died in Santa Clara, California, on March 20, 1963.

CHAPTER 9

Kimball Young (1893-1972)

Kimball Young was a major figure in sociology and social psychology at Wisconsin between 1926 and 1940. He came from a surprising conservative social background in Utah, but was something of a maverick like his father and grandmother. His doctorate was in psychology, but after he became a member of the Wisconsin sociology department he developed a sociological perspective and became a major transitional figure in the development of sociological social psychology.

Early Life and Education

Young was born in Provo, Utah, October 26, 1893, the grandson of Brigham Young and Harriet Elizabeth Cooke Campbell Young, the fourth of Brigham Young's twenty-seven wives. Harriet was a second-cousin of Ralph Waldo Emerson and was an educated, strong-willed, and outspoken woman. She came from a Quaker family in New York but became a Mormon and married Brigham Young over her parents' objections. In Utah Brigham and Harriet came to despise each other and avoided each other as much as possible. During her twenty-six years of marriage with Brigham, Harriet had become cynical about the Mormon religion as well and was known to say to her friends, "Mormonism, polygamy, and the whole of it, is humbug, and may go to the devil for all I care" (Wallace, 1961, pp. 83, 188). Ann Eliza Young, the twenty-seventh and last wife, who later left Brigham and led a movement against polygamy, wrote of Harriet, "Brigham, finding her so ungovernable, and being quite unable to exact submission or obedience from her, refused to live with her, and although she still lives at the 'Lion House' with the other wives, avoids her as studiously as possible, and will not even notice her, unless positively compelled to do so." Even so, Harriet and Brigham had a child together three years into marriage—a son named Oscar, who later became the father of Kimball Young. Oscar was also an independent-minded boy with an "ungovernable temper" who was difficult for Brigham to control. He called his father "the old man" and Brigham called him a "reprobate" (Wallace, 1961, pp.188-189).

In an autobiographical sketch he wrote for Odom, Kimball Young explained how someone with his views emerged from such a conservative Mormon environment:

My father . . . was a son of Brigham Young and brought up in the faith of the Mormons. Yet he was a well-read man—only had a third-grade schooling, formally—knew Shakespeare, Sam Johnson, and most of the hard-headed literary lights of English literature. He read Tom Paine, Robert Ingersoll, Darwin, Huxley, and especially Herbert Spencer. He even tackled Schopenhauer, though I fancy he found him a bit tough going. Politically he was a “Jacksonian” democrat---and this in the midst of the Reed Smoot type of Republicanism. . . . You see, our family were among the elite of the Church, so even though he was looked upon as heterodox, he was liked and respected. This helped in my own adjustment, too. . . . Added to this was my own reading of some of the simpler items in Ingersoll and Paine, at about the coming of puberty. But with respect to sociological interests and teaching, it was such books as Tylor’s *Anthropology*, which I read when 13 years of age, and various histories, that set me on my way (Odom, pp. 218-219).

Between 1912 and 1914 Young served as a Mormon missionary in Germany in the Königsberg and Danzig areas, and learned to speak and read German. After returning to Utah he studied at Brigham Young University, majoring in German and history, and received his A.B. degree in 1915. He then taught history and English for a year in a high school in Arizona. Up to this point his career had been fairly typical for a young man from an elite Mormon family, but one of his Brigham Young University professors suggested to him that he do graduate work at the University of Chicago to broaden his horizons. He spent five quarters at the University of Chicago studying with W. I. Thomas, Robert E. Park, Ernest W. Burgess, Albion W. Small, and George Herbert Mead. He graduated with an A.M. degree in sociology in 1918. He was influenced especially by Mead and became strongly interested in social psychology and personality.

Young was at Chicago when the faculty was just beginning to encourage their students to undertake empirical research, and Young described his first stumbling efforts at an ecological study:

When I began as a student with Thomas, Park and Small, in 1916, the work was still largely oriented along philosophic lines. Thomas and Park were just beginning to stress empirical field studies, but without being

able to give the graduate student much in the way of rigid training in method. . . . However, under Park I did the first, or one of the first, ecological field studies in Chicago, working the area north of the river along Clark Street to Chicago Ave. (I am told that later the graduate students literally “wore out” my M.A. thesis, reading it as a “bad” example and as a warning “what not to do.”) It was not till the early 1930s that more rigid methods began to take root In the late 1920s we discussed method with such sound and fury, but no one did much empirical research (Odom, pp. 220-221).

Young married Myra Magdalene Anderson, September 6, 1917, while he was a student at Chicago. He was serving as a research assistant for W. I. Thomas while Thomas and Znaniecki were working on their study of *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, but Thomas was involved in a scandal in 1918 and was forced to resign from the University of Chicago. The FBI arrested him under the Mann Act for crossing state lines with another man’s wife. He was immediately dismissed by the university even before the trial—a trial that brought acquittal. Looking back in 1968, Young said, “Naturally, I was a little irritated,” but he went on to add, “My five quarters at Chicago fixed me for life” (Young, 1995, p. xix). In later years Young was one of the “Young Turk” leaders who led the campaign to elect W. I. Thomas President of the American Sociological Society.

Conservative sociologists, led by E. C. Hayes and Charles Ellwood, tried to block Thomas from becoming President and appealed to E. A. Ross for support, but Ross angrily rebuffed them. Young recalled

I’ll say this for old man Ross, who was a liberal and courageous man, he wrote both Ellwood and Hayes scorching letters that said Thomas’ personal life had nothing to do with this, that he was a great man and should have been elected president long ago. Ross was a really strong-minded person. He was a great man of principle in the finest sense, and regarded this as utter nonsense. He wrote saying in effect that this was a disgraceful business to try to stop Thomas, that Thomas was a distinguished scientist, and he for one was going to support him—and support him as much as possible (Young, 1995, p. 23).

Young did not remain at Chicago for his PhD. He first thought of going to Columbia to study with Franklin H. Giddings, but the offer of a fellowship at Stanford to study psychology with Lewis Terman led him to change directions. He had met Terman in the summer of 1919 while working with the Army’s program for intelligence testing.

Young’s dissertation under Terman’s direction at Stanford was *Mental*

Differences in Certain Immigrant Groups. Terman rejected the environmentalist interpretations of the Chicago sociologists and believed that racial differences were fundamentally biological in nature. Young found Terman's racism hard to take but kept his mouth shut:

I was pretty well fed up on Terman's doses of intelligence being inherited as a biological [racial] trait. But he made a tremendous impression on the educational world. So I played it cool and didn't say much about this in my dissertation, though I wanted to. I had to get that union card, as we all know (Young, 1995, p. 16).

To Young's credit, he exposed himself to some countervailing influences by making regular trips to Berkeley to be tutored by two anthropologists—Alfred Kroeber and Robert Lowie—who had been trained by Franz Boas, the arch anti-racist. Young, Kroeber, and Lowie also had a shared interest in the writings of Sigmund Freud. Young was fascinated with the field of anthropology and in 1923, at the invitation of Florian Znaniecki, strongly considered accepting a position as Chair of a Department of Anthropology at the University of Poznan in Poland (Young, 1995, pp. xix-xx). He continued to have a strong interest in anthropology throughout his life.

In 1920 Young started teaching psychology at the University of Oregon in Eugene while he completed his dissertation. His PhD in psychology was granted by Stanford in 1921. He went on leave to Clark University for a year in 1922-23 and became acquainted with G. Stanley Hall, Frank Hankins, and Harry Elmer Barnes. When he returned to Oregon he started teaching courses in anthropology and social psychology as well as psychology. He continued to be interested in Freudian theory and in 1924 underwent psychoanalysis with the psychiatrist L. Pierce Clark in New York City. He did so, not because of any concern about his own mental health, but out of intellectual curiosity about the process. He found it helpful, however:

Among other things, my analysis aided in my comprehension of what it means to live under an authoritarian regime. The Mormon community was and is highly authoritarian. I am a good product of living in an authoritarian society. I'm sure that my analysis helped me in my personal life and it helped me interpret Freud (Young, 1995, pp. 21-22).

Young Comes to Wisconsin

After spending six years working primarily as a psychologist, Young returned to his sociological roots when E. A. Ross brought him to Wisconsin as an Associate Professor of Social Psychology in 1926. He was promoted to

Professor of Social Psychology in 1930. He spoke of how fortunate he was to become a colleague of Ross, Gillin, Kolb, and Linton, who “. . . were part of my intellectual growing up. It was a great day and a grand experience to know these people and to come in contact with them” (Young, 1995, p. 30).

While he was at Wisconsin he wrote a series of books on social psychology and came to be recognized as one of the leading authorities in the field. Between 1930 and 1953, Young was among the ten authors most cited in social psychology textbooks written by sociological authors (Collier *et al.*, 1991, p. 5). He also wrote an introductory sociology textbook that proved to be phenomenally popular in numerous editions and incarnations—in later years in collaboration with Raymond Mack. Manford Kuhn, one of his former Wisconsin students, pointed to the textbook as an important contribution when he spoke at Young’s retirement from Northwestern University:

Particularly through the introductory text he has gone far in influencing the definition of the field of sociology as I indicated he has done for the field of social psychology. More than that, the book bears enough of the contagious interest to which I have already alluded that it has been an important though unmeasurable factor in interesting countless numbers of students in the field of sociology as a major and as a life work (Young, 1995, p. xxiv).

Among the most important features of the introductory textbook was an explicit disavowal of Terman’s racist interpretation of differences in intelligence test scores among different racial groups:

. . . It is becoming clear that intelligence and the tests of intelligence all reflect not only inherent learning power but also the social and cultural milieu to which the individual is exposed. . . . All so-called racial testing is really cultural testing. Recent work shows that differences among various groups of whites is quite as great as, or greater than, the differences in the average performance of various racial groups on the tests (Young, 1942, p. 262).



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(BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY
HIGH SCHOOL, PROVO, UTAH)

At Wisconsin Young taught mostly social psychology but also a number of other courses. In the first semester of 1928-1929, for example, he taught Social Psychology (118 students) and Seminary in Social Institutions (8 students) (Lampman, 1993, p. 42). In the preceding year, before Linton arrived, he taught the Seminary in Cultural Anthropology. Young acknowledged E. A. Ross as the first important social psychologist in the country, emphasizing imitation and diffusion, like Tarde, but also interaction. William McDougall had published the second English language book on social psychology, but he followed an individualistic tradition. Young, in his *Social Psychology*, published in 1930, tried to coordinate the two points of view: "I tried to show that the instinctual, motivational roots of behavior were modified by learning, and that this learning was largely cultural, though not entirely" (Young, 1995, p. 28).

Among noteworthy students that Young taught while he was at Wisconsin he mentions Abraham H. Maslow, who worked primarily with Harry Harlow, J. Edward Hulett, Paul Tappan, and three students who became demographers and worked at the U.S. Census—Calvert Dedrick, Henry Shryock, and Paul C. Glick (Young, Lindstrom, & Hardert, 1989, pp. 395-398).

Young was for 35 years the editor of the American Book Company's prestigious Sociology Series, and he told an amusing story about his difficulties with Pitirim Sorokin over the publication of his four-volume *Social and Cultural Dynamics* between 1937 and 1944:

He [Sorokin] was a brilliant man but one of the most opinionated persons I ever knew. Oh, boy, I tell you, we had a time with him. We hired a special proofreader for his first volume; his stuff was so badly put together, so badly constructed. After about fifteen to twenty letters back and forth, she said, "I can't work with a man like that. He's a wild man." So, if you look in this book, there [are] some grievous errors in facts, bad sentence structure, and some of the writing is just abominable—but no one could tell him anything. I gave up after the first volume. We just said: "Okay, you can do anything you want with the other three volumes." They fell dead off the press. The American Book Company took a terrible licking financially on those things (Young, 1995, p. 30).

Young also appears to have soured on Sorokin because of his ill-tempered attacks on Young's good friends, Sam Stouffer and Talcott Parsons. He was not aware of Parsons' devious manipulations to undermine Sorokin and remove him from the chairmanship.

Residence

Young lived in a number of different houses during his years in Madison, mostly very close to the campus. He spent most of his last years, 1933 and 1936-1938, however, in a two-story white frame house on the near east side at 119 North Franklin St., about a mile and one-half from the campus.

During much of the time that Young was at the University of Wisconsin, national Prohibition was in effect (1920-1933). Young, of course, grew up in a Mormon culture that was strongly opposed to alcoholic drinks, but he himself did not abstain. Many of the other early sociologists at Wisconsin, however, were strong supporters of Prohibition—even E. A. Ross. Nevertheless, alcohol flowed freely in Madison throughout Prohibition. One of Young's stepsons was a Deke—a member of the Delta Kappa Epsilon fraternity, which was active at UW from 1906 to 1953. Young said, "During Prohibition they used to buy their liquor from bootleggers in Milwaukee and bring it over by the barrel to have these great beer parties." He also told of an occasion when some of the faculty took the leading actor of an English theatrical troupe out to the city's biggest and most popular speakeasy after a matinee performance:

The evening performance was *Hamlet* and from the outset it was clear he was struggling. By the time he got to the gravedigger scene he was bouncing the skull of Yorick about the stage like a basketball. He was having a hilarious time. The audience was in an uproar and the manager, who was chairman of the department of speech, brought the curtain down, closed the show, offered refunds. I said I'd never take a dime. I'd never had so much fun in my life. I'd never hoped to see *Hamlet* played as a farce (Young, Lindstrom, & Hardert, 1989, p. 401).

One of Young's sociology students, Manford H. Kuhn, also remembered the speakeasy culture of Madison:

The University was among the truly notable universities of Western society. There was an urbanity about the place which was not to be gauged by the size of the city or by the enrollment of the University. To me, a youth of twenty, coming from the heart of the Bible Belt and of the Prohibition Party, its sophistication was at least to be partially indicated by the ubiquitousness of its speakeasies—there were alleged to be 100 between the University and the State Capitol in the one-mile length of State St. (Young, 1995, p. 90, no. 15).



KIMBALL YOUNG HOUSE IN 1933, 1936-38,
119 NORTH FRANKLIN STREET (R. MIDDLETON, 2012)

There are still many beer and liquor establishments in the area, though the city now limits the number of liquor licenses in the campus area. The university has a reputation as a “party school,” and underage and binge drinking by the students are ongoing concerns to university authorities.

Young’s first marriage to Myra Anderson Young failed in 1937 and their daughter Helen Ann said there was an amicable divorce (Young, 1995, p. 90, n. 14). It is Madison folklore that Young departed from the University of Wisconsin abruptly in 1940 because of a domestic triangle conflict. In an oral history interview William H. Sewell repeated a story told him by John Kolb:

Kimball Young left for one very good reason. And that was that he had an affair. . . . Everybody seems to know it. . . . John Kolb told me, so it must have been so. Because John Kolb was here at the time and thought the world of Kimball. Kimball got involved with and finally married one of Dr. Jackson’s wives. . . . Kimball Young became involved with her, and she opted to divorce Jackson and marry Kimball. . . . The word was that Dr. Jackson was going to shoot Kimball if he didn’t leave town. Now whether there was anything to that and whether Kimball had any fear of it, I doubt. But he had become persona non grata with the elite of Madison, and in those days you didn’t run off with or steal another man’s wife and run off with her if you were a college professor without getting into trouble. So Kimball, then, left. (Sewell Oral History Interview 2, 1983).

I do not know how much of this story is true, but Young was divorced in 1937 and he married Lillian Claire Doster, April 2, 1940, shortly before leaving Madison.

Subsequent Career

Young landed at Queens College in New York in 1940, three years after the college was founded. In his second year there he succeeded the gifted anthropologist Hortense Powdermaker as Chair of the Department of Sociology. At the end of World War II in Europe, he taught in the Army's Shrivenham College in England for servicemen waiting for demobilization and transportation home. To his chagrin, he could not obtain copies of his own textbook to use in his introductory sociology class and had to use the text of his chief competitor, Ogburn and Nimkoff's *Sociology* (Young, 1995, p. 56). (Fifteen years later I helped Nimkoff revise the fourth and final edition of the text. He was my department Head at Florida State, and he expected me to assist him without pay and with only minimal credit. Ogburn would have been more generous had he still been alive.)

While he was in England in 1945, Young was elected President of the American Sociological Society. After he returned to the US, he was brought to Northwestern University in 1947 to rebuild their Department of Sociology and serve as Chair. During his years at Northwestern he published one of his best-known books, *Isn't One Wife Enough? The Story of Mormon Polygamy* in 1954. This was an exploration of the polygynous marriage practices of members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints in their early years in Utah. Kimball Young's own grandfather, Brigham Young, was one of the most-married leaders. Kimball may have chosen this topic because of the negative views of his grandmother and his father toward polygyny, but he was able to maintain an objective, sociological stance in his analysis of the problems associated with the practice. No doubt he angered many Mormons, however, when he wrote of the founder, Joseph Smith, "On the other hand, and on a more practical level, it may be that the doctrine was first announced as a rationalization for Smith's own infidelities" (Young, 1954, p. 102). The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints officially abandoned plural marriage in 1890 following decades of persecution and government pressure. This was three years before Kimball Young was born and six years before Utah became a state.

Young's Character, Retirement, and Death

Young's unusual quirks of character were mentioned in the obituary written by his Northwestern colleagues, Raymond W. Mack and Robert F. Winch:

As an individual, Kimball Young presented his fellow social scientists with a delicious set of paradoxes. He was prejudiced against virtually all social categories and virtually no individual human beings. He was infected with the racial prejudices of his father's time and place, and a warm supporter of E. Franklin Frazier as the first black president of the American Sociological Society. He was a catalog of petty anti-Semitic stereotypes, and counted Louis Wirth and Melville J. Herskovits among his closest friends. He believed it important to be well dressed, and used to arrive at the chairman's office in a Hawaiian shirt and a Homburg hat. He was a political conservative, and worked tirelessly to help the late Eduardo Mondlane prepare for a career as an anti-colonial revolutionary (*Footnotes*, May, 1973, p. 8).

I am not so surprised at these supposed "quirks," for there is abundant evidence in his autobiography that he strongly rejected anti-Semitism and racist views, in spite of his early association with Lewis Terman. Even as a high school student he wrote a long paper about the Dreyfus affair in France (Young, Lindstrom, & Hardert, 1989, p. 388). His student Eduardo Mondlane earned his PhD in sociology and anthropology at Northwestern in 1960 and returned to Tanzania, where he became President of the Mozambican Liberation Front (FRELIMO) in 1962. Mondlane continued in his attempts to win independence and establish a socialist society in Mozambique until he was assassinated in 1969 by a bomb embedded in a book, probably sent by PIDE, the Portuguese secret police. Young was always a supporter of Mondlane.

Young retired from Northwestern University in 1962 because of mandatory retirement policies, but he retained an office at Northwestern for three years and taught courses at Kendall Junior College in Evanston. His wife developed some respiratory problems, so they moved to Arizona, and he accepted a position to teach part-time as a Lecturer at Arizona State University in 1967-68 and 1968-69. He became blind from detached retinas in both eyes, but he continued to work and teach. In the fall semester of 1968 he offered a seminar entitled "Sociology Through Biography" in which he presented his personal reminiscences of sociologists who had either influenced or irritated him and those whom he had influenced. Young said,

Scott Greer and Arnold Feldman kept after me, first at Northwestern, to give this course Sociology through Biography. Greer and Feldman [thought] that I ought to tell the story of my life in the form of the discussion of my colleagues (Young, 1995, p. 69).

The seminar at Arizona State was taped, since Young intended to use the transcripts to write his sociological autobiography. He returned to his birthplace in Provo, Utah, but died there September 1, 1972, of congestive heart failure before he made much progress in editing the transcripts. Fortunately, some of Young's associates at Arizona State—Fred Lindstrom, Ronald Hardert, and Laura Johnson—undertook the task of editing the transcripts, reorganizing his stream-of-consciousness recollections into time periods but retaining Young's own words and lively and ascerbic observations (Young, 1995). A more revealing unexpurgated transcription of his tapes dealing with the Wisconsin period was published earlier (Young, Lindstrom, & Hardert, 1989). I have quoted liberally from his comments in this review. I wish that some of my other subjects had been as forthcoming, open, and frank in discussing their own lives and their colleagues.

Young died in Provo, Utah, September 1, 1972. He was buried in Salt Lake City Cemetery, Plot 96843 I-22-13-WEST-3 in Salt Lake City, Utah. His wife, Lillian Claire Doster Young, died two years before him and is buried in the same plot.

Ralph Linton (1893-1953)

Ross and Gillin had recognized for some time that it was important for the university to offer some courses in anthropology. Apart from Charles H. Hawes' brief tenure in 1907-1909, however, no professional anthropologist was employed in the Department of Economics before 1928. Trying to fill the gap, Gillin started offering a course on Social Origins dealing with "primitive societies" in 1920 and continued to teach it until Ralph Linton arrived in 1928 (UW Archives 7/33-5 Box 1, Folder G, 1936-1940). Kimball Young, who certainly was more knowledgeable about anthropology than Gillin, also taught a seminar on Cultural Anthropology during the year before Linton arrived.

Linton was the first professionally trained anthropologist to join the faculty at Wisconsin since Hawes, who himself was more self-taught than academically trained. Linton was an outstanding scholar, a man with a phenomenal photographic memory, catholic interests, and a mastery of many branches of anthropology, as well as strong interests in sociology and psychology. Kimball Young wrote of him, ". . . He had the widest range of knowledge of anthropological material of anybody that I have ever met"—quite a compliment from a scholar who was a good friend of Kroeber, Lowie, Malinowski, Radcliffe-Brown, Herskovits, and Powdermaker. At the same time Linton's personality was erratic and enigmatic, and his colleagues and students were polarized in their reactions to him. I can not unravel the mysteries of his character, but I will try to present the fairest picture I can.

Early Life and Education

Linton was born February 27, 1893, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, into an old Quaker family. He chafed at the strict authoritarian discipline of his father and said that he had few friends at school. He entered Swarthmore College, a Quaker school, in 1911. He blossomed socially at Swarthmore but was bored by his classes and was failing in half of his subjects by the end of his first year. He was at first expelled but then placed on probation, which caused his father to withdraw support. He got a job working on a truck farm in the summer, however, and earned enough money to pay his tuition for

his sophomore year as a biology major. This time he had top grades and his father agreed to finance the rest of his college education. Swarthmore had no program in anthropology, but in the summer he joined an archeological expedition to Mesa Verde and Johnson Canyon in southern Colorado. Though he was merely a “pick-and-shovel man” in the expedition, he was soon hooked on archeology. In the winter of his junior year he went on leave from college to join an expedition to Guatemala to make moulds of the Mayan carved stelae in Quiragua, where he became as interested in the Mayan workmen as in the ancient monuments. He graduated in 1915 as a Phi Beta Kappa, in spite of his flunking out in his first year. Soon after he married his classmate and college sweetheart Josephine Foster (A. Linton and Wagley, 1971, pp. 5-11).

During the summer after graduation he participated in an archeological excavation near Haddonfield, New Jersey, for the University of Pennsylvania Museum and co-authored his first professional publication for the museum. In 1915-1916 he did graduate work in anthropology at the University of Pennsylvania and received his M.A. in 1916. He was still primarily interested in archeology, but he began to take courses in ethnology as well. During the following summer he assisted in some excavations at Aztec, New Mexico, for the American Museum of Natural History. (Kluckhohn, 1958, pp. 236-238; Sharp, 1968, p. 387; A. Linton and Wagley, 1971, p. 11).

Disillusionment with Franz Boas

Linton transferred to Columbia University for 1916-1917, because he was eager to study with Franz Boas. He had only one course with Boas, however, and that was in linguistics, a subject that did not particularly interest him. He did not distinguish himself in the class, and Boas regarded him as a poor student. Adelin Linton also suspected that Linton reacted against the autocratic nature of Boas, which reminded him of his father. When war was declared with Germany in April, 1917, Linton decided to volunteer for the army, in spite of his Quaker background. He dismayed his parents and was promptly expelled from the Moorestown Friends Meeting, though in later years he was reinstated.

Linton was inducted in August, 1917, and assigned to the Field Artillery in the 42nd “Rainbow” Infantry Division. The division was assembled mainly from federalized National Guard units from all over the country and Colonel Douglas MacArthur served as Chief of Staff. Linton was recommended for officer training, but he wished to remain with his unit which was shipping out to France, so he falsified his questionnaire, saying that he was a farmer with only a high school education. He served as a corporal (A. Linton and Wagley, 1971, pp. 11-13). The 42nd was the first American division to reach

France and was involved in six of the major American battles of the war, including Champagne-Marne, Aisne-Marne, the Battle of Saint-Mihiel, and the Meuse-Argonne Offensive. It saw 264 days of combat—more than any other American division—and suffered over 50 percent casualties. Linton told his friend Kimball Young that he himself was gassed the day before the Armistice was signed and never fully recovered from it. He lost half of one lung and suffered from pulmonary problems the rest of his life. He spent some time in a base hospital and in occupation duty and missed being returned to the United States with his outfit (Young, Lindstrom, & Hardert, 1989, p. 394). While he was serving in the army his wife Josephine left him for another man.

Linton finally returned to the United States in November, 1918. Adelin Linton and Wagley described what happened when he returned:

As he planned to continue his graduate work for the PhD at Columbia and was already late for registration, he hurried into New York from Fort Dix as soon as possible and, still in uniform, called upon Boas. It is well known that Boas was against United States participation in World War I (he was a German by birth and training). Boas received Linton coldly. He had never held him in high regard as a student and was doubtless irritated by the American uniform. Linton has reported that Boas informed him that he might register at Columbia but that it was doubtful that he could earn a doctoral degree there. Linton left Boas' office and took the first train to Boston, where he enrolled as a candidate for the PhD at Harvard (A. Linton and Wagley, 1971, pp. 13-14).

Kimball Young, who heard the same story from Linton, probably earlier, remembered it in a similar way:

He was anxious to get back to his graduate work. So, without bothering to try to get some civilian clothes, he called on Professor Boas the next day after he got back in New York. Boas flew into a rage at him. Boas was an ardent pro-German. In fact, Boas got himself in trouble. Boas said some awfully nasty, unkind things about the American Army. Linton took off for Harvard—took his PhD at Harvard (Young, 1995, pp. 31-32).

Kluckhohn heard that Boas excluded Linton from his classes, and if this is true, it is not surprising that Linton transferred to Harvard. Boas himself was censured by the American Anthropological Association in 1919 for writing a letter to the *Nation* criticizing four American anthropologists who had been working as spies on behalf of the American government while pretending to do anthropological research in Mexico and Central America

(Boas, 1919, p. 797). It was a letter that virtually all social scientists today would agree with, but it was apparently taken as a pretext for his enemies at the Smithsonian and at Harvard's Peabody Museum to mount an attack on him. He became socially isolated for a time, but this did not deter him from speaking out on social issues, particularly against racism. In the 1930s he was one of the first American scholars to become an outspoken opponent of the emerging Nazi regime in Germany (Kluckhohn, 1958, p. 238; Young, 1995, p. 91). In 2005 the AAA rescinded its embarrassing censure of Boas.

Breezing Through Harvard

When Linton began his graduate work at Harvard in 1919 he was not in a happy state of mind. In addition to the normal difficulties of adjusting to civilian life after two years of intense combat, his wife had left him for another man, his father had died, and he had suffered a stinging rebuff from Boas. He felt socially inferior in the Harvard environment and believed that his professors and fellow students regarded him as brash, uncouth, and rude, though Kluckhohn denied that this was so (Kluckhohn, 1958, p. 239). He in turn thought that the Harvard professors were too conventional and stuffy, and he did not form any close ties with either his professors or fellow students. His stay at Harvard, however, was extremely short—less than one year. Adelin Linton and Wagley wrote, “Linton claimed to be the only student who ever received a PhD from Harvard with less than one year in residence, as he entered late and left early to do research on Mesa Verde ruins in southwestern Colorado. He used to say that Harvard had to change the rules after he left” (A. Linton and Wagley, 1971, p. 14). Linton did not receive the PhD until 1925, however, for he was off-campus doing field research during most of the intervening time.

Linton as Archeologist

After working on archeological excavations at Mesa Verde National Park in 1919, Linton signed on as an archeologist for the Bernice P. Bishop Museum expedition to the Marquesas Islands in Polynesia from 1920 to 1922. The lack of significant archeological remains there led him to turn toward ethnology and the study of living culture, though he did publish a report on an archeological survey of the Marquesas. He also published a report on the material culture of the Marquesas, and this became his doctoral dissertation. Even though the society and culture of the Marquesans was badly broken by the time he arrived, his experiences there marked a turning point in his life, leading him to a primary interest in ethnology and living cultures (A. Linton and Wagley, 1971, pp. 15-24).

After returning from the Marquesas in 1922, Linton went to New York to look up old friends. He made contact with Margaret McIntosh, a former classmate at Swarthmore and a close friend of his former wife. They were married after a brief courtship. Linton's work in the Marquesas gave him enough prestige to land a job as Assistant Curator in charge of the North American Indian collections of the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago, and he and Margaret moved to Chicago in 1922. Linton's only child, David, was born to the couple in 1924. Though Linton's title specified the North American Indian collection, he actually ranged over all the collections of the museum and deepened his interest in material culture and art objects. This became an intense interest he maintained throughout his life. In 1925 the Field Museum sent him on a one-man two-and-one-half year expedition to Madagascar to make collections of material objects and carry out an ethnographic survey of the various peoples. His wife Margaret accompanied him initially until ill health forced her to leave. Linton traveled all over the island under very difficult conditions and contracted malaria and blackwater fever but survived. In the fall of 1927 he also visited Mozambique and Rhodesia before sailing back to Europe through the Suez Canal. After he returned to Chicago, the Field Museum wanted him to undertake a similar expedition in New Guinea, but his doctor warned him that exposure to the virulent strains of malaria in New Guinea would likely prove fatal added to his World War I injuries, so he declined (A. Linton and Wagley, 1971, pp. 25-34).

Linton Comes to Wisconsin



RALPH LINTON
(UW DEPT. OF SOCIOLOGY)

In 1928, after spending the previous nine years as a field and museum anthropologist, Linton began his academic career when he accepted an offer from E. A. Ross to revitalize an anthropology program at the University of Wisconsin. Kimball Young had met Linton when Linton was still an undergraduate, and this may have been a factor in his being hired at Wisconsin (Gleach, 2009, p. 239). He came originally as an Associate Professor in the Department of Economics, but a new Department of Sociology and Anthropology was created the next year, and Linton was appointed Professor of Anthropology.

Kimball Young had taught a graduate seminar in anthropology in 1927, but

Linton was the first professional anthropologist to join the department. He immediately started teaching seven courses in social anthropology in his first year, including “Introduction to Sociology: Social Anthropology” (55 students), *The American Race* (24 students), and *Seminary in Cultural Anthropology* (13 students) in his first semester (Lampman, 1993, p. 42).

At Wisconsin Linton’s interests broadened to include other social science disciplines. He apparently had regular conversations with his colleagues Kimball Young and E. A. Ross in sociology, Clark Hull, Harry Harlow, and Abraham H. Maslow in psychology, John Gaus in political science, and F. C. Sharp and Eliseo Vivas in philosophy. Linton was also exposed to faculty from other disciplines when he was appointed to a planning committee charged with helping Alexander Meikeljohn establish a residential interdisciplinary experimental college, which operated between 1927 and 1932.

Anthropology Instruction at Wisconsin

Linton developed into an outstanding teacher and lecturer while he was at Wisconsin and was also acclaimed for these abilities at Columbia and Yale, though there were some dissenting opinions by students at Columbia. He prepared his lectures meticulously beforehand but never spoke from notes. Kluckhohn commented, “He prepared detailed notes in advance on every lecture and ‘talk’ he gave. His lectures might have been published almost exactly as he delivered them” (Kluckhohn, 1958, p. 244). John Philip Gillin, the son of John L. Gillin, was one of Linton’s students, and he remembered Linton as “a magnificent lecturer and teacher with an unusual ability to interest casual students . . . in careers in professional anthropology.” His best known and most widely reprinted popular article “One Hundred Percent American,” published in *The American Mercury* in 1937, started as an ad-libbed response to a question by a student in one of his classes at Wisconsin (Gleach, 2009, p. 140). As he finished this spontaneous peroration, the students rose to their feet and gave him the traditional Wisconsin “skyrocket”: *Ssssssss . . . Boom! Ahh! Whee! Linton!* (A. Linton and Wagley, 1971, p. 36).

The piece was designed to counter ethnocentrism and showed that almost everything that the average American encounters in his everyday life came originally from other peoples and cultures. It concludes with this flourish, as the generic patriot settles down to read his newspaper (“imprinted in characters invented by the ancient Semites by a process invented in Germany upon a material invented in China”) on the commuter train: “As he scans the latest editorial pointing out the dire results to our institutions of accepting foreign ideas, he will not fail to thank a Hebrew God in an Indo-European language that he is a one hundred percent (decimal

system invented by the Greeks) American (from Americus Vespucci, Italian geographer).”

Ralph Linton, “One Hundred Percent American”
[http://theamericanmercury.org/2010/07/
one-hundred-percent-american/](http://theamericanmercury.org/2010/07/one-hundred-percent-american/)

Linton’s impact on students was described by Adelin Linton and Wagley in these terms:

As a teacher, he was much more than an outstanding lecturer to undergraduates. He was able to establish with his own students the sort of relationship which he himself had never achieved with his professors. He was informal and made young people feel at ease. At Wisconsin between 1928 and 1935 he acquired a considerable following of serious students, many of whom he directed into graduate studies at other universities, since Wisconsin did not as yet offer a graduate degree in anthropology. . . . Linton made a strong impression on students, often stronger than he himself was aware. He was able to listen and he made himself available to students with problems, either personal or academic. He hated to lunch alone, so would frequently invite a student to join him. This might be followed by an hour or more of discussing the student’s difficulties (A. Linton and Wagley, 1971, p. 36).

Linton and Charlotte Gower worked closely together in mentoring students in the department. W. W. Howells remarked, “Anthropology doubled in size in a few years with Charlotte Gower, also a lively person and a popular teacher” (Lepowsky, 2000, p. 143). It is remarkable that six undergraduate students at Wisconsin during the period from 1926 to 1932 became major figures in the discipline of anthropology: John Philip Gillin, Clyde Kluckhohn, Adamson Hoebel, Sol Tax, Lauriston Sharp, and Philleo Nash. The first four became Presidents of the American Anthropological Association, Sharp was a distinguished member of the Cornell Anthropology Department, and Nash was Commissioner of the Bureau of Indian Affairs for five years, as well as Lieutenant Governor of Wisconsin and a White House adviser for Franklin D. Roosevelt, Truman, and Kennedy (Gleach, 2009).

The teaching and mentoring of Linton and Gower certainly played a major role in starting these young men on their careers in anthropology, but Gleach also points to a number of other influences. One was the general progressive political milieu of Wisconsin and the Madison community, which helped to instill liberal values and a desire to apply social science findings to solve social problems. Another was the strong interest in anthropology

among the sociologists of the department even before the arrival of Linton. This was particularly true of Ross, who had a broad knowledge of peoples and cultures around the world, and Kimball Young, who had studied briefly with Alfred L. Kroeber and Robert H. Lowie and who had taught a graduate seminar in anthropology at Wisconsin. Gillin, Hoebel, and Tax were sociology majors, and Nash was an anthropology major but within the same department, but all six of them took anthropology courses and associated with each other. Wisconsin did not offer graduate degrees in anthropology at that time, so they went to other universities to pursue PhD degrees—Kluckhohn, Gillin, and Sharp to Harvard, Tax and Nash to Chicago, and Hoebel to Columbia (Gleach, 2009). Another undergraduate student in the department who went on to a distinguished career was John Dollard. He was oriented more toward psychology, but he took courses with Linton and later was influenced greatly by the anthropologist-sociologist William Lloyd Warner when he went off to the University of Chicago for his PhD. He became famous for his research in Mississippi on the effect of class and race on personality in the South (Young, 1995, p. 35).

Visiting anthropologists were also brought in to speak from time to time. Malinowski came to the campus a number of times when he was in the US. In 1934 he wrote to Kimball Young asking if he could give a week or two of lectures at Wisconsin in order to earn some money. In Malinowskian fashion, he wrote, “Would it be possible for the University of Wisconsin to scrape together some money and to get the benefit of having a real foul-mouthed, temperamental, and stimulating sociologist and anthropologist?” He did come for a week of lectures and stayed in a room at the Memorial Union (Young, 1995, pp. 31).

Madison Residences

In 1930 Linton was still married to Margaret and, according to the 1930 U.S. Census, they lived with their 6-year-old son David at 33 Lathrop Street in University Heights. This was close to the campus, a block from Camp Randall Stadium, which was built in 1917. Ross’ house was five blocks further west. In 1932 Ralph and Margaret agreed to a trial separation, and she and their son left for New York. Linton moved into an apartment at 444 Hawthorne Court, just off State Street and only two blocks from Bascom Hill. Ralph and Margaret were divorced in 1934, and the following year Ralph married Adelin Hohlfeld. Ralph and Adelin lived at 1314 Randall Court for the rest of their time in Madison. The residences on Lathrop Street and Randall Court are now gone, but the apartment on Hawthorne Court still survives.



ONE OF RALPH LINTON'S RESIDENCES IN MADISON,
444 HAWTHORNE COURT, OFF STATE STREET (R. MIDDLETON, 2012)

Intellectual Orientation and Publications

In 1936 there was a celebrated “intellectual duel” between Linton and A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, who reportedly despised each other. They appeared together in a seminar on the Wisconsin campus regarding functionalism in anthropology. According to Adelin Linton and Charles Wagley,

Linton did not attack Radcliffe-Brown’s functional theories in total, but he did reject his rather arbitrary formulations of so-called structural-functional laws as not being based upon empirical fact but upon intuitive speculation. Furthermore, Linton, both by training and personal inclination, disliked the imposition of any elaborate theoretical system such as that Radcliffe-Brown was trying to achieve. . . . Linton did not, however, disdain the most important elements of Radcliffe-Brown’s functionalism, namely, the insistence upon detailed field studies and the analysis of each society as an interrelated system (A. Linton and Wagely, 1971, pp. 39-40).

Linton seems to have been free of the racism that was common among some of his colleagues at Wisconsin. Later, in 1945, in a speech to religious leaders at the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York City, Linton predicted that within 300 years African Americans would be absorbed into the general population and that long before that the appearance of Ne-
groid characteristics would “cease to be socially significant.” This greatly alarmed the notorious racist leader of the southern segregationists, Senator

Theodore Bilbo from Mississippi, and he wrote a book, *Take Your Choice: Segregation or Mongrelization*, as an answer to Linton:

Anyone who would, in the name of Christianity, make us a negroid people betrays his religion and his race. It should be the desire of both races to maintain racial integrity and have their blood remain pure. We condemn, we will not condone, the attempt on the part of any group, or individual, to destroy our ideals and principles in the name of history, or of science, or of democracy, or of religion (Bilbo, 1947, Chap. 11).

Linton continued to do some field work while at Wisconsin, spending several summers in northern Wisconsin doing or supervising archeological field excavations for the university and the Milwaukee Public Museum. His 1934 expedition to study the Comanches in Oklahoma was his last field work, though he continued to travel widely and visit museums and archeological sites for the rest of his life. In his thinking and writing, however, he began to move away from his earlier focus on the intricate details of culture history and diffusion, material culture, “primitive” art, and ethnology to consider broader theoretical questions at a higher level of abstraction.

In 1936 Linton published *The Study of Man* (Linton, 1936), which he always regarded as his *magnum opus*. The book is based on the introductory course in anthropology that he taught at Wisconsin. It was an elegantly written book that had as much influence on sociologists as on anthropologists. Perhaps its most important theoretical contribution was his introduction of the concepts of status (both ascribed and achieved) and role and his development of role theory in a more systematic way—something that was immediately adopted by the discipline of sociology. In my era, almost every sociology graduate student read *The Study of Man*. Linton’s primary purpose, though, was to provide a synthesis of principles that reconciled functionalism with a historical approach to culture—Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown with Boas and Kroeber.

The author . . . has presented the conclusions which appear to him to be valid without reference to the particular school which happens to be responsible for them. . . . It is wise for any science to pause from time to time and sum up what it has already accomplished, the problems which are perceived but still unsolved, and the inadequacies of its current techniques. The author has attempted to provide such a summary (Linton, 1936, pp. vii-viii).

In his acknowledgements, Linton gave a blanket thank-you to his teachers, without naming any of them, but he thanked six of his “native friends”

by name, and he mentioned three of his departmental colleagues for their constructive criticisms—E. A. Ross, Charlotte Gower, and Kimball Young. He dedicated the book “*To THE NEXT CIVILIZATION*”—suggesting some cynicism about the fate of the current civilization.

Though the book was written as an introductory anthropology textbook, it did not have the outward trappings of a textbook. It was written in a simple, jargon-free, flowing style, without chapter subdivisions or lists of further readings, and with only one footnote. Only a short bibliography was tacked on at the end—apparently a bibliography that Charlotte Gower had prepared for her own introductory anthropology course (Lepowsky, 2000, p. 149). Anthropologists probably paid less attention to it than did sociologists at first, and it was not even reviewed by the *American Anthropologist*. Eventually, of course, it began to receive the attention it deserved as an original and important theoretical contribution. Adelin Linton and Wagley wrote, “*The Study of Man*, despite its initial neglect, brought Linton into the anthropological limelight. Without doubt, it was this book that earned him the invitation to join the faculty of Columbia University” (A. Linton and Wagley, 1971, p. 47).

Kimball Young’s remembered Linton’s painstaking approach to writing the book:

The fabulous memory of Linton’s is apparent in the pages of *The Study of Man*, which he wrote out of his head. He composed only two or three pages a day. I saw the whole thing in prospect. He typed it out with two-finger style on a typewriter on 4x6 cards, and gave the lectures. By the end of that lecture series, he tore these cards up and the next year—he gave this once a year—he would start all over again in the summer to rewrite. This book was beautifully written and covers such a wide range. It was about the third round of these notes. When he got ready to put it into manuscript form [he had the secretaries] type off his notes, and that was it. He didn’t revise anything after that. He actually was one of the most profound people. There was one footnote in the whole book and that’s to Abe Maslow in psychology (Young, 1995, p. 33).

Linton’s phenomenal memory was also in evidence in a later incident recounted by Kluckhohn when Linton was visiting Harvard:

He once came with me into the smoking room of the Peabody Museum of Harvard University. I introduced to Professor Linton a graduate student who happened to be there. As was his custom, Linton immediately asked the student on what he was currently working. The student replied, “On social organization as this can be studied in the Icelandic

sagas.” Linton promptly began an immensely technical discussion, quoting long passages verbatim from the documents (Kluckhohn, 1958, pp. 242-243).

Curiously, though, Linton’s memory was not equally effective in remembering the names of many of his students or the names of authors of works he had read. He assimilated and integrated their ideas in his mind but did not necessarily remember the sources. No doubt this is why he dispensed with footnotes in *The Study of Man* except for one reference to Abraham H. Maslow, who was then a graduate student in psychology at Wisconsin. Adelin Linton and Wagley commented on his “freak memory,” his cavalier disregard for the usual trappings of scholarship, and his unusual mode of learning:

He had a mind like a computer which filed away the facts and ideas that claimed his attention and he could reproduce this material at will, often verbatim. In fact, he remembered what he read so accurately that he used to worry when writing that he might reproduce something word for word and be accused of plagiarism, although he frequently had no recollection of where he had acquired the information. Had he read it in some book or had he acquired it from conversation with colleagues? Although he liked to talk, he could also be attentive and retentive as a listener. He had a gift for acquiring from discussion the information he needed to fill the gaps in his own knowledge and for filing it away with the same accuracy which he retained from the printed page, although again he usually forgot with whom he had the discussion (A. Linton and Wagley, 1971, pp. 36, 76).

Linton Moves to Columbia and Begins a Feud with Ruth Benedict

Linton remained in the Wisconsin Department of Sociology and Anthropology only until 1937, just a year after the publication of *The Study of Man*. Boas was reaching retirement at Columbia, and Nicholas Murray Butler, the conservative and autocratic president, wanted to find a new chairman who was not identified with radical causes, as Boas had been. Most of all, he did not want Boas to appoint his own successor. He therefore appointed a search committee without any Boasians—indeed, without any anthropologists—to make recommendations. Most of Boas’ followers regarded Ruth Benedict as the heir apparent, and she had actually handled most of the department administration for several years, but she realized it was unlikely that Butler would name a woman assistant professor as chair, since Columbia had no women serving as department chairs at the time. Contrary to popular

belief, Benedict did not want a follower of Boas, such as Lowie or Kroeber, to become the new chair, for she favored a greater emphasis on culture and personality rather than Boas' broad "Four-Fields" emphasis. Her favored candidates were actually William Lloyd Warner and Ralph Linton, and she had cordial relations with both (Price, 2004, pp. 111-112; Smith, 2005, pp. 43-51; Modell, 1983, p. 256).

Linton was brought in initially as a visiting professor but was told that if things worked out satisfactorily, he would be named chair at the end of the year. When Linton arrived and paid his respects to Boas, the old patriarch greeted him with "Of course, you know this is not what I wanted." Boas also would not move out of the two adjoining prime offices he occupied, and Linton had to take a lesser office that was partially used as a passageway by others. Adelin Linton and Wagley say that a petition was sent by students who were partisans of Benedict to the president asking that Linton not be given a permanent appointment, since he was a poor teacher and an inferior scholar, though such a petition is not now in the Columbia archives. President Butler reacted by giving Linton a permanent appointment almost immediately in November rather than waiting until April, the normal time. Though Linton and Benedict had cordial and friendly relations in the beginning, their totally different personalities quickly led them to despise each other, even according to the account of Linton's wife:

Unlike Linton, who directly professed his likes and dislikes, Ruth had an irritating manner of regally dismissing the ideas and accomplishments of those whom she did not hold in high regard. . . . Linton found such treatment infuriating and frustrating, and the relationship between the two colleagues developed into intellectual and personal hostility, sustained more in after years on his part than on hers. While Linton's attitude toward people tended to be frank and friendly, once he came to believe that a person was working against him he became suspicious and resentful. He continued to be quite implacable in his feelings toward Benedict until her death in 1948 (A. Linton and Wagley, 1971, p. 49).

And afterwards too!

Linton believed that Benedict intentionally turned students against him, and for years afterward people wondered if she had circulated the petition against him, as he claimed (Modell, 1983, p. 257). To say that Linton and Benedict disliked each other is an understatement. Their dislike quickly grew into such an intense hatred that both of them seemed to become unhinged. Benedict accused Linton of trying to "eliminate" or "destroy" her. She told Boas that her friend Ruth Bunzel had a "foreboding that I am to be liquidated." She was not a habitual letter-writer, but she began to send outraged

letters attacking Linton around the country, to the extent that her friends began to worry about her mental balance (Modell, 1983, pp. 257-258). Linton spoke of Benedict as a “sorcerer,” and he may have meant this literally. I think Linton was more than a half-believer in sorcery after he was the object of sorcery and experienced some unpleasant and inexplicable events while he was doing ethnographic work in Madagascar (A. Linton and Wagley, 1971, p. 33). Then there is Sidney Mintz’s recollection of Linton’s bizarre claims after Benedict died of a coronary attack in 1948 at the age of 61, only two months after she was finally promoted to full professor at Columbia:

I never heard Ruth comment on Linton, but his hostility toward her was intense. After I went to Yale in 1951, he was a colleague of mine until his death on Christmas Eve 1953, and when he referred to Benedict, it was always with a good deal of animus. He would occasionally boast publicly that he had killed her, and he produced for me, in a small leather pouch, the Tanala material he said he had used to kill Ruth Benedict (Mintz, 2004, p. 118).

The Linton-Benedict feud was an embarrassment to Columbia University. Frank Fackenthal, who was then Provost of Columbia and later its acting President, once told Charles Wagley that he had removed several derogatory documents relating to the conflict from the university files (A. Linton and Wagley, 1971, p. 49, n. 38).

The real puzzle about Linton concerns his volatile personality and his seeming insecurity and hypersensitivity. Even the students and colleagues who had good relations with him seemed to be perplexed by this. John Philip Gillin wrote in his obituary for Linton that he was a “complicated personality.” He admitted that “Linton was capable of intense personal dislikes, which, from an objective point of view, usually seemed to be quite irrational.” Yet he depicted him very favorably as a warm, friendly, and gregarious man, a charming and sparkling companion:

He had an extraordinary capacity for friendship. He was a man of no “side,” and he made friends not only with his anthropological colleagues but also with men of many different specialties, with his students, and with his informants in the field. With all he was devoid of pretense. He was a man who needed personal relationships, and many of his friends thought that he wasted himself in his constant wanderings about this country and abroad to contact them and to make new acquaintances. Not the last of his charm lay in his informal, man-to-man approach. . . . He exhibited a form of gallantry that made him attractive to women. . . . And as a *raconteur* he was supreme (J. P. Gillin, 1954, p. 278).

According to Clyde Kluckhohn also, Linton was genial, warm, and generous toward his students and junior colleagues, and he even invited a number of graduate students to live in his own home. His ego, however, did not permit him to work well with senior colleagues whom he regarded as rivals. This was particularly in evidence in his feud with Ruth Benedict, but there was another appalling incident involving a man who had been one of his closest friends and colleagues at Wisconsin—Kimball Young. Young and Linton were at a dinner sponsored by the Viking Fund (later Wenner-Gren Foundation) in honor of Alfred Kroeber, one of the most influential early leaders of American anthropology. Young later recounted what happened after Kroeber got up to speak:

There's no doubt that Linton had some influence on me, and I had some influence on him. I'm going to tell a personal story here. I want it in the record. I can cut it out later if I want to. . . . Well, this dinner was followed by little reminiscences of Kroeber about the relationship between anthropology and sociology. . . . Kroeber in his remarks, talking about cross-fertilization, pointed out that Linton had influenced my thinking and writing in sociology as evidenced by my books in sociology, and that I had influenced Linton from a sociological view as evidenced in Linton's classic introduction to the field of anthropology, *The Study of Man* [1936]. Linton was a very touchy guy and slightly paranoid—or more. He flew into a rage at this in the presence of seventy-five to 100 people. He took Kroeber to task in a loud voice and said that it was true that Kimball Young had borrowed a lot of ideas from him, but he had never borrowed any ideas from Kimball Young. It was, oh, one of those silences that you could cut with a knife, you know. It was really appalling. That's the only way you could say it. Then somebody made some light remark or something that broke the thing, but it was one of the most ghastly experiences I've ever had—not that it mattered to me, personally, very much. I had great respect for Linton before and after (Young, Lindstrom, & Hardert, 1989, pp. 394-395).

Linton's outburst was appalling, not just because it was a breach of social etiquette at this type of occasion, but because everyone knew that it was not true.

While at Columbia Linton became more deeply involved in work on culture and personality, working at first with the psychoanalyst Abram Kardiner but later independently, since he and Kardiner had many disagreements. When the United States entered World War II, he wanted to become involved in the war effort, but his age and health precluded his serving in the armed forces. He continued to teach at Columbia and also at Yale, which was

short-handed with so many of the faculty away. Linton also got involved in a new School of Military Government and Administration for the US Navy at Columbia. Linton taught classes on Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia to help prepare naval officers for service in the Pacific theater. After the war the college was transformed into the School of International Affairs and several Area Institutes (A. Linton and Wagley, 1971, pp. 51-62; Sharp, 1968).

Final Stop—Yale

Linton moved to Yale University as Sterling Professor of Anthropology in 1946, the same year he served as President of the American Anthropological Association. He had developed heart trouble while traveling in South America, and he thought that living in a less hectic environment might be better for his health. He also was politically conservative and may have felt uncomfortable surrounded by progressives and leftists within the Columbia department. By 1944 the FBI was already trying to ferret out Communists and maintain surveillance, even before Senator Joseph McCarthy appeared on the scene. In December, 1944, the FBI interviewed Linton and he informed them about the radical leanings of some of his colleagues. David H. Price has reprinted portions of the FBI's report on the Linton interview:

[Linton] advised further that at the time the subject first became associated with Columbia University Anthropology Department, the Dean [*sic*] was Franz Boaz [*sic*], a noted Anthropologist who became well known as a Communist [*sic*]. At this time the Anthropology Department was well infiltrated with Communists who actually dominated Boas and the Department. In the opinion of Linton, Boas was merely a "tool" and because he had attained his late 70's, had become somewhat senile [and] thus was easily led by his Communist associates. One of the members of the department at that time was Alexander Lesser, an alleged Communist. Gene Weltfish married Lesser. . . . Dr. Linton was not certain that Gene Weltfish was ever a member of the Communist Party. However, he believed it likely that she may have been a member during Boas' regime in the Anthropology Department. He was of the opinion that it would definitely have been to her advantage to have become a member of the Communist Party at that time. Since the subject received favorable attention during that period, Linton drew the inference that Gene Weltfish had been a member of the Communist Party or at least a fellow traveler (Price, 2004, p. 111).

In 1952 Weltfish charged publicly that the U.S. Armed Forces were using chemical weapons in the Korean War, and three months later she was called

to testify before Joseph McCarthy's Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. When she was asked directly if she were a Communist, she refused to answer, citing her Fifth Amendment rights. A few months later, with pressure from the Trustees, she was fired by Columbia, even though her department had recommended that she be promoted to tenure. She was unable to find a university teaching position for the next nine years (Pathe, 1988).

At Yale Linton found a more conservative environment and an even more conservative colleague in George Peter Murdock. David H. Price, who did a comprehensive study of McCarthyism and FBI surveillance of activist anthropologists, was far more critical of Murdock, who on his own initiative sent a letter to J. Edgar Hoover in 1949, stating, "For a number of years I have made a special effort to identify the members of the [American Anthropological] Association who are or have been actual members of the Communist party. Careful examination of the list referred to above reveals twelve individuals whom I can place in this category with full assurance that I am correct." Price asserts that he was mistaken, at least about some of the twelve, and he was destroying their reputations on the basis of suspicion and innuendo (Price, 2004, p.73).

Linton had a series of heart attacks during his time at Yale, but he continued to be very active and pursued his interests in primitive art and in collecting even more avidly, making frequent trips to New York. In the early 1950s he was a frequent guest on the CBS television archeology show, "What in the World?" where he demonstrated his astonishing capacity to identify and discuss artifacts from all parts of the world. It was said that he never forgot a specimen that he had seen in the field or in a museum (A. Linton and Wagley, 1971, pp. 66-70).

At Yale Linton also returned to an old interest—the growth and evolution of world culture—and began writing his last book, *The Tree of Culture*. He rejected the unilineal evolutionism of the 19th century social scientists, and also the views of V. Gordon Childe and Leslie White emphasizing technology. It was a comprehensive historical account of how world cultures have developed through a complex process of invention, diffusion, migration, innovation, reintegration, and adaptation. At the time of his death he had finished all but two chapters. He left complete notes and outlines for the unwritten chapters, and his wife Adelin, with the help of Linton's Yale colleagues, completed the book. It was published posthumously in 1955 and became a very popular textbook (A. Linton and Wagley, 1971, pp. 70-73).

Linton suffered a fatal coronary thrombosis in New Haven on Christmas Eve, 1953, at the age of 61. A memorial service was held at Dwight Chapel on the Yale University campus two weeks later. A few days before his death he wrote the following lines:

Fortunately, as an ethnologist I have always been able to combine business with pleasure and have found my greatest satisfaction in friendships with men of many different races and cultures. I consider as my greatest accomplishments that I am an adopted member of the Comanche tribe, was accepted as a master carver by the Marquesan natives and executed commissions for them in their own art, am a member of the Native Church of North America (Peyote) according to the Quapaw rite, became a properly accredited *ombissy nkazo* (medicine man) in Madagascar, and was even invited to join the Rotary Club of a middle western city (Kluckhohn, p. 245).

Linton was cremated and his ashes were interred at Forest Hill Cemetery (Sec. 7, Lot 70) in his wife Adelin's home city, Madison, Wisconsin. Adelin died twenty-four years later, March 1, 1977, and her ashes were interred next to his.

Charlotte Day Gower (Chapman) (1902-1982)

In 1930 E. A. Ross and the College Administration decided to strengthen the program in anthropology and added a second anthropologist, Charlotte Day Gower. Gower was overshadowed by Linton and was largely forgotten in this country until Maria Lepowsky uncovered her “subterranean” history (Lepowsky, 2000). Gower was a very bright and talented anthropologist who was the first woman to receive a PhD in anthropology at the University of Chicago in 1928. Under the influence of the Chicago school sociologists, she and Robert Redfield, a fellow student at the time, were the first anthropologists to carry out community studies of “peasant” communities in “modern” societies—Redfield in Tepoztlan, Mexico, and Gower in Milocca, Sicily. Redfield’s study was quickly published in 1930 and was highly acclaimed, leading to a meteoric launch of his career. At the University of Chicago he rose from a position as instructor, without a PhD, in 1927 to Dean of the Social Sciences from 1934 to 1946. Gower’s work, which I believe was superior to Redfield’s initial book, was almost entirely ignored, and she struggled and ultimately failed to find a secure place in academia.

Early Life and Education

Gower was born in Kankakee, Illinois, May 5, 1902, the daughter of a prominent family. She received a bachelor’s degree from Smith College in 1922 with a major in psychology. An anthropology course with Harris Hawthorne Wilder at Smith led her to abandon an original goal of pursuing a medical career, and she decided to study anthropology. As an assistant in psychology in 1922-23 she did some physical anthropology research under Wilder’s direction and in 1923 published a significant paper on the nasal aperture of humans. She also spent much of the year in Europe studying prehistory. The following year she was an instructor in education at the University of Texas in Austin. In 1924 she began an MA program in anthropology in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at the University of Chicago, where she studied primarily with Fay-Cooper Cole and Edward Sapir. Like all students in the department, she was also exposed to the ideas of Robert E. Park and the Chicago School sociologists, who were emphasizing field

research, community studies, and immigrant acculturation. She received her master's degree in 1926 with a thesis on "The Northern and Southern Affiliations of Antillean Culture," which examined the role of the Caribbean in the diffusion of culture traits in North, Central, and South America (Lepowski, 2000, pp. 126-129; Migliore *et al.*, 2009, pp. 111-112).

Gower continued in the PhD program at Chicago, and for her dissertation research she followed in the path of the Chicago School sociologists studying European immigrant communities in the United States. W. I. Thomas had collaborated with Florian Witold Znaniecki to study Polish immigrants; Gower chose to study Sicilian immigrants, who were also numerous in Chicago. It was not a community study, for she selected Sicilian informants scattered all over the city. She focused particularly on Sicilian religion and "reconstructing" Sicilian culture—not on problems of adjustment the immigrants might have had in America. Lepowski described it as "a work of Sicilian memory culture," an approach that also enabled Gower to avoid the sensitive and possibly hazardous topic of the Sicilian domination of organized crime in Chicago at that time. Gower regarded it as work preliminary to doing actual field work in Sicily, and she commented, "The proposed continuation of the study in Sicily will provide an interesting check on the validity of the method" (Lepowski, p. 130). Her dissertation was entitled "The Supernatural Patron in Sicilian Life," and the degree was awarded in 1928. She was the first woman to receive a PhD in anthropology at the University of Chicago, and even by 1940 only one other woman had received an anthropology PhD there. In contrast, at some of the other leading anthropology departments, much larger numbers of women received PhD by the 1940s—22 at Columbia, 9 at Berkeley, and 4 at the London School of Economics (Lepowski, 2000, pp. 130-131).

Field Research in Sicily

Even though the University of Chicago program was less hospitable to women scholars than some other major centers, Gower received good treatment during her graduate student years and was highly regarded. With the recommendation of Cole, she received a prestigious Social Science Research Council Fellowship, which enabled her to begin 18 months of field research in the village of Milocca in the remote mountains of Sicily. In 1928 there were only three SSRC Fellows, all women: Ruth Bunzel, Margaret Mead, and Gower (Lepowski, 2000, pp. 130-131). Robert Redfield, who was also a graduate student at Chicago at the same time as Gower, wrote a dissertation entitled "A Plan for the Study of Tepoztlan, Mexico"—which was also preliminary to his carrying out field work in the Mexican village. Though he received the PhD the same year as Gower, he received an SSRC Fellowship

a year earlier that provided support for his field research. He spent a brief eight months doing field research in Tepoztlan, with most weekends spent in Mexico City with his wife. Gower acknowledged Redfield's influence on her research plans, and she pointed out that their two studies were the first to apply anthropological methods to the investigation of "semi-literate society" (Lepowski, 2000, pp. 132-134).

Gower's field research in a Sicilian village began after she completed her PhD. As a single woman working alone, Gower found her work in Sicily circumscribed by her gender and class positions, as well as by the conflict between the two major factions in the village—the socialists and the fascists. The socialists included agricultural workers, the midwife, and the mayor; the fascists were led by the large landholders and were allied with the Catholic Church. Gower lived with the midwife and could not avoid being identified with one faction. Gower had learned to speak fluent Italian and had also learned much of the Sicilian dialect, and she was able to make good progress in her field research, penetrating much deeper into the social life of the community than Redfield had in his short time in Tepoztlan. She described gender and age statuses and roles in detail, and analyzed the social stratification system, and the extent to which class consciousness was limited by intraclass conflicts. She also investigated many other topics, such as kinship, marriage, gender issues, the godparent system, notions of honor and shame, political conflict, and belief in spirits and witches. The last half of the book is devoted largely to religious beliefs and practices, pursuing some of the themes she identified in her dissertation (Lepowski, 2000, 134-139; Migliore *et al.*, 2009, pp. 114-118).

Gower Comes to Wisconsin

On her return from Sicily, Gower faced the daunting trial of finding a college teaching position. Discrimination against women in academia was very strong in the 1920s and 1930s, and the male professors were perfectly aware of it. Once when William F. Ogburn was in a self-deprecatory mood, he told me about some questionable advice he once gave to one of his bright young undergraduate students from Barnard College while he was still at Columbia. He advised Margaret Mead to avoid preparing for a scholarly career because of the intense discrimination she would likely face. Alfred Kroeber was also reluctant to admit women to UC-Berkeley's PhD program in anthropology, believing that it would be difficult for them to find jobs (Lepowski, 2000, p. 131). Mead was able to rise above the discrimination, though her primary affiliation was with the American Museum of Natural History rather than with a university prior to her achieving fame. Discrimination did greatly handicap the career of Ruth Benedict,

though, and it absolutely destroyed Charlotte Gower's academic career.

Gower applied for a job at the University of Michigan but lost out to Leslie White, who received his PhD at Chicago the year before Gower with a library dissertation on medicine societies of the Southwest. Gower, however, was finally able to find a job as Assistant Professor of Physical Anthropology at Wisconsin in 1930, in part because the Medical School requested that a physical anthropologist be hired (UW Archives 7/33-5 Box 1, Folder G, 1936-1940). With Ralph Linton, they constituted a two-person anthropology section within the Department of Sociology and Anthropology. In spite of her title Gower taught courses in primitive religion, theories of culture and human prehistory, and anthropological



CHARLOTTE DAY GOWER
(CHAPMAN) (SMITHSONIAN
INSTITUTION ARCHIVES,
SCIENCE SERVICE RECORDS,
1920S-1970S, ACC. 90-105)

methods of research as well as biological anthropology. By 1931-32 she and Linton were co-teaching three courses to graduate students on "Anthropological Problems," "The Individual in Cultural Change," and "Fundamental Contrasts Between Oriental and Occidental Cultures." In 1937-38 she co-taught a graduate course on "Language and Culture" with both Linton and Kimball Young (Lepowsky, 2000, pp. 139-142).

There was a common belief on the University of Chicago campus that Gower and Linton, who had met at the Field Museum of Natural History, were lovers, even though Linton was still married to his second wife Margaret when he first came to Wisconsin. Perhaps a personal relationship with Linton was a factor in Gower's receiving a job offer at Wisconsin. It was commonly believed that Gower also had either a concurrent or serial relationship with A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, who was on the Chicago faculty from 1931 to 1937. One story, which apparently originated with Fred Eggan, was that Linton came to Gower's apartment one morning and was met by Radcliffe-Brown wearing a silk monogrammed bathrobe—or according to another version of the story, Linton discovered RB's bathrobe in Gower's closet (Lepowski, 2000, p. 146). If it is true that they were rivals for Gower, this may have been a factor in the antagonistic relations between the two men, though Linton was inclined to be hostile to senior intellectual rivals in any case (Lepowsky, 2000).

Publication Problems

In 1968 Kimball Young recounted some of his experiences earlier in his career to students in a sociology seminar at Arizona State University. After more than thirty years there were errors in his memory, but this is what he said about Charlotte Gower:

[Linton] brought one of his students and colleagues with him, Miss Charlotte (Day) Gower (b. 1902; PhD Chicago 1928) . . . The two of them set up a pretty fine [anthropology] program. During these several years, the sociology/anthropology combination at Wisconsin did a good deal, I think, for the school and for the field, through its students. Miss Gower was really an excellent stylist and competent writer . . . but she was too lazy to write so she never published anything (Young, Lindstrom, and Hardert, 1989, p. 393).

Young was wrong in his recollection that Gower was a Linton student and that they came at the same time, but he did remember that her coming was somehow associated with Linton. The last comment about her being “too lazy to write” was unjustified, and he was clearly unaware of the treatment her manuscript on Milocca had received. Young must have recognized Gower’s ability, since he included an excerpt from her manuscript on social stratification in Milocca, as well as a piece she wrote on hominid evolution in his *Source Book for Sociology* (Young, 1935, pp. 490-494, 152-154).

Young was correct that Gower published little during her first few years at Wisconsin when she had a heavy teaching schedule and was preoccupied with preparing a book manuscript about her field research in Sicily. She began writing it in 1930 and did not complete a final version of the manuscript until 1935. She submitted it to the University of Chicago Press, where Robert Redfield and Fay-Cooper Cole supported its acceptance for publication. Nevertheless, after almost two years of consideration, it declined to publish it. She then submitted it to the University of Wisconsin Press, and again Redfield, Cole, and probably Radcliffe-Brown wrote strong letters urging publication. Cole even compared it to one of the most influential community studies in the history of American sociology:

I consider it an important study—fully as important as *Middletown*. It is a scholarly contribution both in subject and method. Personally I believe the book would have a wide appeal to students of the Social Sciences and to others interest [sic] in immigrant and acculturation problems (Lepowski, 2000, p. 150).

It was, however, rejected by the University of Wisconsin Press as well—perhaps because of financial problems during the Great Depression or perhaps because of the influence of Linton’s new wife’s father, who was a long-time professor of German at the University of Wisconsin. In 1938 Redfield once more tried to get the University of Chicago Press to publish it, and this time it had a more favorable reception, but Gower’s book was never published by the University of Chicago Press, even though it did publish John Embree’s study of a Japanese village and Horace Miner’s study of a French-Canadian parish in 1939. Gower had given Radcliffe-Brown the original manuscript to submit to the Oxford University Press when he returned to Oxford from Chicago in 1937 to take up a professorship. Nothing came of this initiative either, probably because of the disruptions caused by the beginning of World War II, and the manuscript was subsequently lost. The manuscript being considered by the University of Chicago Press also disappeared, but after Gower was released from a Japanese prison camp in 1942 and returned to the U.S., she gave Cole her own yellow carbon copy. It then was lost again until Fred Eggan discovered the carbon copy in the Department of Anthropology files at the University of Chicago in 1966.

With Eggan’s encouragement, the Schenkman Publishing Company finally published Gower Chapman’s manuscript as *Milocca: A Sicilian Village* in 1971, with a foreword by Eggan (Chapman, 1971). Because it was first published with a delay of 36 years after its completion, *Milocca* lost much of its trail-blazing significance, but it was still a valuable contribution that has had considerable influence, particularly among Italian and European scholars. Susan Parman, surveying the anthropology of Europe, described *Milocca* as “the classic ethnography of Italy” (Parman, 1998, p. 12). Kertzer, who did field work in Italy himself, wrote

Milocca must be considered a milestone in the history of American anthropology. . . . While American anthropology was solidifying its commitment to exotic island and Indian reservation locales, she sought to apply the newly developed methods of the discipline to peasant society (Kertzer, 1998, p. 73).

Kertzer, however, was critical of *Milocca*’s unrepresentative character. An advocate for urban anthropology, he pointed out that Gower had selected a community that was much smaller and more isolated than most Sicilian communities—an hour’s walk from the nearest highway. He saw it as an attempt to “exoticize the familiar” and manufacture “a bogus Other,” perhaps to gain greater acceptance by more traditionally oriented anthropologists. Gower Chapman’s work was not accepted until after a long publication

delay, but this same tendency to focus on the exotic has continued to characterize anthropological studies in Italy and Europe in general. Most anthropological research in Italy after the time of Gower has focused on the southern part of the country and the islands of Sicily and Sardinia, and there has been little work in Italian cities (Kertzer, 1998).

If *Milocca* had been published earlier, it might have forestalled Edward Banfield's *The Moral Basis of a Backward Society* (1958) from gaining influence. Banfield famously argued that economic development in southern Italy and Sicily was hampered by an "amoral familism" that kept individuals from cooperating with anyone outside their own family circle. Gower's description of the pattern of informal cooperation among residents in each agricultural hamlet in Milocca and among villagers bound together by ritual coparenthood clearly showed that "amoral familism" was not a dominant characteristic of the community. An Italian translation of *Milocca* was published in Italy in 1985, and this stimulated a number of graduate students and professors to do restudies of Milocca (since renamed Milena) and produce dissertations and other works about the community or about Gower. In recent years, excerpts from Gower's book have been studied by children in the local schools of Milena (Lepowski, 2000, pp. 149-153; Migliore *et al.*, 2009, pp. 118-119, 123, 129-131, 139-141).

I believe Gower's book is superior to Redfield's *Tepoztlan*. It was carefully researched and beautifully written, with insightful analyses of the social stratification system and age and gender roles in the village, whereas Redfield's study was more superficial. Redfield's research was distorted by his presuppositions about the nature of "folk societies" derived from the old *Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft* theoretical tradition in sociology that Park was teaching. Gower did not escape completely from this theoretical bias, as well as the influence of functionalism. She portrayed Milocca as united and harmonious for the most part, though she did give some attention to factions and political conflict. Redfield, though, was far more affected. He paid little attention to social stratification, ignored the political context and evidence of conflict and distrust, and missed the fundamental character of the community, as Oscar Lewis' restudy of the same community showed convincingly (Lewis, 1951). In a letter to Alfred Schenkman, George Foster, one of the leading scholars studying Mexican peasant life, also suggested that Gower's study was superior to Redfield's. In fact, in a Schenkman ad in *Current Anthropology* in 1972, Foster described the book as "the finest account of peasant life I have ever encountered" (Migliore *et al.*, 2009, p. 123). The differential treatment of the two studies appears to me to be largely due to discrimination against women scholars, though Redfield's sponsorship by his academically powerful father-in-law, Robert E. Park, was also likely a factor.

Gower lived in a number of apartments near the campus during her years at Wisconsin, the last being at 257 Langdon Street, about two blocks from the Old Red Gym and Memorial Union

On Thin Ice at Wisconsin

The eventual publication of Gower's book and the belated recognition it received did nothing to enhance her position at the University of Wisconsin in the mid-1930s. Because she had published little by then, she was feeling intense pressure. In a letter dated simply June 18, but probably written in 1937, she confided her concerns to Philleo Nash, who had been her student at Wisconsin and who was completing his PhD at the University of Chicago, just before moving to the University of Toronto in 1937:



CHARLOTTE D. GOWER'S
RESIDENCE IN MADISON IN 1937,
257 LANGDON STREET (R.
MIDDLETON, 2012

Certain discoveries during the past week have pretty well destroyed whatever confidence I may once have had in myself. . . . I shall possibly . . . lose my position here—for general inadequacy. [John] Gillin discussed the matter with Ralph [Linton]: my classes are too small, and students complain that I am a poor teacher. . . . So, in the face of the present economic crisis, I might well be dispensed with—I do not think that the loss of my position, disastrous as that would be financially, is as dreadful a prospect as the present recognition that my best is not good enough. Nor can I offer any excuses. My training has been good. Linton, telling me of the conversation, shows a determination to fight to keep me on—but he is disappointed in me. . . . But even if am kept on—I shall feel “kept.” . . . The future looks very, very gloomy (Migliore *et al.*, 2009, p. 119).

When E. A. Ross retired in 1937 and Linton accepted an invitation to move to Columbia, Gower suddenly lost her protectors as an untenured junior faculty member. Linton had become cooler and less supportive of Gower already. Earlier, Linton's marriage to his second wife Margaret had deteriorated further in Madison, and they separated in 1932 and divorced in 1934. If the Chicago rumors were true, there might have been a romantic relationship between Linton and Gower, but at that point Linton did not

marry Gower but instead married Adelin Hohlfeld in 1935. She was a young widow who was at that time the society columnist and book reviewer for the *Madison Capital Times*, and the daughter of Alexander Hohlfeld, the influential chair of the Wisconsin German Department for 32 years (A. Linton and Wagley, p. 24; Lepowsky, 2000, p. 144). It is unknown whether this was a surprise or a disappointment to Gower, but it may have introduced some strains in her relationship with Linton as colleagues.

In May, 1937, Linton displayed some of the venom he usually reserved for senior rivals toward Gower in a letter to his former student, Sol Tax, with regard to a disagreement over what anthropologist should be recruited to replace him. Gower favored George Murdock, but Linton was firmly opposed:

Charlotte probably thinks she can lead him around by the nose [or she wants to bring in Raymond] Firth, Malinowski's understudy. I have vetoed that and she has threatened to resign if we bring in [Alexander] Lesser. I think it as well she did. She is scared stiff without my help (Lepowsky, 2000, p. 145)

I knew Murdock in later years, and I find the notion that Gower might have been able to dominate or bully him preposterous. Firth would have been a brilliant acquisition, but Linton was governed by his hostility toward Malinowski and other functionalist rivals. The letter suggests that Linton felt no loyalty to Gower and was unconcerned about her preferences for a compatible colleague, even though he himself would be gone in the future. It is unlikely that he tried to intercede to keep her from being terminated. In the end Wendell Clark Bennett was brought in as an Associate Professor of Anthropology in 1938 and stayed for two years.

The new chairman of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology in 1937 was John L. Gillin, a specialist in criminology and social disorganization, who had only a superficial knowledge of anthropology, though he had taught a course on "Social Origins" about "primitive" peoples between 1920 and 1928. His son, John Philip Gillin, had by then also earned a PhD in anthropology at Harvard. Gillin was strait-laced, and if he was aware of the rumors that Gower had formerly been a mistress of Linton, that may have contributed to a negative attitude toward her. In January, 1938, Gillin informed her that her contract would not be renewed, and her contract would expire in June, 1939. Gillin reported to Dean Sellery of the College of Letters and Science that Gower was being dismissed because of a lack of student interest in her courses, and a lack of publications during her years at Wisconsin ((Migliore *et al.*, 2009, p. 120). I find both reasons disingenuous. The lack of publication of her book between 1935 and 1938 was hardly her fault—especially so when the University of Wisconsin Press itself turned its back on the

opportunity to publish a book that would undoubtedly have brought great prestige to the press. The charge that enrollments in her courses were too low was also unfair, since she was hired to teach subjects that were not by their nature highly attractive to undergraduates. As she wrote to her mentor Cole after receiving notice of nonretention,

. . . I shall not be re-appointed here at Wisconsin when my present contract expires in June 1939. The department is, I gather, disappointed that I have not published more during the time I have been here. My research (unfortunately) has gone too exclusively into my courses.—There is also the possibility that they would like to have my courses attract more students. I am not sure that Prehistory and Physical Anthropology *should* be popular courses (Lepowsky, 2000, p. 156).

Gillin's comments to Linton that Gower was a poor teacher and that students complained about her are also unsupported by other evidence. When Gower needed a letter certifying to the Chinese Minister of Education that she had been a faculty member at Wisconsin, Gillin himself wrote on January 17, 1941, "She gave excellent service here and was recognized as a scholar in her field. Students liked her and she was very cooperative with her colleagues" (UW Archives 7/33/4 Box 2, Folder E-M). Redfield also wrote to the Lingnan University officials that Gower is "intelligent, and a thoroughly experienced teacher of Anthropology, competent both in physical and cultural anthropology. . . . Her colleagues at the University of Wisconsin report to me that she has been a successful and well-liked teacher" (Lepowsky, 2000, p. 158). W. W. Howells, who came to the Wisconsin department the year after Gower left, described her as "a lively person and a popular teacher." Sol Tax, who had been an undergraduate in the department recalled both Linton and Gower warmly, but like most of the former anthropology undergraduates was most impressed with Linton, who was a scintillating lecturer. However, he commented, "I should say a word also about Charlotte Gower, who taught not only courses in prehistory and archaeology . . . but also had an ongoing seminar, evenings at her apartment; the class I recall included, besides us, students in other departments, with whom we discussed problems beyond anthropology" (Lepowsky, 2000, p. 143). It is hard to believe that a teacher who invited this type of intimate and egalitarian interaction with students in her small apartment would not be popular. Then there was Philleo Nash, who was also a student of both Gower and Linton from 1930 to 1932. He described Gower as one of the two most influential persons on his career, which included stints as President Truman's adviser on minority problems, as Lieutenant Governor of Wisconsin, and as Commissioner of Indian Affairs:

She was a very important influence on me, both in anthropology and generally in education; in some respects more so than Ralph Linton. She was a young graduate of the University of Chicago and she had done her dissertation on Sicilian peasant culture. So she was really my first contact with an anthropologist who was studying something that was modern, alive and current, not something that was antiquarian. . . . So that I would say, Charlotte Gower, with her introduction of me to the subject of cultururation, and Bob Redfield, with his introduction to problems of minority groups, were the two principal influences, more so really than Radcliffe-Brown (Nash, 1966, pp. 19, 23).

Gower's Replacements

The Department of Sociology and Anthropology had difficulty in finding a senior scholar in anthropology to replace Linton, who departed in 1937. They finally settled on offering a visiting professorship to the venerable anthropologist Alexander Aleksandrovich Goldenweiser, who had been born in Ukraine but had immigrated to America and studied with Franz Boaz. He was a brilliant lecturer, and Don Martindale remembered him as the finest teacher in the department. He only taught during the 1937-1938 year, however, and then returned to Reed College, dying two years later.

A second anthropologist, Morris Swadesh, was also added to the department in 1937 as an Assistant Professor. The department had been seeking an anthropologist with training in the linguistics of "primitive" peoples—as Gillin put it, "to provide courses in the relation of language to the social institutions and the culture of primitive peoples and to prepare social anthropologists to understand the myths and attitudes of the primitive peoples studied." Swadesh was a brilliant young man born in America to Jewish immigrant parents from Bessarabia. He studied linguistics with Edward Sapir at the University of Chicago and then followed him to Yale, where he earned a PhD in 1933. Inspired by Sapir, he began a career in comparative linguistics focusing on indigenous peoples of the Americas. He did fieldwork studies of a number of languages, most notably the now extinct Chitimacha language of an indigenous group in Louisiana, but also studying the Menominee and Mahican languages of the Algonquian language family. While teaching at Wisconsin he devised the highly original Oneida Language and Folklore Project, that employed more than a dozen Wisconsin Oneida people on a WPA project to record and translate texts in the Oneida language. Just as the project was to begin, however, Swadesh was fired after just two years on the faculty. Like Gower before him, his career suffered greatly from the obtuseness of Gillin and the senior sociology faculty with

regard to anthropology. Gillin later wrote of the decision, “Swadesh [was] handed to Department in 1937. Later discovered he is a pure linguist having had no training in anthropology. The man, a disappointment; the subject important” (UW Archives 7/33-5 Box 1, Folder G, 1936-1940). It defies belief that he could believe that a student of Edward Sapir had no training in anthropology. After all, he himself had taught a course on “Social Origins” dealing with “primitive” peoples from 1920 until Linton’s arrival in 1928. His son, John P. Gillin, had also studied anthropology with Linton and Gower and become a distinguished anthropologist, serving later as President of the American Anthropological Association. Floyd Lounsbury, who was at the time a Wisconsin undergraduate, eventually finished up the Oneida project. Later Lounsbury became Sterling Professor of Anthropology at Yale.

Swadesh then went to Mexico to work for the government of the progressive president, Lázaro Cárdenas, who was promoting the education of indigenous peoples. Swadesh was a master at learning languages quickly and worked diligently to help Tarahumara, Tarascan, and Otomi villagers to learn to read in their own languages before learning Spanish. During World War II Swadesh compiled reference manuals and teaching materials for Spanish, Russian, Burmese, and Chinese for the US Army and the OSS and used his superlative linguistic skills to support military operations while stationed in Burma. He returned to the US after the war and taught at the City University of New York, but he was fired and had his passport revoked in 1949 after being accused of being a Communist during the McCarthyism period. Unable to secure another university appointment in the US, he eked out a living as a librarian for the Boas Collection at the American Philosophical Society until 1953. He then did independent field work for three years before finally securing a research appointment at the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México and a position teaching linguistics at the Escuela Nacional de Antropología e Historia in Mexico. He died in Mexico City in 1967 (Strazny, 2004; “Morris Swadesh, n.d.).

In spite of the numerous setbacks in his career, Swadesh became a major figure in anthropological linguistics and was one of the initiators of new approaches in phonemics, glottochronology, and the application of historical linguistics to the indigenous languages of North America. His ideas about language evolution were also an important contribution, though they remain controversial. If Gillin and his sociology colleagues had not been so shortsighted, they could have had a major figure as one of the cornerstones around which to build the anthropology program at Wisconsin.

In 1938 Wendell Bennett joined the Department of Sociology and Anthropology and the following year William White Howells—both adding more substance to the anthropology program.

Gower's Relocation to China

As a 36-year-old woman in the midst of the depression, Gower was in a very difficult position to find a new academic job. She appealed to her old Chicago professors and friends for help, to no avail. Finally, William F. Ogburn, who had only barely known her at the University of Chicago, recommended her for a job at Lingnan University in Guangzhou (Canton) China. Lingnan University was originally founded by American Presbyterian missionaries in 1888 and had a medical emphasis. It was an internationally respected institution and was the first coeducational university in China. It had a Sociology Department that offered twenty courses in 1937-38 (Corbett, 1963, p. 194). This was not, however, an attractive position, for the Japanese army had already conducted the genocidal "Rape of Nanking" the preceding December and January, massacring, according to official Chinese estimates, around 300,000 civilians. Guangzhou was 870 miles farther south, but now it was under threat too. Nevertheless, Gower accepted the offer. She wrote to Cole, March 15, 1938,

The Chinese opening rather terrifies me. They are entirely frank about bombs, the uncertainty of the situation, and so on. But after all, why not? . . . I am neither more nor less bomb-proof than anyone else. I suspect it would all be a very valuable experience (Lepowski, 2000, p. 157).

A few days later she wrote to Redfield,

I am very much interested in the Lingnan position, bombs and typhus notwithstanding. The consideration that I have had occasion to give to problems of acculturation has aroused my curiosity about the detached communities living under foreign social environments—and the Lingnan community sounds like a convenient unit for observation. The uncertainty under which it now exists is abnormal, of course—but the effects of "terror" should in themselves be interesting (Lepowski, 2000, p. 157).

Gower departed for China in June, 1938, to take up her position at Lingnan University. Japanese bombing of Guangzhou had begun on September 1, 1937, followed by 600 additional raids. Even as Gower was en route to China, the Japanese bombed the Lingnan campus for the first time. Over the next few months, Japanese bombers reduced the city center to rubble and retreating Chinese forces destroyed industrial works and set them afire. Japanese forces landed at Bias Bay less than 100 miles away on October 12 and met with little opposition in their march to the city. Lingnan University

immediately evacuated its faculty, students, and nursing trainees to Hong Kong, where they reestablished operations in borrowed quarters at the University of Hong Kong. The Japanese occupied Gwangzhou on October 21, 1938 (Corbett, 1963, pp. 131-132).

The Japanese occupation forces behaved with ruthlessness and brutality to the remaining Chinese population, though not on the same scale as in Nanjing or Shanghai. Almost immediately, however, the Japanese Southern China Army set up a secret biological warfare facility, Unit 8604, at the Zhongsan Medical University in Guangzhou—a site now occupied by Sun Yat Sen University. It was a subunit of the notorious Unit 731 headed by Shiro Ishii in Harbin, Manchuria. Ishii was a physician and PhD bacteriologist who became an army officer and tirelessly advocated the development of an offensive biological and chemical warfare capability, even though Japan had signed the Geneva Convention outlawing such weapons. Unit 731 and its numerous subunits carried out lethal experiments on humans, both military prisoners and Chinese civilians. They experimented with food and water deprivation; they researched means of transmitting typhus, plague, cholera, anthrax, and other diseases to population groups; they performed vivisection, blood loss, and organ transplantation experiments; they researched the effects of various poisons; and they studied the effects of freezing on humans. The various biological and chemical warfare units also mounted bacteriological attacks creating disease outbreaks among the Chinese civilian population in unoccupied areas, by dropping ceramic “germ bombs,” contaminating water supplies, or sending infected people, rats, livestock, and parasites into those areas. The exact death toll from all the experimental atrocities and efforts to infect the population with lethal diseases is unknown, but was certainly in the hundreds of thousands. Most of the evidence, however, was suppressed by American authorities at the end of World War II and none of the perpetrators were brought to trial before the war crimes tribunal in Japan. The United States agreed not to prosecute Ishii and the other participants in exchange for receiving the results of their “research,” which American officials wanted to keep secret for the use of their own biological weapons scientists at Fort Detrick in Frederick, Maryland (Gold, 1996; Williams and Wallace, 1989; Barenblatt, 2004; Harris, 1994).

Nami Unit 8604 in Gwangzhou had a large staff of several hundred scientists, doctors, nurses, and other personnel. Most of the records of its activities were destroyed or suppressed, but a former unit member named Maruyama Shigeru testified in 1994 about some of its activities. One experiment he recalled involved seeing how long prisoners could live without food, receiving only water. Another involved infecting refugees from Hong Kong with typhus. Maruyama also saw prisoners being subjected to

surgical vivisection experiments almost every day. Many bodies of victims were stored in the basement and a pond of chemicals was maintained inside the compound to dissolve bodies of the victims of experiments. The facility also raised rats to carry plague-infected fleas to infect people in enemy areas (Gold, 1996, pp. 50-51). There were claims that some of the plague research in Gwangzhou backfired, and plague broke out in the city itself during the occupation. Soviet forces managed to capture twelve of the participants in the Japanese biological and chemical warfare units and brought them to trial in their own proceedings in Khabarovsk in 1949. Among them was Major General Shunji Sato, who was in charge of Nami Unit 8604 in Gwangzhou. He was found guilty and sentenced to twenty years in prison. The prosecutor, L. N. Smirnov, railed against the American officials, saying that Ishii and nearly all of the other perpetrators “enjoyed the protection of those reactionary forces in the Imperialist camp who are themselves dreaming of the time when they will be able to hurl upon mankind loads of TNT, atomic bombs and lethal bacteria . . . ” (P. Williams and Wallace, 1989, pp. 141, 221-222).

Many of the Chinese inhabitants had fled the city before the Japanese arrived, but for those who were displaced but unable to leave, a number of refugee centers were established, including one on the Lingnan University campus. By December 6,000 refugees, later reaching 8,000, crowded into the vacated dormitories and classroom buildings. The United States, Britain, and Canada were not yet at war with Japan, and their citizens were still able to carry on in Guangzhou. Many of the Western staff, including Gower, stayed on to assist the refugees. Gower was pressed into service as a pharmacist at the refugee hospital on the campus and also helped to distribute food and clothing (Corbett, 1963, pp. 133-134). In a speech she later gave to almost 500 women at the Madison Civics Club in Madison in January, 1943, she recounted her experiences:

My terror of the Japanese developed then, and still continues. We were immune, of course, but it was a ghastly kind of immunity which left us completely helpless to do anything to help the suffering Chinese (Jollos, 1943).

In 1939 the Lingnan authorities closed the refugee center, and Gower rejoined the teaching faculty at the university’s new location in Hong Kong, which was still under British control (Migliore *et al.*, 2009, p. 120). She wrote to Redfield in November,

I have been retired from pharmacy and returned to the teaching staff. Someone had to teach Social Psychology, so I have taken that over. And

next semester I am to attempt to guide them through the mazes of Social Statistics (Lepowsky, 2000, p. 159).

British women in Hong Kong were being trained for war work, but they and their children were ordered evacuated in July, 1940. Only British passport holders who were of European ancestry were included in the evacuation—a racist slight that greatly angered the Asian citizens. After protests, the evacuations were made voluntary, provided those remaining volunteered for auxiliary war work. American authorities did not order evacuations, believing that Hong Kong was safe right up until the attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. It then became clear that Japan was intent on seizing all British, American, French, and Dutch colonies in Asia and the Western Pacific, and Hong Kong was an immediate target. Starting with a Japanese invasion on December 8, there was a 17-day siege of Hong Kong, with heavy fighting. Hong Kong was defended only by British and Commonwealth troops, since the British had not organized Chinese troops to defend the colony, and they were outnumbered by the Japanese four to one. Some 4400 British and Commonwealth troops were killed, wounded, or missing and 9500 were captured in the battle for Hong Kong.

During the siege Lingnan University once again established a hospital on its campus, set up largely by Gower. She worked again as a pharmacist and also administered first aid, did rescue work, and transported supplies. Hong Kong was under bombardment, and Gower reported that she had to “brave a hail of shrapnel” in going from her residence in the consul’s house to the hospital. Finally, on Christmas Day, 1941, Hong Kong surrendered and was occupied by the Japanese army (Jollos, 1943). Japanese soldiers committed many atrocities, killing a considerable number of captive and wounded soldiers, plus some doctors, and nurses, but it was far from the mass killings that took place in Nanjing and other inland Chinese cities (Snow, 2003, p. 80).

Discipline among the Japanese soldiers broke down, however, and they went on an orgy of looting and raping Chinese women in the early days of the occupation. Li Shu-Fan, was a Chinese physician, a former Minister of Health in China, who administered a hospital in Hong Kong at the time of the Japanese invasion. He claimed that at least 10,000 Chinese girls and women were raped by Japanese soldiers in the first month of occupation—about half the number raped in Nanjing in the first month after its capture:

Since Chinese women are modest, only a small percentage of those who were raped appeared at hospitals to be treated for rape injuries. They felt so ashamed and disgraced that most of them would rather have died than to have had it known. The actual number of women raped will

always remain a question; but it was large—10,000 would be an underestimation—and the methods were appallingly brutal. At my hospital we treated rape victims ranging from the early teens to the sixties. I myself treated and tried to comfort women with their teeth bashed in, their noses broken, their bodies showing bayonet prods; wives so heavy with child that the assault had brought on miscarriage; and young, tender girls whose minds had been affected by the pain and horror of multiple rape (Li, 1964, p. 111).

Li himself was able to escape to unoccupied China after eighteen months, barely avoiding arrest and execution as an anti-Japanese leader.

Hong Kong was stocked with a six-month food supply at the time of the invasion, but the Japanese authorities seized most of the food for their troops and in January, 1942, imposed strict food rationing on the Chinese inhabitants, permitting them to purchase only 8.5 ounces of rice a day, providing a meager 315 calories, well below what is required for survival. People had to supplement their meals with sweet potatoes, taro, and whatever else they could find, but starvation increased in the face of inflation. The rationing system was ended in April, 1944, but this simply made inflation worse and pushed the cost of food beyond the means of many of the people (Fung, 2005, pp. 134-137).

The Japanese wanted to annex Hong Kong as Japanese territory and to use it as a military base. The American submarine fleet, which played the most important role in the defeat of Japan, began to sink one Japanese merchant ship almost every day, and this greatly worsened the food shortage, not only in Hong Kong but in Japan. The Japanese authorities in Hong Kong wished to reduce the population of Hong Kong, for they had no intention of feeding the 800,000 refugees from the mainland whom the British had allowed to slip into the colony in the last few years. Deaths from malnutrition, starvation, disease, and the breakdown of sanitation and the public health system brought a considerable population reduction, but the Japanese authorities wanted more. They adopted a policy of encouraging repatriation, but soon turned to forced deportation of the poor and unemployed, whom they labeled “rice buckets.” They seized poorly dressed people off the streets and sent massive numbers to famine- and disease-ridden areas of the mainland—or even to barren uninhabited islands where they usually perished. The population of Hong Kong declined from 1.6 million in 1941 to 600,000 in 1945 (Li, 1964, pp. 160-161; Fung, 2005, p. 138; Snow, 2003, p. 154).

Captured British and American civilians were treated with greater restraint than were the Chinese, and after the first day of the occupation, none of the white women were raped. Gower and the other American university

staff members were arrested, but the Japanese army apparently had not developed a plan for dealing with non-Chinese enemy civilians prior to the invasion. It then permitted them to remain in their homes for a time before rounding them up again and interning them in greatly overcrowded old hotel-brothels on the waterfront. After seventeen days in squalid conditions they were loaded on a ship and taken to the Stanley Internment Camp for non-Chinese civilians on the other side of Hong Kong Island. Here some 2800 persons—about 90 percent British—were interned—most for the duration of the war. The prisoners were housed in buildings of St. Stephens College and on the grounds of Stanley Prison, but not in the prison itself. It was in a beautiful setting, and the loveliness of the landscape provided some solace for the prisoners. One internee commented,

However strong our anxieties might be, however much our captors might try to make life difficult for us, nothing could take away the beauty of the sea, the islands, the mountain, and the sky, so rarely other than deep blue. From such sheer beauty there came peace which unconsciously soothed and freed our troubled minds (Emerson, 1973, p. 10).

Gower also reported that it was a “fairly decent camp,” and she occupied her time by teaching Cantonese to other prisoners. It was vastly overcrowded, however, with as many as 30 internees living in quarters intended for a family of four. The internees were not treated harshly like those in prisoner of war camps, and the running of the camps was generally left to the internees themselves. The main problem of the internees was the shortage and poor quality of the food provided, usually consisting of a small bowl of rice with a few spoons of watery stew on top provided twice a day—totaling perhaps 1000 calories a day. Fortunately, the food supply was augmented by some supplies brought by the internees, food packages sent by friends and the Red Cross, purchases from a canteen and the black market, and a few vegetables raised in the rocky soil on the grounds. There were no reports of deaths from direct starvation, though malnutrition probably contributed to the deaths of most of the 121 who died in the camp (Emerson, 1973, pp. 4-5, 44-57, 84, 88; Jollos, 1943).

Strangely, the American internees received more food and better treatment than the British, apparently because the military authorities in Tokyo in early 1942 still clung to the clueless notion that they could persuade the United States to pull out of the war and leave Japan in possession of the colonies in Southeast Asia that it had captured from the European powers. Suddenly the dominant social position of the British in the colony was toppled. The Americans were also more unified and negotiated with the Japanese to secure the best accommodations, most of the furniture, and a predominant

share of prized items such as vegetables and catsup for their own group. Unsurprisingly, anti-American attitudes, which had always been just below the surface among the British in Hong Kong, began to be expressed openly. A popular verse in the camp reflected their feelings:

Yankee Doodle came to Camp
Sitting on a lorry,
Grabbed the best of everything
And never said "I'm sorry." (Snow, 2003, pp. 136-137)

All of the civilian internees longed for repatriation through a prisoner exchange, but it was the Americans who once again received preferential treatment. In June, 1942, about 377 Americans, including Gower, were repatriated from Hong Kong. Another 140, mostly Canadians, were repatriated in September, 1943, but the British internees were never repatriated and remained in the camp until the end of the war. Gower and the other Americans boarded the greatly overcrowded Japanese ship, the *Asama*, on June 30. After picking up additional repatriates in Saigon from Burma, Thailand, and Vietnam, it proceeded to Lourenço Marques (now Maputo) in Mozambique, a colony of neutral Portugal. At the same time the Swedish American Line MS *Gripsholm* was picking up Japanese and Thai repatriates in New York City and Rio de Janeiro and transporting them to Lourenço Marques. There the *Gripsholm* and the *Asama* exchanged passengers, and the *Gripsholm* proceeded to New York. Gower arrived there on August 25, 1942 (Emerson, 1973, pp. 5, 64; Jollos, 1943). The *Gripsholm* was chartered by the United States government as an exchange and repatriation ship. It transported persons under the auspices of the International Red Cross with a captain and crew from Sweden, a neutral power. Between 1942 and 1946 it made twelve round trips repatriating almost 28,000 persons ([http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/MS_Gripsholm_\(1925\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/MS_Gripsholm_(1925))).

Post-Academic Career

Back in the United States without a job, Gower presented herself at the Marine Corps recruiting station in her home town of Kankakee in January, 1943. She was now forty years old, and the recruiters saw her as "a stout lady with graying hair and glasses," certainly an unconventional recruit for the Marines, but they recognized some special qualities that made her attractive. This was reinforced by a letter of recommendation from Robert Hutchins, the President of the University of Chicago, written January 6, 1943. He praised her great ability in collecting, analyzing, and presenting technical information and described her as "an exceptionally capable

and brilliant woman” (Mattingly, 1989, p. 62; Migliore *et al.*, 2009, p. 121). Gower was almost immediately accepted and commissioned a Captain in the brand new Marine Corps Women’s Reserve on January 29, 1943 (Mattingly, 1989, p. 62).

The Women’s Reserve of the Marine Corps was not formally established until February 13, two weeks after she was inducted. Gower was one of the first women to volunteer for the new unit and the second officer to be commissioned. Some of the other women’s military units during World War II were given catchy nicknames, such as WACs, WAVES, and WASPs, but the Marine Corps Commandant, General Thomas Holcomb, was emphatic that the women reservists were not to be called anything but Marines:

They are Marines. They don’t have a nickname and they don’t need one. They get their basic training in a Marine atmosphere at a Marine post. They inherit the traditions of Marines. They are Marines (<http://www.womensmemorial.org/H%26C/History/wwii%28mcwr%29.html>).

Although she had no previous military training, Gower was immediately assigned to make a series of recruiting trips to secure applicants to be screened for officer training and to organize the training programs for both the reservists and officers. As Director of Training she initiated training programs for reservists at Hunter College in New York City and for officers at Smith College in Northampton, Massachusetts (“Once at U.W., Woman Made Director of Marine Training,” 1943). Her efforts were made more difficult in the early days by the fact that much of the training was done in Navy schools with Navy recruiters, resulting in the Marine Corps getting “leftovers.” Gower completely reversed this trend, utilizing “a fine mix of diplomacy and firmness” (Mattingly, 1989, p. 63). Training exercises were soon moved to the Marine base at Camp Lejeune, North Carolina. During World War II about 23,000 women joined the Marine Women’s Reserve, and by the end of the war some 85 percent of Marine personnel assigned to headquarters positions were women.

Col. Clark W. Thompson, Director of the Marine Corps Reserve, writing in 1944 near the end of Gower’s time with the Marines, recalled her exemplary service:

Major Gower (then a Captain) was one of the original staff of the Corps’ Women’s Reserve. She was selected by the Director of Reserve to organize and supervise all of the training for Marine women with particular emphasis on specialist recruitment and training. The excellence of the results of her work is attested to by the highly satisfactory accomplishments of Marine Women throughout the various activities to which they

are assigned. On 17 November 1943, in addition to her other duties, Mayor Gower became the Officer-in-Charge of the Women's Reserve Section. In this capacity she had supervision of the entire activities of the Women's Reserve. She also headed the board which selected all Women candidates for officer training (Mattingly, 1989, p. 63).

Gower was promoted to Major, and in recognition of her outstanding service to the Marine Corps, Gower became one of the first Women Marines to be awarded the Navy Letter of Commendation, now the Navy Commendation Medal (Mattingly, 1989, p. 213, n. 35).

Gower did not remain with the Women's Reserve to the end of the war. On April 17, 1944, the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) specifically requested her transfer to their organization, and the Division of Reserve "very reluctantly relinquished her services." She was particularly attractive to the OSS because of her fluency in Cantonese, French, Italian, and the Sicilian dialect, as well as her experience with the Japanese in Guangzhou and Hong Kong. On June 1, 1944, she was assigned to the Research and Analysis section of the OSS in Washington, primarily concerned with intelligence in the Far East. At the end of the war she was one of the last Women Marine officers to be demobilized in "late 1945" (Mattingly, 1989, pp. 63-64).

General William J. Donovan, the head of the OSS, had many enemies in Washington—notably J. Edgar Hoover, who wanted the FBI to control intelligence operations, and the military service chiefs, who wanted intelligence services that would answer to them rather than the President. President Roosevelt distrusted Donovan, and after his death, Pentagon officials mounted a campaign to persuade the newly inaugurated President Truman that Donovan's proposal to create a central intelligence service under his leadership would continue a legacy of incompetence and be dangerous. Truman himself thought Donovan's plan creating an intelligence service under the direction of one head was a danger to democracy. On May 14, 1945, Donovan met with President Truman, and Truman told him

I am completely opposed to international spying on the part of the United States. It is un-American. I cannot be certain in my mind that a formidable and clandestine organization such as the OSS designed to spy abroad will not in time spy upon the American people themselves. The OSS represents a threat to the liberties of the American people. An all-powerful intelligence apparatus in the hands of an unprincipled president can be a dangerous instrument. I would never use such a tool against my own people, but there is always the risk, and I cannot entertain such a risk (Dunlop, 1982, p. 468).

On September 20, 1945, five weeks after the announcement of Japan's unconditional surrender on VJ Day, he fired Donovan and ordered the OSS to disband within ten days. The OSS was formally dissolved on October 1, 1945, but other officials essentially countermanded Truman and salvaged most of the parts of the OSS. The Research and Analysis Branch of OSS was transferred to the State Department and the other branches were transferred to the War Department in a new Strategic Services Unit. The members, however, saw the new organization, as Richard Helms described it, as "transparently jerry-built and transient, an apparently bastard organization with an unpredictable life expectancy." Within three months it lost five out of every six OSS veterans, declining to less than 2,000 members (Weiner, 2007, pp. 3-23).

Gower left the organization—though it is not clear whether it was before or after OSS was split up—and returned to the faculty of Lingnan University in Guangzhou as an Associate Professor and Head of the Department of Sociology (Lepowsky, 2000, p. 162; Migliore *et al.*, 2009, p. 121). Within days of the Japanese surrender, Lingnan University's President, Lei Yinglam, had returned to Guangzhou and ousted the faculty and students of an institution that had collaborated with the Japanese and were still occupying the university buildings. By October the university was reopened with 777 students. American faculty members who had been evacuated to the United States were not able to return right away, because transport across the Pacific was strictly controlled by the American military authorities, and there were few provisions for civilians. Gower did not arrive at the campus in Guangzhou until 1946. Lepowsky has speculated that Gower may have been playing a double role, providing field intelligence to the State Department or the Strategic Services Unit about the Nationalist-Communist conflict in China as well as teaching and serving as Dean of Women, but there is naturally no public record of this (Lepowsky, 2000, pp. 162-163). She did not remain at Lingnan University after 1946, however, possibly because the President of the university, who was now Chinese, was happy to have American professors teaching natural science subjects but believed that social science courses should be taught by Chinese, who he believed had a deeper understanding of Chinese culture (Corbett, 1963, pp. 148-149).

Another possibility is that Gower left Lingnan University in order to marry Savilion H. Chapman in 1947 at the age of 45. Chapman was a graduate of the U.S. Merchant Marine Academy who served during World War II as a merchant marine captain for the Isthmian Line. He moved to Washington, DC, in 1946 and joined an intelligence service—probably the Strategic Services Unit. Shortly after her marriage Gower Chapman wrote from her parents' home in Kankakee, Illinois, to Cole and Redfield, acknowledging their congratulations on her marriage and asking them to arrange for the sale of most of her anthropology books to the Anthropology Department at

the University of Chicago (Lepowsky, 2000, pp. 162-163). This signaled her decision to abandon her professional career as an anthropologist, and she never held another academic position.

As the Cold War began and Truman determined to fight the spread of Communism in Greece and Italy, an effort was made to create a more effective intelligence service that would coordinate the intelligence activities of the various branches of government. The National Security Act of 1947 gave birth to the Central Intelligence Agency on September 18, 1947. The agency's powers were poorly defined, but Truman was primarily interested in just receiving a daily evaluated intelligence digest, and the Act instructed the CIA to correlate, evaluate, and disseminate intelligence. It also authorized the agency to perform "other functions and duties related to intelligence affecting the national security." This loophole was henceforth used by the agency to justify the mounting of covert actions of sabotage and subversion against foreign governments. Allen Dulles, who came to be the dominant figure in the early CIA, was disdainful of intelligence gathering and was almost exclusively interested in organizing covert operations. Even before such actions were authorized by the National Security Council, the CIA began to mount covert operations. Though Truman was apparently not supportive of such clandestine actions, there were 81 launched during his second term, and in the Eisenhower, Kennedy, and subsequent administrations there followed hundreds of covert operations, mostly unsuccessful. By 1952 there were 15,000 people in the CIA, but there also continued to be repeated major failures in gathering and analyzing intelligence (Weiner, 2007).

Charlotte Gower Chapman joined her husband in Washington, DC, and shortly after the Central Intelligence Agency was founded in 1947 they both joined the organization. Their previous work in intelligence no doubt made their acceptance as members almost automatic. Gower Chapman became an analyst with the CIA and remained with the organization until she retired in 1971. She retained a strong interest in the Marines and remained active in the Reserves. She retired from the Marine Reserves as a Lieutenant Colonel, without pay, in the early 1960s (Mattingly, 1989, p. 64). Her husband served in the CIA as an "operations officer in the field of maritime affairs" from 1947 to 1966.

When *Milocca* was finally published in 1971 it was published under the name Charlotte Gower Chapman, and she contributed a four-page Preface that she wrote in October, 1970. It was written, however, without ever having revisited the Sicilian village since the time of her original research, and she was clearly unaware of how much the community had changed in the intervening years. She died of a heart attack in Washington, DC, September 21, 1982, at the age of 80 and her husband died in 1992 at the age of 88. (Lepowsky, 2000, p. 163; Migliore, 2009, p. 122).

Samuel Andrew Stouffer (1900-1960) and Quantitative Sociology at Wisconsin

Samuel Stouffer was only at the University of Wisconsin for three years in the 1930s at the beginning of his academic career, but he played an important role in setting the department in a more quantitative direction. After he left Wisconsin and returned to the University of Chicago he soon emerged as the most important quantitative sociologist of his generation, becoming a worthy successor to his mentor, William F. Ogburn.

Sociology remained within the Department of Economics under the chairmanship of John R. Commons until 1929. Commons was personally concerned with the development of social measurement, and he insisted that all sociology graduate students receive training in quantitative methods. When an independent Department of Sociology and Anthropology was launched in 1929, the department lost, as Don Martindale commented, “its single most powerful social theorist and its most competent methodologist” (Martindale, 1976, p. 138). Stouffer was recruited by E. A. Ross to remedy the weakness in methodology, since it was becoming increasingly apparent that empirical research was the wave of the future in sociology.

Early Life and Education

Stouffer was born in Sac City, Iowa, June 6, 1900. He attended Morning-side College, a small Methodist school in Sioux City, and received an A.B. in Latin in 1921. He completed an A.M. in English at Harvard in 1923, and then returned to Sac City, where he managed and edited the *Sac City Sun*, his father’s newspaper, until 1926. He married Ruth R. McBurney in 1924, and they had three children (“Stouffer, Samuel Andrew,” 1961-68, p. 910).

In 1926 he sold the newspaper and went off to the University of Chicago to do graduate work in sociology. Stephan wrote that a chance reading of a sociology book during a summer vacation turned his interests in that direction (Stephan, 1960, p. 545). According to Ryan, his decision to switch careers was at least in part attributable to the influence of E. A. Ross, who visited Sac City and made his acquaintance (Ryan, 2009, p. 16). At Chicago he found a sociology faculty that for the most part disparaged the utility

of statistics in sociological research, with the exception of one professor—William F. Ogburn. Stouffer accepted the majority views of this group until he directly encountered statistics through the teaching of Ogburn and L. L. Thurstone in Psychology (P. M. Hauser, 1962, p. 332). Stouffer described his own conversion when he spoke at the memorial service for Ogburn on the University of Chicago campus in June, 1959:

One graduate student who was particularly antagonistic to statistics had been hired to collect and analyze some election data by another professor who remarked, “Any clerk can do this kind of thing; it requires no thinking.” The student soon got beyond his depth in the analysis and called on Will Ogburn in his office for the first time. Patiently, yet rather languidly, Ogburn reviewed the problem, and commended with almost embarrassing kindness the student’s awkward originality in several alternate attempts at analysis—an originality stemming from not knowing what couldn’t be done. When the problem was straightened out and the conference ended, Ogburn rose to his full height and smiled down on him, saying, “You may not realize it, but you have a real knack at quantitative thinking” (P. M. Hauser, 1961, p. 364).

Of course, the student was Stouffer himself. Encouraged by Ogburn, Stouffer began working on other statistical problems and taking courses in mathematics and statistics to remedy his deficiencies in those areas. His PhD dissertation, stimulated by Ogburn but written under the supervision of Ellsworth Faris, was *Experimental Comparison of Statistical and Case-History Methods of Attitude Research*. He surveyed the attitudes of 238 University of Chicago students toward prohibition and showed that statistical methods showed essentially the same results as case-histories evaluated by experts. Stouffer received the PhD at Chicago in 1930 and served as an instructor in statistics at the University of Chicago in 1930-31.

Stouffer Comes to Wisconsin

At the end of 1931 Stouffer accepted an offer from E. A. Ross to come to the university of Wisconsin as an Assistant Professor of Social Statistics, but he immediately went on leave for a year to the University of London to take up a Social Science Research Council Fellowship to study statistics with Karl Pearson, R. A. Fisher, and others (P. M. Hauser, 1960, p. 36, and 1961, p. 364; P. M. Hauser, 1962, p. 332; Ryan, 2009, p. 15). No doubt E. A. Ross had kept Stouffer in mind ever since he had met and encouraged the young newspaper editor to go off to Chicago to study sociology. Kimball Young had also taught at the University of Chicago in the summer of 1929, and

Stouffer had been one of his students. With both Ross and Young aware of the promising young scholar, it is hardly surprising that they wanted to recruit him. Young said, “He was a great personal friend of mine and I saw a good deal of him over the years” (Young, 1995, p. 38).

Returning from London in 1932, Stouffer took up residence at the University of Wisconsin as an Assistant Professor of Social Statistics. It was an ideal hire to rebuild the department’s credibility as a center for research training. Even as a beginning academic, Stouffer already had a substantial national reputation as one of the most gifted young methodologist in the discipline. Recognizing that it would be difficult to retain him, the department promptly promoted him to Professor of Social Statistics in 1935 at the age of 34.



SAMUEL ANDREW STOFFER
(UW DEPT. OF SOCIOLOGY)

During the short time he was in Madison Stouffer was a very popular teacher with the Wisconsin graduate students, and they regarded him as one of their most inspiring and demanding teachers. Some of his mannerisms were already in place. Ashley Weeks remembered, “Some of us used to bet on the number of cigarettes Sam would light and leave burning in chalk trays and on the corners of the desk during a class hour” (Useem, 1977).

When Stouffer finally arrived in Madison, he rented an apartment at 223 Clifford Court, the very same place where Kolb had lived during his graduate studies twelve years earlier. Living on the shore of Lake Mendota obviously made the four-mile trip from the campus worthwhile. Today the small apartments on Clifford Court are gone, replaced by a large modern house. At Wisconsin Stouffer soon embarked on his first large scale quantitative research—a study of birth rates related to the receipt of welfare in greater Milwaukee. He reached the following conclusion:

Calculating confinement rates per 1,000 months of exposure to the risk of pregnancy, we find that the relief group has an excess of 43 per cent. . . . These data include only confinements taking place at least nine months after a family went on relief, or within a comparable period among the control group. Obviously, a comparison based on the total number of children ever born to relief and non-relief families would be different, since families with children are more likely to need relief

than childless families in the same occupational group (Stouffer, 1934, p. 295).

Interestingly, Stouffer seemed to be most interested in examining the Catholic subgroups and speculating on whether the Catholic church was able to prevent the use of contraception among its members. He did not comment on the question of whether welfare caused an increase in fertility—probably because his study could not really answer the question. This was, however, a side question that the Wisconsin economists and sociologists in the Institute for Research on Poverty were occupied with some 35 years later in the New Jersey and Rural Income Maintenance Experiments. The IRP experiments found no effect on fertility, but a similar experiment conducted by the Stanford Research Institute claimed a positive effect of supplemental income payments.

In 1934-35 Stouffer was on leave in Washington, DC, and worked with the Central Statistical Board of the Federal government, which led to the establishment of the Division of Statistical Standards in the Bureau of the Budget (P. M. Hauser, 1961, p. 364). During the Great Depression of the 1930s Stouffer was also asked by the Social Science Research Council to direct a major project to evaluate the impact of the depression on various areas of social life. As an outcome some thirteen monographs were published in the series “Social Aspects of the Depression,” including one by Stouffer himself with Paul Lazarsfeld: *Research Memorandum on the Family in the Depression* (1937).

Stouffer at Chicago

Though Stouffer had been promoted to Professor at Wisconsin in 1935, the University of Chicago made him a competing offer the same year, and he returned to Chicago as a Professor of Sociology in 1935. In 1940 he made a major contribution to demography with his theory of intervening opportunities in internal migration. In 1885 E. G. Ravenstein had proposed a series of “laws of migration”—really only hypotheses—the most important of which was that migration decreases as distance from the center increases. Though most people tend to migrate only a short distance, Stouffer thought that the formulation was oversimplified and difficult to test. He formulated a new theory of intervening opportunities that he sought to state mathematically and test rigorously: “The number of persons going a given distance is directly proportional to the number of opportunities at that distance and inversely proportional to the number of intervening opportunities” (Stouffer, 1940, p. 846). He showed great ingenuity in using the formal model to analyze available census statistics (M. B. Smith, 1968, p. 278). Stouffer’s

theory stimulated a great deal of demographic research on migration, and he himself published a major reformulation in 1960, which he completed shortly before his death. Omer R. Galle and Karl E. Taeuber did a replication of his study for a later time period in 1966 and found that Stouffer's model still fit the data closely and was superior to a simple distance model (Galle and Taeuber, 1966).

Few remember that Stouffer played a major role in the production of Gunnar Myrdal's landmark study, *An American Dilemma*, particularly in 1940 and 1941. He helped Myrdal coordinate the research efforts of a large number of scholars who were commissioned to produce research papers on various topics. When Myrdal returned to Sweden at the outbreak of World War II in April, 1940, the whole burden of coordinating the work fell on Stouffer until Myrdal was able to return to the United States in March, 1941. Because Myrdal's absence was delaying completion of the book, the Carnegie Corporation, which was funding the study, arranged for a committee chaired by Stouffer to review the research memoranda that had been prepared by various scholars and to publish those most ready for publication.

When Myrdal returned to the United States he began working on the manuscript, assisted by Richard Sterner and Arnold Rose. His final text was based on the published and unpublished research memoranda and on other published sources (Myrdal, 1944, pp. lxii-lxvi). Stouffer himself prepared a research memorandum on African American migration from the South to northern cities, and Myrdal made extensive use of it in writing the section on migration. Unlike Stouffer, however, Myrdal did not see this flow of migrants as having major causal significance in bringing about changes in the status of African Americans in the United States. He chose to emphasize the ideational conflict between the values of the American Creed and discriminatory values (Toby, 1980, pp. 140-141). Few sociologists today would disagree that Myrdal should have accepted Stouffer's more sociological analysis, though this might have run counter to the major thesis of the book. Though he carried out little research in the area himself, Stouffer continued to take an active interest in race relations throughout his career (M. B. Smith, 1968, p. 279).

Stouffer at the Army Research Branch

Stouffer remained on the staff at Chicago until 1946, but he was on leave from 1941-1946 during World War II as Director of the Research Branch, Information and Education Division, of the U.S. Army. He was enlisted in the Army's war effort for purely instrumental reasons, not to advance the discipline of sociology, as he repeatedly emphasized: "It must not be forgotten that the Research Branch was set up to do a fast, practical job; it was an

engineering operation; if some of its work has value for the future of social science this is a happy result, quite incidental to the mission of the branch in wartime” (Stouffer et al., 1949, p. 30). Nevertheless, the research was carried out in a meticulous fashion and contributed greatly to the advance of quantitative methods and multivariate analysis in sociology.

The research team directed by Stouffer carried out a massive amount of research, surveying half a million soldiers using interviews, over 200 questionnaires, and other techniques. The Army made immediate use of some of their findings in developing better methods of training and motivation, revising pay scales, and dealing with many other thorny problems, such as how to carry out demobilization at war’s end. After the war in 1949-1950 four enduring volumes were published, three of which bore Stouffer’s stamp: the two volumes of *The American Soldier* and the volume *Measurement and Prediction* (P. M. Hauser, 1961, p. 365; Ryan, 2010). The volumes were praised by Lt. General James Gavin, who said Stouffer had made “a monumental contribution to the science of making citizens of a free country win its wars.” General George C. Marshall said it represented “the first quantitative studies of the impact of war on the mental and emotional life of the soldier” (Ryan, 2010, p. 101).

The most important achievement of the Research Branch was getting the army to adopt a point system devised by the Research Branch to determine the order in which soldiers would be demobilized after the war. The army would have preferred to keep combat veterans in the service longer in order to retain the best trained men, but the Research Branch convinced General Marshall that a point system that took into account combat experience and other factors that the public saw as objective and fair would minimize political criticism and boost morale. Another contribution of the Research Branch was to persuade the army to change its method of physical conditioning of recruits. They found that most recruits hated basic training, particularly the emphasis on close-order drill and the methods of physical training for strength and stamina. The Research Branch carried out some experiments comparing the standard approach in basic training and an alternative approach based on the physical conditioning methods used by college athletic coaches. They found that the latter put the men in better physical condition and at a faster rate (Toby, 1980, p. 142). Stouffer had to contend regularly, though, with the resistance of many senior military officers to lines of investigation that the Research Branch thought of critical importance to army morale. Toby tells us some of what he shared with his graduate students at Harvard:

Old-line senior officers were shocked to learn that these academic types wanted to ask troops their opinions of their officers’ leadership abilities.

So-called morale surveys might put ideas into the heads that never considered the possibility that orders could be questioned. Stouffer had to prove the value of social research to these skeptics. The battle to convince skeptics was fought over and over again during Sam's years in Washington (Toby, 1980, pp. 141-142).

Though the Research Branch researchers were primarily concerned with finding practical solutions for the Army's management problems, they also made some theoretical advances through *post hoc* interpretations. Herbert Hyman and Theodore Newcomb had been developing reference group theory earlier in the decade, and Stouffer and his associates built upon these ideas and extended them to formulate the concept of relative deprivation, which helped to explain some puzzling and counter-intuitive findings. For example, they found that airmen, who had a high rate of promotion, were quite dissatisfied with the promotion system in their units, whereas military police, who had the lowest rate of promotion, were most satisfied. The level of satisfaction or sense of deprivation was not determined by any absolute conditions of service but only relative to the situation of others in the group with which they identified. Since very few military police were promoted, those who were not promoted did not feel aggrieved.

The work carried out by the Research Branch had a great effect on American sociology, perhaps even more than on military policy during the war. The findings greatly influenced the drafting of the G.I. Bill, and government officials and business executives began to take seriously the utility of social science research. Many of the social scientists who had worked under Stouffer in the Research Branch took up prominent positions in universities, business, and government. Seven of the twenty-four presidents of the American Sociological Association between 1945 and 1968 had served with or consulted with the Research Branch during World War II (Ryan, 2009, p. 15).

Stouffer at Harvard

After completing his work with the Research Branch in 1946, Stouffer moved to Harvard University, where he was Professor of Sociology and founder and Director of the Laboratory of Social Relations. He was elected President of the American Sociological Association in 1952-1953 and President of the American Association of Public Opinion Research in 1953-1954.

At Harvard Stouffer undertook a second massive project in the wake of the "witch-hunt" for leftists during the McCarthyism period. The Ford Foundation's Fund for the Republic funded a nationwide survey of attitudes toward the threat of Communism, notions about conformity, and respect

for civil liberties. Some 500 interviewers under Stouffer's direction interviewed a cross-section of 6000 Americans, as well as a smaller sample of people in leadership positions. The results were published in *Communism, Conformity and Civil Liberties: A Cross Section of the Nation Speaks Its Mind* in 1955. He found that there was no "national neurosis," and that most people were primarily concerned about their own day-to-day problems. His most significant finding was that younger people tended to be more tolerant of leftist individuals than older people were, regardless of their level of education, and more educated people tended to be more tolerant than less well educated people, regardless of age. In an introduction to a 1992 edition of the book, James A. Davis pointed out that Stouffer's findings on some points were certainly not immutable, particularly his belief that aging causes people to become less tolerant. The General Social Surveys have shown that the "baby boomers" who entered adulthood in the late 1970s were not more tolerant than the preceding generation. Stouffer's work has, however, continued to inspire a great deal of research. By 1992 at least 197 studies had made use of the Stouffer item on free speech for Communists (J. Davis, 1992, p. 7).

Much of Stouffer's work was concerned with the social problems of the day, and he believed that social research could play a useful role in dealing with the problems, though his hopes were quite modest in this direction. This meliorist concern was in evidence in his research on the military and on civil liberties.

Stouffer's work had a substantial impact outside of academia, improving commercial survey research methods and public opinion polling, but he was most interested in pursuing sociological research that linked theory with quantitative research findings. As Hauser pointed out, his work did not include any grand, all-embracing global theories or complex classification schemes or taxonomies:

His understanding of "theory" ruled out what he sometimes impatiently referred to as the "talky-talk." It excluded the speculative and the philosophical. In his work on migration Stouffer explicitly developed theory as he understood it—generalization derived from empirical research and containing in its formulation operational reference to further research. . . . This type of theory, however, is a far cry from that found in histories of sociological "theory" and to which considerable, although fortunately decreasing, energy is still devoted in contemporary sociology (P. M. Hauser, 1962, p. 331).

A Multivariate Mind

One of the hallmarks of Stouffer's work was his ability to think and analyze in multivariate ways, even though computers with sophisticated multivariate computer programs were not yet available. Hyman emphasized this side of Stouffer in his review of *Social Research to Test Ideas*, a collection of Stouffer's papers published posthumously in 1962:

How passionately Sam could attack a table, or an IBM machine, and not only in the darkest hours of night, but all through the next day as well. The student will learn many things from this written record of Stouffer's work, for, as Lazarsfeld points out, it is intended as a series of case studies to instruct the young. But I doubt that they will learn of the delights of falling in love with a table, the exuberance of the chase of an elusive finding from the mere printed page. . . . Multivariate analysis for him was almost a way of life. Starting with a simple cross-tabulation, the relationship observed was elaborated by the introduction of a third variable or test factor, leading to a clarification of the original relationship. . . . With him, the love of a table was undying. Three variables weren't enough. Four, five, six, even seven variables were introduced, until that simple thing of beauty, that original little table, became one of those monstrous creatures at the first sight of which a timid student would fall out of love with our profession forever (Hyman, 1962, pp. 324-325).

According to Terry Clark, Stouffer's office had to have additional wiring to support the presence of three card sorters—his indispensable tools for creative thinking about relationships (Abbott, 1999, p. 212n). As Smith has commented, "His personal style of research fitted the stage of precomputer technology, when the investigator, running his sets of data cards through the counter-sorter himself, could quickly adapt his tactics of analysis to the emerging results" (M. B. Smith, 1968, p. 278).

Most sociologists of my generation can remember from the 1950s and 1960s similar long hours of tending IBM card sorting machines, running cards through to fill in table cells and then rerunning them numerous times to get subdivisions of cells. Stouffer recognized the danger of carrying this too far, but he felt that findings were more often confounded by controlling on too few variables than by controlling on too many. I believe he would have welcomed the more sophisticated forms of multivariate analysis made possible by computers, though he might have regretted the greater separation of the investigator from his data and the loss of immediacy in interacting with the data.

Stouffer's mentor, William F. Ogburn, who had played a similar role in the previous generation, retired from the University of Chicago in 1951 but then after moving to Washington, DC, served as a Visiting Professor during the spring semesters at Florida State University for several years. I was a young assistant professor at FSU during his last years there, and I took advantage of his presence to sit in on his seminars to try to remedy my inadequate training in methodology. He was still intellectually sharp and physically vigorous, and we regularly played tennis together. In fact, he beat me at tennis a few days before he died, even though he was 73 to my 28. We became close, and he sought to further my education, as he had so many of his protégés of the past throughout his career. I was an admirer of Samuel Stouffer and his work, so Ogburn wrote to him and asked him if he would take me under his wing on an NSF postdoctoral fellowship. Unfortunately, Stouffer never replied. Ogburn just laughed and said it was typical of him. His way of dealing with letters in his busy life was to pile them up on his desk and, after the pile got very high, he would toss the whole pile into the wastebasket, since it was too late to send a timely response.

I prefer to think that the absence of a reply was because Stouffer was extremely busy in Puerto Rico and elsewhere undertaking a new study for the Population Council designing and initiating studies of motivation in the control of fertility in developing countries. Shortly before his death he told his family that he thought that the research he was doing on population control was the most important in his life, and he had so much more work to do (Ryan, 2009, p. 16n). Clearly he was unable to take on additional tasks, even at the request of his old mentor, particularly since cancer may have already been sapping his energy. He was hard at work on the fertility project even one week before his death (Toby, 1980, p. 131). He died of cancer August 24, 1960, at the age of 60—just 16 months after the death of Will Ogburn. Stouffer was buried at Mt. Auburn Cemetery in Cambridge, Massachusetts. For my postdoc I ended up at UC-Berkeley, where I learned nothing at all about multivariate methodology but got a great deal of mental stimulation from the concentration of major scholars in the field. I had to wait until I got to Wisconsin for my junior colleagues, particularly Robert M. Hauser and Jerry Marwell, and graduate students, such as Richard Campbell, to upgrade my knowledge about methodology.

Ryan quotes the recollections of a number of sociologists who knew Stouffer well:

“Sam Stouffer was a wonderful human being,” remembered Rutgers sociology professor Jackson Toby. And that seems to be the prevailing attitude of those who knew him. Tom Pettigrew, a psychology and social science professor at the University of California, Santa Cruz,

remembered Stouffer as “a truly great social scientist and a wonderful human being,” a man of great “warmth and humor.” . . . Howard Schuman, a sociology professor at the University of Michigan and a student of Stouffer at Harvard, dedicated two of his books to the chief author of *The Buck*: “Stouffer had a firm belief in the value of survey research, but at the same time a commitment to understanding its limitations and developing its potential so that it could be used more wisely for both practical and theoretical ends” (Ryan, 2009, p. 24).

Thomas Carson McCormick (1892-1954)

The Wisconsin Department of Sociology and Anthropology was suddenly left without a methodologist and statistics teacher when Stouffer left for the University of Chicago. As a replacement, in 1935 E. A. Ross recruited another of Ogburn’s students at the University of Chicago—Thomas Carson McCormick.

McCormick was born in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, in 1892. After graduating from the University of Alabama he taught in high school for ten years until 1921, but acquired an M.A. from George Peabody College along the way. Between 1921 and 1931 he taught at East Central State Teachers College (now East Central University) in Ada, Oklahoma, except for the years 1927-1929 when he did graduate work at the University of Chicago and earned a PhD in sociology in 1929. He was an Assistant Professor of Rural Sociology at the University of Arkansas from 1931 to 1934 but then went to Washington, DC, to become research supervisor and acting coordinator of rural research for the Works Progress Administration (WPA).

McCormick came to the University of Wisconsin in 1935 as a Professor of Sociology and Chair of Social Statistics at a salary of \$4,140. He was the chief methodologist in the department for many years, teaching courses and seminars on statistics, research methods, and demography. He published a social statistics text in 1941, a general sociology text in 1950, and, with Roy G. Francis, a research methods text in 1958. He administered a newly created

Division of Statistics, which coordinated all statistical courses at the university and supervised PhD minors in statistics. Master’s and PhD degrees in statistics, however, were offered only in mathematical statistics in the Department of Mathematics (UW Archives Box 7/33-5, Box 2, Folder Division of Statistics). McCormick built a modest reputation as a scholar, and served in a number of capacities for the American Sociological Association, including Chair of the Section on Social Statistics in 1937 and Book Review Co-editor for the *American Sociological Review* in 1943.

J. Milton Yinger was his research assistant as a graduate student in 1940 and described him as “an excellent but inarticulate statistician” (Yinger, 2006). Don Martindale, who was also a graduate student at that time, gave an even harsher assessment of his teaching ability:

T. C. McCormick was painfully shy in public and was a poor teacher. He mumbled and was hard to hear. To illustrate principles he chose complicated demonstrations—an expedient of the insecure—and ran through them too fast to be followed by anyone hearing it for the first time. McCormick had neither inclination or talent for leading a student by easy steps to a new idea.

He gave assignments that involved mountains of busy work, but with a minimum of illustration of the principles the problems were supposed to present (Martindale, 1982, p. 38).



THOMAS CARSON MCCORMICK,
1948 (UW DEPT. OF SOCIOLOGY)

Wilbur Brookover remembered McCormick’s “penchant for tugging at his mustache and for sharpening yellow pencils with a penknife while looking sidewise at students from beneath his green eyeshade” (Useem, 1977). Alan Kerckhoff in his sketch of the 1950s also mentioned “T. C. McCormick tucked into the back of his cavernous office, peering out of the corner of his eye from under the green eyeshade” (Kerckhoff, 1978).

As one of the university’s recognized authorities on statistics, he was often placed on dissertation committees that had some quantitative content. He could be quite harsh in his criticisms. For example, when one student submitted a draft of his dissertation in 1939, McCormick wrote to Gillin, the student’s advisor, with some devastating comments:

[He] has done a very mediocre job on a very promising topic. The statistical tables are for the most part merely masses of undigested figures, quite confusing to the reader. The graphs are usually too complex to follow, and also fail in point. The titles of both tables and graphs are inadequate, and the headings are seldom clear. Most of the figures given in tables and graphs have little real meaning. . . . (UW Archives 7/33-5 Box 1, Folder G, 1936-1940).

Nevertheless, the student received the PhD the following year, though there is no record whether he made massive revisions. Perhaps Gillin, who fancied himself as quite knowledgeable about statistics, was able to mollify McCormick.

After John Gillen's retirement, McCormick became Chair of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology in 1941 and served until 1952—the longest term of any chair in the history of the department (Nelson, 1969, p.82). He was also Chair of the Faculty Division of Social Sciences from 1947 to 1950. During this time the department became polarized between two factions—the quantitatively oriented allied with McCormick and the qualitative sociologists led by Becker. McCormick was generally regarded as a fair administrator, however, who put the interests of the department first, whereas there was suspicion that Becker might use the chairmanship to further his own interests at the expense of others. Thus, even though Becker had greater prestige in the profession, McCormick was retained as Chair throughout the decade, and Becker's local ambition to be chair was thwarted.

McCormick was certainly not a racist, though there was perhaps a touch of anti-Semitism in his thinking—somewhat similar to that of E. A. Ross. He was a strong believer in complete assimilation of immigrants and rejected the notion of multiculturalism and the right of ethnic minorities to retain their cultural identity. In 1949 he served on the Economics dissertation committee of Ennis Kingman Eberhart, who had written on discrimination against Jews and African Americans in the labor market. In the course of the dissertation defense McCormick apparently expressed the view that discrimination toward Jews was due to their failure to assimilate completely and described their stubborn clinging to Jewish identity while demanding equal rights as a “breach of good manners.” These comments upset Selig Perlman, another member of the committee—perhaps the advisor—and afterwards he wrote a “Dear Mac” letter to McCormick gently remonstrating. He pointed out that even complete assimilation did not necessarily protect Jews from attack from vested private interests or by demagogues for political advantage, and he cited the case of David E. Lilienthal, whose Jewish parents, surnamed Rosenak, had immigrated from Czechoslovakia. He was largely assimilated and had a non-Jewish wife when he was appointed by Governor Philip La Follette to head the Wisconsin Civil Service Commission. Most people were unaware of his Jewish ancestry, and even Perlman, who knew him in Madison, was not sure. Lilienthal later moved on to head the Tennessee Valley Authority and later the Atomic Energy Commission. He was soon under almost constant attack from private interests that felt threatened, and they used his Jewish background and Czech ancestry against him. Political enemies also insinuated that he was a Red. He also pointed out that the German Jews, “the most assimilated of Jewries,” were

not protected from Nazi persecution. On the other hand, he insisted that it was not “bad manners” for a Jew to retain his ethnic identity in America:

I know from my own experience that it is possible for a Jew to fit himself into American life, though he retains his Jewish identity. I pride myself in that I have made some contribution to America’s self-knowledge in the domain of her social and labor movements, and have done so under the leadership and mentorship of J. R. Commons, who was perhaps a little puzzled at my attitude but did not feel deterred by it from entrusting to me the “doing” of that period in American labor history which has imposed the uniquely American stamp upon the movement. I probably have four non-Jewish students enduringly close to me for every Jewish one (UW Archives 7/33-5 Box 1, Folder G, 1936-1940).

It is curious that he should mention Commons in this context, for he was certainly aware that Commons was much more anti-Semitic than McCormick. Perhaps he did so to emphasize that he could get along with even those who had an initial antipathy toward him because of his ethnic identity.

McCormick died of a heart attack at his home in Madison on Nov. 9, 1954, at the age of 62, after teaching a full schedule of classes earlier in the day. William H. Sewell wrote of him,

He was a careful and productive research worker. He was a friendly and understanding advisor to students and colleagues. He was a quiet and unpretentious man, but was very effective in dealing with others. He worked unselfishly for the advancement of sociology both at the University of Wisconsin and elsewhere (Sewell, 1955, p. 238).

A memorial resolution committee chaired by John Gillin wrote of him,

It was Dr. McCormick’s character which gave distinction to his scholarly work and to his relations with others. We have yet to hear anyone who did not speak well of “Dr. Tom,” as we loved to call him, as a gentleman as well as a scholar. . . . He was of a retiring disposition, not a “gushing” personality seeking to create an impression to his own advantage. Moreover, he had a keen ability to assess soberly the qualities of the other person, and the capacity to respond warmly to a real friend; one sensed the genuineness of his friendliness (UW Archives 7/33-1-1, Box 2, Folder, McCormick).

McCormick had worked hard to secure more resources for his department and greater research funding for the social sciences at Wisconsin but did not live to see his dreams realized just a few short years later.

Otis Dudley Duncan (1921-2004)

Otis Dudley Duncan joined the Wisconsin Department of Sociology and Anthropology after getting his PhD at the University of Chicago in 1949 and teaching briefly at Pennsylvania State University. At Wisconsin he taught introductory social statistics and modern population problems in 1950-51 (*American Journal of Sociology*, Jan., 1951). He went on to teach at the University of Chicago, the University of Michigan, the University of Arizona, and the University of California at Santa Barbara before dying in 2004. Duncan was certainly one of the most notable sociologists of the last century, but he was not at Wisconsin long enough for me to feature him in this review. He had a tremendous influence on the Wisconsin department indirectly, however, through his students at Chicago and Michigan who became major figures in the Wisconsin department in later years. The University of Wisconsin awarded Duncan an Honorary Doctor of Science degree in 1989.

Howard Paul Becker (1899-1960)

Howard Paul Becker was a brilliant scholar and a dominant figure in the department in the period between E. A. Ross and William H. Sewell. He was born Dec. 9, 1899, in New York City, the son of Charles Becker and Letitia Stenson Becker. His early life was colored by a great scandal and tragedy involving his father, Charles Becker, which resulted in two sensational trials that dominated national news for three years between 1912 and 1915. In a period of one year Charles Becker was transformed from the most popular police officer in New York to the most reviled. He was the only police officer in United States history to be convicted of murder and executed by the state, until 1982 when a second case occurred. In all likelihood, Charles Becker was innocent of murder, though he was certainly corrupt. Howard Paul Becker spent the rest of his life trying to escape from the notoriety and keep his connection to his father a secret. The traumatic events of his teens may have been partly responsible for his difficulties in personal relationships as an adult, but almost no one knew about his father's execution until after his own death.

The Charles Becker Scandal

Charles Becker, was born July 26, 1870, on a farm near the small hamlet of Callicoon Center, NY, about 120 miles northwest of New York City at the foot of the Catskill Mountains. His grandfather and father had been born in Hesse-Kassel, Germany, but moved to this barely settled area with extremely poor soil and began farming. His father had ten children, of whom Charles was the sixth, and the family lived in dire poverty most of the time (Dash, 2007, p. 22; Cohen, 2006, p. 7).

As soon as he turned eighteen Charles moved to New York City, where he worked as a baker's assistant, a door-to-door clothing salesman, and then as a waiter and bouncer in a German beer garden just off the Bowery. His older brother John joined the New York police force in 1891, and Charles became interested in following his example. While he was working as a bouncer and developing a reputation as a street fighter, he made the acquaintance of Edward "Monk" Eastman, an important gangster and labor

racketeer who was also noted as a brawler. Eastman took an immediate liking to Becker: “He admired his style, his swagger, the projection of raw power and the aura of impending doom that seemed to flow from him” (Cohen, 2006, p. 8). Through Eastman Becker also met Big Tim Sullivan, the Tammany Hall leader who was a state senator, King of the Tenderloin, and overseer of most of the gambling, bribery, and graft in Manhattan. Sullivan also became a good friend of Becker, and in 1893 he offered Becker an appointment to the New York police. Ordinarily Tammany Hall charged new recruits about \$250 to \$300 for an appointment, equal to about a third of a recruit’s annual salary, but Sullivan apparently waived the fee for Becker, and he was sworn in on Nov. 1, 1893 (Cohen, 2006, pp. 8-10; Logan, 1970, pp. 105-106; Dash, 2007, pp. 40-42).

There was a great deal of police graft in New York during this period, but it was primarily the superior officers who profited handsomely and ordinary patrolmen on the beat had to be content with small-scale extortion and petty forms of graft against prostitutes and small-time gamblers. Becker did have some opportunities to make extralegal income. Perhaps because of Big Tim Sullivan’s influence, instead of having to spend several years in the unprofitable reaches of north Manhattan, he was assigned to the quays and wharves on the harbor in the Second Precinct for his first eighteen months. Working with the “Dock Rats” squad, he undoubtedly was able to pick up easy money stealing from the unloaded cargoes piled on the wharves or looking the other way while river pirates and thieves did their work (Dash, 2007, p. 56).

In the Spring of 1895 Becker was transferred to the Tenderloin area—also called “Satan’s Circus” by reformers—in Midtown Manhattan. It was filled with the city’s best hotels, theaters, and restaurants, as well as hundreds of gambling clubs, faro and stuss houses, policy shops, brothels, dance halls, clip joints, pool rooms, saloons, and opium dens. The area had been taken over by vice in the 1850s and 1860s during the time of Boss Tweed, and still by 1885 one-half of the buildings in the area were said to be dedicated to vice of some sort. A Methodist bishop complained that prostitutes were as numerous in the city as Methodists—perhaps 30,000 strong. A speaker at an 1888 conference of reformers reported that in New York there was one Protestant church for every 4,464 inhabitants, whereas the saloon-to-inhabitant ratio was one to 150. It was El Dorado for police corruption and extortion, containing by far the most lucrative precincts for graft.

In this precinct Becker began to associate more with the underworld—prostitutes, gamblers, gangsters, and other criminals. He also began to emulate the actions of his fellow officers, wielding his nightstick freely against shady characters and prostitutes. Soon he was also practicing petty extortion from prostitutes or working in conjunction with superiors collecting

protection money from gambling clubs and brothels. His career did not advance very rapidly, and he was subjected to several departmental hearings on charges of brutality and false arrest—transgressions that were treated with benign neglect by the police at that time (Cohen, 2006, p. xiv).

On one occasion in 1896 the young writer Stephen Crane, who later wrote *The Red Badge of Courage*, observed Becker arresting a young prostitute named Ruby Young without any actual evidence that she was soliciting at the time. He was incensed and encouraged her to file charges against Becker, promising to testify on her behalf. In court Crane's testimony led to the dismissal of charges, and Becker was infuriated. The next time he saw Ruby on the street he beat her savagely. Then a few days later she was assaulted again by a prostitute friend of Becker. Becker had to stand trial before the city's four police commissioners after Ruby filed charges against him, but in a five-hour proceeding, it was Crane who was subjected to the most intensive grilling and cross-examination, and Becker was supported with perjured testimony from a large number of police "witnesses." Becker was acquitted of the charges against him. Ruby continued to be harassed whenever she set foot in the Tenderloin, and Crane also found himself a marked man. He left Manhattan almost immediately to report on the Spanish American War in Cuba and later the Greco-Turkish War in Crete. Afterwards, he lived as an expatriate in England and for the rest of his life tried to avoid New York and its vengeful police (Logan, 1970, pp. 108-109; Dash, 2007, pp. 1-15).

Charles Becker was 6 feet 2 inches tall, weighed over 200 pounds, and was strong and handsome, with a deep dimple in his left cheek. He was attractive to women and had numerous affairs after he joined the police force. In February, 1895, he married Mary Mahoney, who may have been from the area of his home town. She came down with what was at first thought to be a cold on her wedding night, but it turned out to be an aggressive case of tuberculosis, and she died eight months later. He had met Letitia Stenson, an Irish-Canadian girl from Kingston, Ontario, before his first wife's death, and they became engaged soon after she died. They married three years later in April, 1898. A son was born to them at the end of 1899, whom they named Howard Paul, after two of Charles' older brothers (Dash, 2007, pp. 70-71).

Charles and Letitia may have been moderately happy at first, but Charles spent most of his leisure time away from home, boxing, playing baseball, hunting, fishing, participating in the activities of the Freemasons, and continuing to have multiple affairs with other women. The affairs got to be too much for Letitia. "Charley Becker was not a good husband," she said. She sued for divorce in March, 1905. Charles did not contest the divorce, and he voluntarily agreed to provide Letitia with more than one-fourth of his \$2000 annual salary for alimony and child support (more than \$13,500 in 2016 dollars). The divorce became final in June, 1906. According to Becker

family tradition, Charles persuaded his older brother Paul, a 48-year-old bachelor, to remove Letitia and their five-year-old son Howard Paul from the New York scene as quickly as possible by taking them out west (Dash, 2007, pp. 112-114).

As soon as the divorce was final, Charles Becker married Helen Lynch, a public school teacher who was a native of New York. This time the marriage was a happy one and Charles proved a devoted husband. She claimed that the only strains in their marriage were financial, since the alimony and child support payments took much of his salary. Even with her own income as a teacher, money was in short supply, and she moonlighted teaching night school for three years to earn extra money. She later recalled, "I did all the housework, the cooking, the cleaning, everything except the washing, and I taught school besides" (Dash, 2007, pp. 113-114). Everyone later assumed that Charles Becker was becoming flush from graft throughout his police career. He did take advantage of his position to pocket modest sums, but he actually had few opportunities to make big scores. He was unpopular with most of his superiors, partly because he was too aggressive in enforcing gambling laws and conducting raids, and partly because he became one of the three principal leaders in a partially successful patrolman's reform movement to reduce the number of hours that patrolmen had to work. He also ran afoul of the corrupt Captain Max Schmittberger when he arrested some saloonkeepers for violating the excise law without clearing things with Schmittberger first.

Becker's prospects suddenly improved when a reform mayor installed the wealthy and honest Rhinelander Waldo as a Police Commissioner and centralized all vice raids under the control of Waldo. Waldo formed three strong-arm squads of police to carry out the raids, each under the leadership of a lieutenant operating out of central headquarters. Becker had become a lieutenant when the rank of sergeant was abolished, and he was put in charge of one of the strong-arm squads. Over the next three months 200 raids were carried out—half by Becker's squad. Newspapers started carrying stories about Becker, and he soon became the most popular police officer in the city—a folk hero (Dash, 2007, pp. 122-126).

Becker's position as head of one of the strong-arm squads gave him the opportunity at last to extract large amounts of protection money from gambling houses. He pursued the opportunity aggressively, even recklessly. He could not refuse to obey an order from the mayor or from Waldo to raid a particular gambling house, but he could at least delay and tip off the proprietors that a raid was coming. Some 900 persons were arrested in the raids, but the charges were dropped for all but 100, and these were generally given suspended sentences and fined only a trivial amount, between \$2 and \$50. Most of the graft was in untraceable cash, and it is impossible

to calculate the true extent of the graft. It was said that the total collected from just 100 clubs in the Tenderloin amounted to \$1.8 million (almost \$47 million in 2016 dollars) in just nine months. Becker certainly could not have operated on such a large scale without the tacit approval of some superiors in the police force and the Tammany politicians, so the proceeds of the graft would have been shared with them. At least some members of his squad also would have received a share, and perhaps the agents who picked up the “collections” from the gambling houses might have retained a 10 percent share as a commission. Raids on gambling houses that had not paid for protection could also be profitable, for the squads stole any gambling cash that they were able to confiscate with impunity (Dash, 2007, pp.131-133).

The amount of money Becker was able to retain for himself is unknown but probably averaged at least \$10,000 a month (\$252,000 in 2016 dollars) between October, 1911, and July, 1912. Later investigators discovered at least fifteen private bank accounts controlled by Becker, some in his own name, some jointly with his wife, and some under a false name. The cash deposited in just nine of the accounts exceeded \$60,000 (\$1.5 million in 2016 dollars). The Beckers also paid \$9000 in cash for a house in Williamsburg in Brooklyn, and bought a house in the Bronx near the Botanical Garden (Dash, 2007, pp. 133-134). By the time Becker's second trial was over, all of this money was apparently gone, mostly to pay lawyers' fees. The Beckers were in debt and his wife had to sell their real estate as well.

Becker soon acquired many enemies in the underworld, but his downfall came at the hands of his own partner in a gambling operation—a man named Herman Rosenthal. Rosenthal had become immensely rich running a gambling club in Manhattan, but his business then collapsed. Becker became his partner and helped him restart his gambling business with a loan in 1912, but Commissioner Waldo ordered Becker to raid the new club. Becker warned Rosenthal that he would have to raid the club—which he did on April 17, 1912. Though Becker offered to forgive his loan, Rosenthal was furious with Becker and sought revenge, asking for an audience with Commissioner Waldo and Mayor Gaynor. He was refused, so he then gave his story to the press, naming Becker and two other police officers as grafters. Becker was outraged and told the press that he would sue for criminal libel. The gambling community was even angrier, believing that Rosenthal would bring the authorities down on them and “ruin it for everyone.” The person who took the greatest interest in the stories was Charles S. Whitman, the Republican District Attorney in New York, who was an enemy of Tammany Hall. He was looking for a way to boost his political career and recognized that a crusade against police corruption might prove very popular. Whitman met with Rosenthal on July 15 and agreed to meet with him again the next day at his own apartment (Dash, 2007, pp.144-172).

“Bald Jack” Rose, who had been Becker’s bagman and had worked in Rosenthal’s faro parlor, and two other confederates probably had met together earlier and planned to murder Rosenthal before he could do more damage. Rose contracted with four men from Jack Zelig’s East Side gang to kill Rosenthal, and Rose booked a large Packard touring car to transport them. They finally caught up with Rosenthal at the Hotel Metropole (which later became the Hotel Rosoff) at 147 West 43rd Street, about fifty yards from Times Square. As Rosenthal emerged from the hotel at 1:57 a.m. on July 16, three or four men stepped from the car and hurried across the street to intercept him. Three shots were fired and two struck him, killing him instantly. The assassins did not expect any trouble from a routine gangland murder and did not bother to wear masks or cover the license plate, and several onlookers tried to note down the plate numbers.

The assassins escaped, but in the next few days the three original conspirators and the four gunmen were apprehended. “Bald Jack” and his co-conspirators quickly realized that their only chance to escape the electric chair was to accuse Charles Becker as the instigator of the plot. They made a deal with Whitman to turn state evidence and testify against Becker in exchange for a grant of immunity. Whitman was willing to let them go free in order to convict Becker, even though the accusation on the face of it was highly implausible. Basically the only evidence against Becker was from the testimony of admitted conspirators who could save their own lives only by framing Becker. Nevertheless, Whitman was determined to convict Becker, because he knew that a sensational trial of a noted police official could propel him into the governorship (Dash, 2007, pp. 173-215).

Becker was indicted for murder on July 29 and he was quickly arrested. During the next few weeks there was a media circus surrounding the case, fed in part by a steady stream of negative publicity about Becker leaked from the District Attorney’s office. Whitman also persuaded the governor of New York to transfer all the cases arising from the Rosenthal murder from New York’s Court of General Sessions, which Whitman regarded as too lenient, to the State Supreme Court of New York County. This meant that the notorious Judge John Goff, a hanging judge who had no college degree and only a shaky grasp of the law, would preside over the trial. He was described by an attorney not involved in the case as “the cruelest, most sadistic judge we have had in New York this century” (Dash, 2007, p. 241). Goff was not only hostile to the police but was a personal friend of Whitman and conferred with him about the Becker case before the trial. He refused to recuse himself from the trial and seemed to relish the opportunity to strike a blow against the police.

Once the trial started, the media frenzy intensified. Every day the first three to five pages of New York’s fourteen daily newspapers were wholly

devoted to the trial. This “Trial of the Century,” as some newsmen called it, was also covered in detail by newspapers across North America, in London, and in Paris. The newspapers had inflamed public opinion, and most people were taken in by the stories told by the string of criminals testifying for the prosecution against Becker. Becker had an able attorney, but he was continually hamstrung by Judge Goff, who acted more like a prosecutor than a judge. It was an egregiously unfair trial, and unsurprisingly after seventeen days Becker was convicted and sentenced to die in the electric chair. Three weeks later the four gunmen who had killed Rosenthal were tried in the same court under Judge Goff, and they were quickly convicted also. They were executed in April, 1914.

Becker acquired a new attorney and appealed the conviction. On Feb. 24, 1914, the court of appeals overturned the conviction by a vote of six-to-one and strongly censured Whitman for drumming up a climate of public hysteria and Judge Goff for his prejudicial behavior during the trial. The 77-page opinion was considered “one of the most slashing in the history of the court.” Nathan Miller, one of the judges, wrote “I emphatically deny that we are obliged to sign the defendant’s death warrant simply because a jury has believed an improbable tale told by four vile criminals to shift the death penalty from themselves to another” (Dash, 2007, p. 299). The press, however, continued to whip up hatred of Becker, and Whitman decided to try again. The second trial took place in May, 1914, and was less flagrantly unfair than the first trial, but after nineteen days Becker was convicted again and was again sentenced to die in the electric chair. The conviction was appealed once more, but by the time the appeals court heard the appeal, Whitman had been elected governor of New York. Even though the prosecution case still suffered from most of the same weaknesses that the appeals court had condemned in its previous decision, this time it voted six-to-one to deny the appeal. Four of the justices actually reversed themselves, for no convincing legal reason (Dash, 2007, pp. 299-317).

A few days before Becker’s execution was scheduled, Governor Whitman denied Becker’s appeal for clemency. Becker’s wife Helen made a last minute personal appeal to Whitman on July 29. She discovered he had left Albany to go to Poughkeepsie without telling her and she had to take another train to reach him by that evening. Her lawyer first spoke to Whitman, presenting arguments for a stay of execution, but Whitman denied the request. He finally consented to see Helen Becker, and she spoke for 25 minutes seeking clemency and even got down on her knees to plead for her husband’s life. He said there was nothing he could do. She told a reporter afterward that he was in a drunken stupor and had to be supported by two aides throughout the interview. She said, “The governor was in no condition to understand a word I said.” When a reporter tried to get Whitman’s side

of the story, he found that her description of Whitman's condition was accurate (Dash, 2007, pp. 323-324).

Charles Becker was electrocuted at Sing Prison shortly before 6:00 a.m. on July 30, 1915. The execution was bungled by the failure to apply sufficient current, and it took three jolts over a period of nine minutes to kill the prisoner. It was said to be the clumsiest execution in the history of Sing Sing (Dash, 2007, pp. 328-329). A few hours after the execution Bourke Cockran, Becker's most distinguished lawyer, wrote to the prison warden saying, "I don't believe . . . any evidence whatever—even though it were a revelation from heaven—could have sufficed to save poor Becker. His death had become in the minds of certain politicians a stepping stone for their own advancement. . . ." (Logan, 1970, p. 328).

Though most of the public had believed that Becker was behind the murder, lawyers sometimes expressed their private doubts about the verdict in the following years. Only one person, however, conducted a crusade to prove Becker's innocence—Henry H. Klein. Klein was an attorney who had earlier been a Hearst reporter covering the Becker trials. At that time he had believed that Becker was guilty, like most other reporters, but later he picked up information on the lower East Side that led him to change his mind. In 1917 he was appointed First Deputy Commissioner of Accounts of the City of New York and in this capacity was able to look through disbursements and documents left over from the Whitman era in the district attorney's office. By 1927 he had gathered enough documents and affidavits supporting his case to publish a book—*Sacrificed: The Story of Police Lieut. Charles Becker* (1927). One of the most interesting documents included was a letter from William Sulzer, the progressive political leader who became governor of New York in January, 1913, and immediately challenged the power of Tammany Hall. Sulzer wrote that "from certain facts that had come to my attention" he knew Becker was innocent, and he intended to commute his death sentence and then pardon him if the appeals court did not set him free. Tammany Hall, however, engineered his impeachment and removal from the governorship in October, 1913, before he had a chance to rescue Becker. Klein also reported that two of Whitman's former district attorneys once got into an argument in Judge Rosalsky's courtroom, and one was overheard shouting, "I'll prove right now that Becker was framed!" only to be shushed by the other who admonished "Let sleeping dogs lie" (Logan, 1970, p. 338). Klein concluded,

There is no fouler blot on the fair fame of Justice in the United States in the opinion of the writer, than that of Becker's conviction and execution. In the annals of criminal history, there is probably no worse crime than the "framing" of Becker (Klein, 1927, p. 4).

A great deal of misinformation and nonsense has been written about the Becker-Rosenthal affair, not only in the 1910s but perpetuated on the internet today. More recent serious writers, however, have waded through the muck and produced outstanding books—most notably Andy Logan (1970), Stanley Cohen (2006), and, best of all, Mike Dash (2007). The consensus is that Becker was innocent of murder and was framed. It is impossible to read their presentation of evidence and their documentation of the egregiously unfair trials without reaching the same conclusion. The chance that Charles Becker could have been convicted of murder with this dubious evidence in today's New York courts seems vanishingly small.

Howard Paul Becker's Early Life

The details of Howard Paul Becker's youth are somewhat obscure. Much of the published information about his early years is certainly wrong. Some is probably due to the failure to distinguish between Charles Becker's second wife, Letitia, who was Howard Paul's mother, and Helen, his third wife who was with him during the time of his arrest and trials. Letitia sued Charles for divorce at a much earlier time in March, 1905, and the divorce was granted in June, 1906, when Howard was five years old. Howard would have been 12 years old at the time of the Rosenthal murder. Martindale wrote that after his father's execution he was raised by his Canadian grandparents (Martindale, 1982, p. 33). Nobuko Gerth wrote similarly that after Howard's father was arrested, his mother "immediately placed him in the care of her parents in Canada" (N. Gerth, 2002, p. 145). She noted that his mother's family was of Scottish descent, and Howard had a fascination with Scottish culture for the rest of his life, though the Germanic connection through his father's side seemed to hold an even greater attraction (Martindale, 1982, p. 33; N. Gerth, 2002, p. 145). Actually, Letitia indicated on census returns that she was born in Northern Ireland and thus was probably an Ulster Scot (or Scots-Irish), and immigrated to Canada when she was very young. She immigrated to the United States in 1889 when she was eleven and became a naturalized U.S. citizen in 1895.

Some of the confusion, however, is due to Becker's own invention of a personal history designed to hide his relationship to his true father. Howard always pretended that his uncle Paul was his father, and he sought to conceal his relationship with his true father. Paul actually was his stepfather. For his biographical sketches for *Who's Who in America* and *American National Biography* and in census returns he always listed Paul Becker as his father. In a letter to a friend in November, 1942, he said that both his father and mother had died in the previous few months, obviously referring to Paul

as his father (UW-Madison Archives 7/33/6-1 Folder 1937-1953, A-G). The true identity of his father remained a family secret for decades, hidden even from Howard's three children, until one of their cousins, once removed, discovered the true history and informed them. I am not betraying any family secrets. The story has been all over the internet for some time.

It is, however, possible to track the family at least periodically through census and other documentary records. After Letitia divorced Charles Becker she and her five-year-old son Howard Paul probably moved out west, perhaps to Nevada. There are no records indicating exactly where they were between 1905 and 1909 or whether Paul Becker was with Letitia and Howard throughout this time. It is possible but unlikely that they lived with Letitia's parents in Canada. We do know for certain that Letitia and Paul Becker were married in Reno, Nevada, in August, 1909. They may have delayed marriage, since the marriage brought an end to alimony payments, though Letitia probably continued to receive child support payments until Charles' arrest. Letitia, Paul, and 10-year-old Howard Paul all appear in the 1910 Census living in Reno, which was a remote mining town with a population of around 11,000 at that time. Paul Becker acquired a part interest in a blacksmith shop in Reno (Dash, 2007, p. 112), and in the 1910 Census he gave his occupation as blacksmith.

There are two letters in the UW-Madison archives written by Howard Paul Becker in 1939 and 1956 stating that he went to school in Reno, Nevada, from 1910 to 1913 and in Winnemucca, Nevada, from 1913 to 1915. There is little reason to doubt that he attended schools in Reno and Winnemucca, for in his letters he inquired specifically by name about two of his friends from Reno and about nine of the boys and girls he remembered from the years in Winnemucca (UW-Madison Archives, 7/33/6-1, Box 1, Folder 1937-1953, H-Q; Box 5, Folder 1956, March-May, A-F). Thus, it appears that the family continued to live in Reno until 1913. Then they moved to the even more remote town of Winnemucca, 116 miles northeast of Reno, and remained there until 1915.

A quite different early personal history appears in Howard Becker's *American National Biography* entry—with the details apparently provided by Becker himself. According to this account his father was a laborer named Paul John Becker, who left his family for several years while he went prospecting throughout North America. During this time Howard lived with his mother in a small town in Canada, but in 1910 he and his mother joined Paul Becker in Nevada. In 1917 they moved to South Bend, Indiana, where Howard and Paul both found employment with the Dort Motor Company (Baker, 2000).

Actually, they probably moved to Flint, Michigan, where both Paul and Howard were employed at the Dort factory in 1917. The family is listed in the

1918 Flint City Directory, and Howard's World War I Draft Registration Card shows him as a draftsman at the Chevrolet factory in Flint. Chevrolet had links to the Dort Company through its founders, so a shift in employment is not surprising. In the 1920 US Census return Paul listed his occupation as assembler in an auto factory, and the 20-year-old Howard again listed his occupation as draftsman in an auto factory. In his *Who's Who* biography he claimed that he worked as an "industrial engineer" (his term) at Dort and later at International Harvester. By 1922 Howard was a university student, but his stepfather continued to work in auto factories—as a watchman in 1930 (1930 Census) and a doorman in 1940 (1940 Census).

Education

Howard Becker dropped out of school in Winnemucca before getting his high school diploma, and according to his own account went to work as an unskilled laborer at the age of 14. At some point he must have found employment in machine shops and learned metal working, tool making, and drafting skills before finding employment as a draftsman in auto factories. Later in life as a professor in Madison he kept an elaborate set of machine tools in his basement and enjoyed doing woodworking and metalworking. Howard's mother had only eight years of schooling and his stepfather seven, but Howard was ambitious and was not content to remain a skilled craft worker. He wanted to go to college and become a professional. Martindale wrote that Howard secured a high school diploma through a correspondence course, but he himself said he gained admittance to Northwestern University by taking a special examination in 1922 when he was 23 years old ("Becker, Howard (Paul)," *Who Was Who in America*, 1961-68; Baker, 2000).

At Northwestern Becker worked his way through college and kept expenses to a minimum by living in a basement washroom with only a sink. He studied engineering but also learned classical Greek well enough to do research on ancient Greece using original texts. He quickly earned a B.S. in 1925 and an A.M. in 1926. His primary focus for his master's degree was in social psychology, and he wrote his master's thesis on "The Sociology of Bereavement." For the rest of his career he championed sociological as opposed to psychological approaches to social psychology (UW-Archives, 7/33/6-1, Box 1, Folder 1937-1953).

While he was an undergraduate he joined a student mission visiting Germany in the summer of 1923, traveling all over the country and visiting university towns and historical cities. He kept a diary of his experiences and later gave a copy to Hans Gerth, who wrote in Becker's obituary that it bespoke "of the sensitivity and astuteness of the 'innocent abroad' in a defeated country, ridden by inflation, insurrections, Ruhr occupation, and

the rest” (N. Gerth, 2002, p. 146; H. Gerth, 1960, p. 743). Traveling with German students Becker was shocked to see men swim and play ball naked and even more shocked that a German theologian whom he admired approved of mixed bathing. He was impressed that even though the students had very little to eat and were almost starving, they still found the energy to sing German folk songs lustily and well. He found that the students in his group had strong anti-war attitudes after the experience of World War I (N. Gerth, 2002, p. 146).

After completing his master’s degree, Becker went to Germany again as an exchange fellow from 1926 to 1927 to study at the University of Cologne with Leopold von Wiese, Paul Honigsheim, and Max Scheler. He became an admirer and something of a disciple of von Wiese and his formal approach to sociological theory. He was apparently largely unaware at this time of the far different tradition represented by Max Weber. He worked as a member of von Wiese’s research team and investigated a village in the Hunsrück area of Rhineland-Palatinate.

Returning to the United States in 1927, Becker married Frances Bennett. She was trained as a sociologist also, and helped her husband in conducting research on peasant communities in Europe. Nobuko Gerth described her as “a remarkable person” with “warm, motherly ways.” Hans Gerth also had great respect for her, and she did a lot to keep the Becker and Gerth families close on a personal level (N. Gerth, 2002, p. 149). The Beckers had three children—Elizabeth Fairchild, Christopher Bennett, and Ann Hemenway (“Becker, Howard (Paul),” 1961-68, p. 70). Christopher did his master’s thesis with Hans Gerth and later became a professor of history at Yale University.

In 1927 Howard Becker also began doctoral work in sociology at the University of Chicago, where he studied under Robert E. Park, the dominant figure in sociology at the University of Chicago (H. Gerth, 1960, p. 743). Park strongly encouraged students to use qualitative research methods and direct observation to study social change. Becker was impressed with the advice that Park gave to a class of Chicago students, and recorded it verbatim in his unpublished notes in 1927 or 1928:

You have been told to go grubbing in the library, thereby accumulating a mass of notes and a liberal coating of grime. You have been told to choose problems wherever you can find musty stacks of routine records based on trivial schedules prepared by tired bureaucrats and filled out by reluctant applicants for aid or fussy do-gooders or indifferent clerks. That is called “getting your hands dirty in real research.” Those who thus counsel you are wise and honorable; the reasons they offer are of great value. But one thing more is needful: first-hand observation. Go

and sit in the lounges of the luxury hotels and on the doorsteps of the flophouses; sit on the Gold Coast settees and on the slum shakedown; sit in Orchestra Hall and in the Star and Garter Burlesk. In short, gentlemen, go get the seat of your pants dirty in *real* research (McKinney, 1966, p. 71).

A fellow graduate student at Chicago at that time was Robert Redfield, who self-identified as an anthropologist but who took as many sociology courses as anthropology courses in the joint department. Redfield was Park's son-in-law, and it was Park who persuaded Redfield to abandon his career in law and become a social scientist. He also was responsible for Redfield's focus on social change and research in Mexico. Becker and Redfield were both students in one of Park's seminars dealing with the old dichotomous typology of societies, which dated back at least to Ibn Khaldun (14th century) and received its classic formulation in the work of Tönnies. I suspect that this was the source of the organizing principle for much of the work of both Becker and Redfield during their careers. A biography of Redfield, however, does not mention Becker as one of Redfield's graduate student friends in the department (Wilcox, 2004).

Both Becker and Redfield developed concepts for studying social change derived from Tönnies' *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* and the conceptual work of Henry Sumner Maine and Émile Durkheim. Becker referred to the two ideal types (or "constructed types") as *sacred* and *secular society*; Redfield used the terms *folk* and *urban*. Becker encouraged many of his graduate students to utilize the sacred-secular constructed types in their own dissertations. Don Martindale, who had been a graduate student at Wisconsin (PhD, 1948), later co-authored an introductory sociology textbook in which he used this dichotomy as the organizing principle for the book and referred to it as the sociological tradition. This was probably because he had earlier been involved in writing the textbook in collaboration with Becker, and Becker was using the sacred-secular "constructed types" to organize most of his theoretical work. My own master's thesis in 1952 was an extended critique of this "tradition," and I reacted strongly against it. It was reincarnated by the end of the 1950s as modernization theory and it had many of the same defects as the formulations of Becker, Redfield, and their precursors.

Becker received his PhD in sociology at Chicago in 1930 with a dissertation on "Ionia and Athens: Studies in Secularization," based on the analysis of original Greek texts. Postdoctoral study followed in Greece, Sicily, France, Belgium, Germany, and England.

Academic Career

Becker began teaching at the University of Pennsylvania as an Instructor in Sociology in 1928 and moved to Smith College as an Associate Professor in 1931, replacing Harry Elmer Barnes. In 1934 he was a Social Science Research Council fellow and studied with Maurice Halbwachs at the Sorbonne in Paris for several months. He also traveled to Germany to observe developments with Hitler's new regime (Baker, 2000). Ten years later during the Nazi occupation, the Gestapo arrested Halbwachs and sent him to the Buchenwald camp, where he perished.

Becker was a visiting lecturer in sociology at Harvard University in 1934-1935, and when there was an opening at the University of Wisconsin in 1937, he was recommended by sociologists at Harvard (Oakes & Vidich, 1999, p. 57). Becker was brought to the University of Wisconsin by E. A. Ross in 1937, the year of his retirement, and Becker remained in the Wisconsin department until his death in 1960 (Hartung, 1960, p. 289).

When they came to Madison Becker and his wife Frances moved into an impressive house at 3501 Sunset Drive in a beautiful section of Shorewood Hills, a short distance from the campus. He remained there for the rest of his life.

Becker was a very prolific scholar who published eight books and more than one hundred scholarly articles, mostly in the area of sociological theory. His first major publication was a reworking of a book published by his mentor, Leopold von Wiese, and though it was partially a translation of that work, it extended it as well, with new sections on structural-functional



HOWARD P. BECKER HOUSE — 3501 SUNSET DRIVE, SHOREWOOD HILLS
(R. MIDDLETON, 2011)

analysis, small groups, migration, personality change, and crowd action (Wiese, 1932).

Becker's most influential and best remembered book, however, was the massive two-volume work co-authored with Harry Elmer Barnes, *Social Thought from Lore to Science* (1938). The project was started by Barnes, the senior author, but it was too massive for him to complete without assistance. Barnes said that he experimented with several different collaborators, and they were all overwhelmed by the magnitude of the task, but when he approached Becker "it struck fire with him at once" (Barnes, 1960, p. 289).

Becker was able to complete the task in short order—"all cut and tailored and with many additions." The book was praised by UW history professor Merle Curti: "On reading the massive volumes of Harry Elmer Barnes and Howard Becker one is, first of all, impressed by the knowledge and scholarship that characterize this virtual encyclopedia." It went out of print and became one of the most sought-after books by sociologists in used book stores until a second edition came out in 1952 and a third edition in 1961. It continued to receive praise from major scholars. Max Lerner wrote, "This is a huge enterprise carried out with courage and ability. Considering the scope and magnitude of the work, the authors have shown an impressive accuracy, competence, and discrimination." Maurice Halbwachs at the Sorbonne wrote, "It is an authoritative book and will render the greatest service to all those interested in the history of ideas and of sociology." Alfred Weber of Heidelberg University commented, "With a completeness and clarity previously unknown, the gradual growth of the interpretation of life out of the formation of life itself is portrayed" (UW-Madison Archives 24/9/3 Box 79, Sociology-Anthropology, through July, 1953).

A special doctoral examination was instituted at the University of Wisconsin on the history of social thought (as distinct from sociological theory), which was based largely on the Barnes and Becker book and the course taught by Becker. I myself found the book invaluable when I was studying for prelims in graduate school at the University of Texas, and I imagine that almost all sociology graduate students of my generation had the same experience.

Becker went on to write and edit many other books on theory. His wife, Frances Bennett Becker, who was also a sociologist, served as a co-editor with Becker and Harry Elmer Barnes for *Contemporary Social Theory* in 1940. Though Becker was best known for his work in social theory, he also did a substantial amount of qualitative empirical research, particularly on German youth groups and German and Scottish peasant communities. For the work on peasant societies he was assisted by his wife Frances. While they were in Hesse after World War II, they began a study of two German peasant villages (H. Gerth, 1960, p. 744). Later as a Fulbright Scholar at the

University of Birmingham in 1951, they lived with a Scottish shepherd family for more than six months at Ettrick Parish in the Scottish Borders (Hartung, 1960, p. 290). Becker had ancestral family connections with both Hessians and the Scots-Irish, so he was particularly drawn to do research in those areas. While Howard was a Fulbright Scholar at Birmingham, Frances had a Social Science Research Council grant to continue their research on the peasant communities in Hesse. This was all part of a grand plan to compare peasant communities in ancient Greece, Germany, France, and Scotland.

In his obituary for Becker, Barnes called him “the most learned man in the field of social theory” (Barnes, 1960, p. 289). Though he was noted more for his work on the history of sociological theory than as an original social theorist, Becker enjoyed great prestige in the discipline. He was perhaps the principal rival of Talcott Parsons in the 1930s as an introducer of German sociological theory to American sociologists.

Becker was influenced particularly by the formal sociology of Leopold von Wiese, and much of his work revolved around his sacred-secular “constructed types,” which he distinguished from ideal types by their being abstracted from concrete reality (E. Schneider, 1968, pp. 40-41). He also insisted that such typologies were only useful if they could be used to guide empirical research, and he tried to make use of them in carrying out his research on European peasant communities and ancient Greek society. Von Wiese had been a visiting Carl Schurz Professor at Wisconsin in 1934 just prior to Becker’s arrival, and Becker maintained close ties with him through correspondence and visits until his own death. Von Wiese did not die until 1969 at the age of 93. Von Wiese apparently regarded Becker as his foremost student and disciple, and he wanted Becker to succeed him at Cologne when he retired in 1949. The Ministry of Education for northern Rhineland and Westphalia offered Becker a position as Professor of Sociology at the University of Cologne, but Becker declined, saying “Although it will be impossible for me to accept the position, we regard the invitation with great interest for the reverse connection it establishes between German and American universities” (UW-Archives 24/9/3 Box 79, Sociology and Anthropology through July, 1953).

Becker’s Characteristics

By all accounts Becker had a brilliant mind. He could read at a fantastic clip and apparently had a near photographic memory. Students reported that he could leaf through a series of pages, glancing briefly at each, and then repeat the text word-for-word from memory. He entertained students with readings of Scottish poetry, and Alan Kerckhoff, a student in the 1950s, wrote admiringly of “Becker holding forth at teas in his home, reading Scottish

poetry with a rolling accent” (Kerckhoff, 1978). He could also recite long passages from *Alice in Wonderland* from memory. He had a great ability to organize and systematize material. He read omnivorously and had one of the largest personal libraries in the university. His office in Sterling Hall was about four times the size of others in the department and all four walls were lined to the ceiling with books. His secretary sat in a small anteroom and controlled access to his office. He had an almost encyclopedic knowledge of the history of sociological theory, and he was widely recognized as one of the two or three top theory specialists in the discipline. He knew little of Max Weber, however, before Gerth joined the department in 1940 and started translating some of Weber’s writings for use in Wisconsin’s sociology classes (Martindale, 1982, p. 32, 43; Hartung, 1960, p. 289; N. Gerth, 2002, p. 148; N. Gerth, 2013, p. 150).



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Becker was a physically strong, vigorous, and energetic man who pursued hobbies in metal-working and wood-working, archery, and Scottish folk music and poetry. He was vain about his strength and muscularity, and this may have contributed to his aggressiveness. He liked to chop firewood in his backyard to strengthen his muscles. There were persistent rumors about Becker getting into fist fights and either causing or suffering broken jaws, but the only reference to a specific incident I have been able to find is a report that Don Martindale, a quite small man, was once physically attacked by Becker in a public place (N. Gerth, 2002, p. 167).

When Howard and Frances Becker went to England with their three children in 1951 to study the social structure of English villages south of Ludlow, they took along a tandem bicycle. He commented that “taking the bicycle is easier than taking the car,” and he believed it facilitated his village research. He bragged, “Back in 1934 Mrs. Becker and I bicycled 1200 miles through Flanders on our tandem. We had extra seats built on for our three children and we rode for miles along the canals” (UW-Archives, 24/9/3, Box 79, Sociology & Anthropology, through July, 1953). Frances Becker must have been vigorous and tolerant as well to undertake such an arduous trip. It appears that Becker still maintained the same physical vigor at 52 that he had at 35, but this did not protect him from a fatal stroke eight years later.

Becker's Relationships with Students

Becker's lectures were very formal, meticulously organized and professionally delivered, never moving from the lectern, but lacking in warmth. His classes were well attended, and in the 1940s the university's public radio station arranged for him to teach introductory sociology as a radio course. He intended to use transcriptions of the lectures as a first draft for an introductory textbook. At a later date his introductory sociology lectures were filmed. The films were kept in the Sociology Department's basement storage room for more than fifty years but finally were moved to the UW-Archives in 2013. It is not clear when the lectures were filmed or whether they were ever broadcast on public television.

In personality students found Becker to be stern, authoritative, nervous, pompous, and distant. Unlike the other sociology professors who kept an open door during office hours, Becker required students to make an appointment with his secretary if they wanted to see him. Nobuko Gerth, who was one of Becker's advisees, said that upon entering his office he appeared imposing and difficult to approach—quite intimidating to students. He would never look them in the eyes when he talked, and he evoked both awe and fear. Nobuko was one of his favorite students, but even she found him “icy and kind by turns.” Becker also required his graduate students and even some undergraduate students to have their seminar papers or term papers bound at a professional bindery so that he could add them neatly to the shelves of his library (N. Gerth, 2002, p. 148; N. Gerth, 2013, p. 150, 159).

On one occasion while Nobuko was serving as one of Becker's teaching assistants, he invited the entire introductory sociology class to a tea at his home. Nobuko and the other teaching assistant arrived on time to find the large living room ready to receive perhaps one hundred students. Frances Becker had prepared refreshments for a large number. As time went by no students arrived, and the two teaching assistants waited nervously, becoming increasingly embarrassed at the snub of their professor. Becker, however, continued to talk with them as if nothing were amiss. He kept his composure, talking and chain-smoking through the afternoon. Finally, after three hours, four or five students showed up. The party broke up shortly after—“a total flop” in Nobuko's words (N. Gerth, 2002, p. 148; N. Gerth, 2013, p. 160).

Glenn Fuguitt took one of Becker's courses on the history of social thought when he was a graduate student in the 1950s, and he found him very erudite but with a haughty and forbidding manner that students found off-putting. He often hectored the students—for example, scolding them for wanting the temperature in the classroom at 70 degrees on a cold winter day, whereas European students were satisfied with 60 degrees. He did not

bother to hide his disdain for rural sociology students, whom he regarded as unsophisticated “farmers.” In defense, Kolb held the Rural Sociology department aloof from the general department (Martindale, 1981, p. 42). One day Emmit F. Sharp, one of Fuguitt’s fellow Rural Sociology classmates, got into trouble with Becker when he yawned during Becker’s lecture. Becker, who was always vigilant for any signs of disrespect, stopped and berated him, saying, “I can’t concentrate when there is a gaping orifice in the room.” After the class Becker apprehended him and told Sharp that he owed him an apology. Sharp, no doubt as sleep-deprived as most of today’s graduate students, replied, “No, you owe me an apology!” and stalked off. Sharp was something of a rebel unwilling to put up with petty nonsense (Glenn Fuguitt, personal communication). He had already coauthored a research bulletin with Margaret Loyd Jarman Hagood, and he was one of the few students not intimidated by Becker. He finally received the PhD in 1961, a year after Becker’s death, and joined the faculty at Cornell University.

Becker was the advisor for the largest number of graduate students in the department during most of his time at Wisconsin. He worked hard at recruiting advisees among the nonquantitative graduate students, and as the most famous and forceful leader in this section of the department, he was quite successful. Gerth tried not to stand in Becker’s way, and as a consequence had few advisees himself over the years. McCormick, the leader of the quantitative section, believed that students should have a free choice of advisor and made no special efforts to attract personal advisees. Most of the rural sociology students worked with Kolb and later with Sewell, Wilkening, and Marshall, but Becker had no interest in these students anyway. Many of Becker’s advisees found him very difficult to work with and sometimes felt coerced and exploited. In the next two sections I describe how his two ablest students, C. Wright Mills and Don Martindale, felt exploited and abused by Becker and developed a strong hostility to him. Becker’s exploitation of students for his own ends became a matter of general concern among the senior faculty.

Even students at some distance could run afoul of Becker. Once in 1941 Becker took offense at an editorial by the editor of the *Daily Cardinal* student newspaper criticizing a petition that several faculty members had signed. Most faculty would have ignored it, but Becker wrote an angry intimidating letter to the student editor:

Inasmuch as I am one of the signers of that petition, and because of the further fact that I regard your editorial as a striking example of journalistic irresponsibility, I hereby request the privilege of debating with you the issues involved at any time and place that is mutually convenient. Please note that I say “debate with you,” the tone of your editorial was

markedly personal, and your responsibility is personal. I will not debate with any substitute (7/33/6-1, Box 1, Folder 1937-1953, A-G).

It was almost as if he were challenging the student to a duel over a matter of honor—a decidedly strange reaction by an educator toward a fledgling journalist trying to learn his trade.

Certainly not all students had difficulties with Becker. He had close relations with many and carried on a correspondence with them after they left the university. There are many cordial letters with former students in the archives. For example, he had a very warm relationship with Melvin Tumin, who had been an undergraduate sociology student at Wisconsin before going to Northwestern for graduate study. While Tumin was doing research in Guatemala for his dissertation in 1942, he exchanged long letters with Becker, and Becker responded very sympathetically with both personal and professional advice. He even ventured to caution Tumin about his plans to marry a young divorcee: “My lad, don’t get married until you want to settle down and raise troops for the next war. If the one and only is so inclined, well and good, but most divorcees aren’t” (UW-Madison Archives 7/33/6-1 Box 1, Folder 1937-1953, R-W). Tumin, of course, ignored this advice, but Becker was genuinely concerned about his welfare. A dozen years later, long after Tumin had gone through a divorce, they were still exchanging long letters while Tumin was doing research in Puerto Rico.

Becker was also capable of random acts of kindness, such as sending congratulations to an Onalaska elementary school boy for his success in the 1956 Badger Spelling Bee contest. He said it reminded him of his own experiences—presumably in Reno or Winnemucca. He also sent him a copy of his latest book, *Man in Reciprocity*, adding hopefully, “I think that you will not find this too difficult, in spite of the fact that the lectures were given to college freshmen” (UW-Archives 7/33/6-1, Box 5, Folder 1956, March-May, G-M).

When Martindale returned to the campus after four years of military service in 1946 he found that the level of tension and hostility in the department was substantially higher than when he left. The Becker faction and the McCormick faction had become virtual armed camps. Martindale asked Gerth what had happened, and Gerth “. . . said that Becker had become increasingly intransigent in departmental matters, sabotaging every plan and his exploitation of students had become increasingly blatant” (Martindale, 1982, p. 44).

Gerth told him of one particularly ugly incident in the early 1940s involving a Becker student who had just completed his PhD with a dissertation based on research in Germany. When war broke out, the American military sought to make use of his specialized knowledge and his fluency in French and German by commissioning him directly into the OSS to do intelligence

work. He was primarily utilized to interview prisoners of war. When Becker heard about it, he took the occasion in his social theory seminar to denounce “cowards who avoided combat duty in war time by slipping into soft berths,” and he cited his own former student as a prime example. A woman graduate student in the seminar was rooming with the wife of the former student, and she informed her about what Becker had said. The wife was incensed and came to see McCormick, the Department Chair. She protested Becker’s libel of her husband and then confessed that in her husband’s absence, Becker had seduced her. She brought with her a pack of Becker’s love letters to prove her charge. McCormick then summoned Becker to a special meeting and insisted that Gerth and Scudder McKeel, an anthropologist, be present as witnesses. At the beginning of the meeting McCormick told Becker that his colleagues in the department were tired of his exploitation of students, and he cited several cases—but not the principal reason for the meeting. Becker was belligerent in his response and launched a sarcastic tirade. According to Martindale’s account, which came from Gerth,

McCormick listened until Becker was finished, silent, but with an increasing flush. He finally exploded with, “Listen, Becker, we know what you’ve been up to.” He then related the story of the cuckolding . . . producing Becker’s love letters to prove it. For the next half hour, Gerth reported, McCormick (who was a straight-laced, old-fashioned southerner) gave Becker a tongue lashing such as he had never before heard one man give another. By the time it was over Becker was weeping like an adolescent boy and with tears running down his cheeks whimpered: “What do you want me to do, resign?” McCormick closed the interview with: “We don’t give a damn what you do, we just want this exploitation of students to stop” (Martindale, 1982, p. 46).

No action was brought to dismiss Becker for cause. Becker had been trying to secure a job in a wartime agency in Washington without success, but he finally escaped from Madison and sought redemption by joining the OSS—the very agency he had denounced his student for joining. At war’s end he returned to Madison a genuine war hero, but the tensions among the faculty returned with him.

Soon after Becker’s return there was another ugly case involving a Becker advisee. Becker was particularly interested in undertaking comparative field work on European peasant communities himself, and he assigned one of his PhD students to do a dissertation comparing Russian, Polish, and German peasant communities. Gerth and Selig Perlman, who was fluent in the Russian, Polish, and German languages, agreed to serve on the committee. When the student met with Gerth and Perlman, however, they quickly

discovered that he had little or no knowledge of any of the three languages. This alarmed them, since they knew that almost the entire literature on the peasants in the three countries had never been translated into English. They advised Becker that they thought the student was not qualified to undertake this research, but Becker, believing they were challenging his authority, insisted that the student proceed with the dissertation as planned. The student felt trapped, so Gerth and Perlman tried to help him by listing all the literature in English that they considered to be minimally essential.

When the student completed the dissertation and it had been approved by Becker, the oral defense was scheduled. To their dismay, Gerth and Perlman found that the references they had given the student were included in the bibliography, but they had not been utilized in the dissertation—presumably with Becker’s consent or perhaps with his insistence. During the exam the questions of Gerth and Perlman quickly revealed the weaknesses of the dissertation and the shoddiness of the scholarship. Growing increasingly embarrassed, Becker finally turned on his own advisee and began to denounce him. This was so shocking to Perlman and Gerth that they voted to pass the student, feeling that he had been victimized for simply following the dictates of his advisor. Perlman was so upset that he wrote a letter to McCormick reporting what had happened and stating that he would never again serve on the committee of any sociology PhD student. McCormick called a faculty meeting to discuss the Perlman letter, and as a result the department began to require every PhD student to present his dissertation proposal to the entire sociology faculty in an evening meeting for approval before proceeding to the research (Martindale, 1982, pp. 70-71).

Martindale, who was an acting instructor in the department during this period, was invited to attend the evening proposal hearings and observed how the questions would usually start off in a benign manner but quickly take on a highly critical tone. Before long the entire faculty would be in attack mode and demanding concessions and revisions in approach. According to Martindale,

As the room turned into a torture chamber, some candidates began to sweat. I recall one with rivulets running down his cheeks and dripping from his chin. Candidates who came up a second time—there were one or two brave souls—had worse experiences than on first meeting. The practice of evening review sessions of their thesis topics sent shock waves of terror through the graduate student body. Able individuals began to leave Wisconsin for study elsewhere (Martindale, 1982, p. 72).

When McCormick realized what was happening, he secured the permission of the faculty to end the evening review sessions with the whole faculty.

The “remedy” for Becker’s abuses was worse than the original problem.

Becker again felt chastised by the whole affair, and Martindale thought this may have prompted him once more to flee to Europe (Martindale, 1982, p. 71). This time he accepted a post as Chief of Higher Education for the American Military Government in the State of Hesse. For eighteen months in 1947 and 1948 he was in charge of four universities in the state—the Universities of Marburg and Frankfurt, the College of Agriculture at Giessen, and the Darmstadt Institute of Technology (UW-Madison Archives 24/9/3 Box 79, Social and Psychology through July, 1953). As Becker confided in a letter to James B. Conant, the American “Chiefs” really did not exercise direct control of German universities after the early part of 1946, since the military government regulations expressly limited them to advisory and consultative functions. He was able to exert some influence through the distribution of some meager funds, but Becker found himself frustrated by the professional educators in the German state bureaucracy who were trained largely in Schools of Education focused on primary and secondary education (UW-Madison Archives, 7/33/6-1 Box 1, Folder 1953, July-Dec., A-F).

Becker’s Finest Hour

During World War II Becker served with the Office of Strategic Services from 1943-1945 in England and Germany and played a major role in designing black propaganda radio broadcasts to be beamed into Germany. One of the most important initiatives was Operation Capricorn, which was organized by Becker. It made broadcasts to Bavaria from a clandestine radio station from February to April, 1945, as the American army was advancing toward Munich (Adams, 2009, pp. 63-64). Becker later published a scholarly article in the *American Sociological Review* discussing the use of black propaganda (H. P. Becker, 1949), but out of fear of violating security, he used pseudonyms when discussing actual events. He called Operation Capricorn “Operation Frolic,” but there is an extended account of his unit’s approach and the results.

The broadcasts invented a fictitious resistance fighter named Hagedorn (Becker calls him “Holly”), who at first made an idealistic appeal to the German people to resist the Nazis and revive the liberal and humanitarian traditions of 19th century Germany. Then the broadcasts began to emphasize the hopelessness of the Nazi cause and encouraged resistance to and removal of Nazi officials. Finally, when the broadcasts ended on April 27th, the German people were advised that the American army was poised to enter Munich and it was time to rise up against the Nazis and protect the city. At this point there was actually an uprising by a resistance group led by a man named Gerngross, and the apprehensive Nazi officials and the German Army began

withdrawing. On May 2nd the city surrendered to the American Army without the firing of a shot, and Munich was spared a planned 500-plane bombing attack that would have reduced the city to rubble. Afterwards Gerngross told Becker that they had been powerfully influenced by Hagedorn—the fictitious voice on the radio—and he expressed the sentiment, “There is the ideal leader for a new and peaceful Germany!” (H. P. Becker, 1949, p. 233).

The surrender of Munich covered the American south flank and ended the possibility of Hitler’s purported end-game strategy, withdrawing forces to an almost impregnable Alpine redoubt. It was by far Howard Becker’s finest hour. Munich had been heavily bombed with 71 air raids over a five-year period in World War I, but the withdrawal of the German army saved the city from further devastation from additional bombing and artillery bombardment by the advancing American army. The city was quickly rebuilt after the war, preserving the old street grid, and by 1972 it was able to host the Summer Olympic Games.

On June 5, 1945, five weeks after the German surrender, Becker paid a visit to Marianne Weber, the widow of Max Weber, who was still living in Heidelberg. She was the author of an outstanding biography of her husband and later wrote her own autobiography. She was a major leader in the German women’s movement and in her late seventies was still vigorous and outspoken. Becker transcribed her comments from memory immediately after the visit and published them a few years later (H. P. Becker, 1951).

Frau Weber said, “I must hang my head in shame at belonging to a people who, in the persons of some of its members, have committed crimes at which the whole world stands aghast. There is no evading a certain collective responsibility.” She presided over a salon of anti-Nazi intellectuals who met at her home every Sunday afternoon, but they were circumspect in expressing their political opinions in an explicit way. She was personally acquainted with several of those involved in the attempted assassination of Hitler on July 20, 1944. She believed that hundreds of civilians as well as military officers were involved, and hundreds were executed. She said, “My husband, had he been alive, would have been among them, for as you know, the German nation was for him a final value, a supreme end.” Heidelberg University, she said, reached a very low state under Nazi control, but the Nazification of the university had the opposite effect of what the regime intended. The students came to cherish liberty above all else. Frau Weber went on, however, to criticize the wonton cruelty and indifference of the American occupation forces, particularly their destruction of left-over food rather than distributing it to the civilian people, who were barely subsisting on a small supply of potatoes. “Hundreds of half-starved Heidelbergers could be nourished from what you wastefully throw away,” she complained, “but you pour gasoline over the garbage piles and set them on fire. It grieves

me especially to see that lovely white bread utterly destroyed.” It was these comments that probably stimulated Hans Gerth to begin sending Care food packages to Frau Weber and to other German friends and relatives.

Becker left the OSS in September, 1945, and that organization ceased to exist the following month, to be replaced by the Central Intelligence Agency two years later. President Truman intended for the CIA to be merely an information gathering agency, but the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations used it primarily for covert black operations to overthrow or undermine foreign governments (Weiner, 2007). Becker returned to Madison to take up his professorial duties once more at the University of Wisconsin.

Becker’s Relationship with C. Wright Mills

Charles Wright Mills grew up in a series of cities in north Texas—Waco, Wichita Falls, Fort Worth, Sherman, and Dallas. In later years he sometimes played up to people’s stereotypes of Texans as tough Western cowboys, and he wrote almost wistfully in 1957 that the reason he and his family were not settled on a ranch is that when he was five years old his mother’s father, a cattle rancher in South Texas, was shot in the back by a hired hand. Mills wrote that he was killed for pursuing an affair with the Mexican wife of the man, but there are other conflicting stories as well (Mills, 2000, p. 25). Mills’ father was a middle class businessman who worked in insurance. Mills attended Dallas Technical High School, a predominantly working class vocational school, though he lived in upscale University Park—a “sundown suburb” of Dallas (cf. Loewen, 2005).

Mills complained that he grew up in households that had no books or music, and he was for the most part without friends. His father thought he was lacking in masculinity and sent him off to Texas A&M, which at that time was male only with required participation in ROTC, because he thought it would “make a man out of him.” Mills hated Texas A&M and wrote a controversial article for the college newspaper criticizing the institution, saying that the upperclassmen believed that the freshmen should not be allowed to think independently for themselves or stand up for their convictions (Mills, 2000, p. 32).

Mills stayed only one year at Texas A&M before transferring to the University of Texas in Austin. There he began to discover the culture and the intellectual stimulation that he had missed growing up. He paid little attention to degree requirements but cherry-picked the leading scholars in the fields that interested him—Warner E. Gettys and Carl Rosenquist in sociology, George Gentry, A. P. Brogan, and David O. Miller in philosophy, and Clarence E. Ayres, Henry D. Sheldon, and Edward Everett Hale in economics—a distinguished set of mentors. He quickly blossomed into an outstanding

student, though only in the courses that interested him, since he did little work and settled for a “gentleman’s C” in courses he did not care about. He was not well liked by most other students in sociology and philosophy, but he cultivated close relations with the professors he respected. He was not the only gifted social science student at Texas in those days, however. Marion J. Levy, Jr., was a student in economics, and though there was not yet a PhD program in sociology, William J. Goode, and Hiram J. Friedsam were starting graduate work in sociology. Each of them went on to distinguished careers in sociology. Mills became particularly interested in pragmatism in philosophy, but he pursued extensive work in sociology and economics as well. He received a B.A. in sociology and an M.A. in philosophy simultaneously in June, 1939 (Horowitz, 1983, p. 19 ff.).

Mills really wanted to enter the doctoral program in philosophy at the University of Chicago, probably because that is where many of his professors at Texas were trained, but Chicago failed to offer him a fellowship. His second choice, the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at the University of Wisconsin, did offer him a teaching fellowship of \$300, so he decided to continue in sociology at Wisconsin (Mills, 2000, p. 39). Mills also had ties with Wisconsin through Douglas W. Oberdorfer, who was trained at Wisconsin, and Carl Rosenquist, who was close to some Wisconsin faculty through University of Chicago ties. Impressive letters of recommendation were also sent by Henry Sheldon (to both Gillin and McCormick) and by Clarence Ayres, the noted institutional economist who was the most distinguished of the Texas professors. Most important, Mills had earlier sent his paper, “Language, Logic, and Culture,” to Howard Becker and asked for suggestions. Becker liked the paper and wrote to Mills, “The paper impresses me very favorably, and I am forwarding it to Read Bain with a strong recommendation that it be published [in the *American Journal of Sociology*]” (UW-Madison Archives 7/33/6-1, Box 1, Folder 1937-1953, H-Q). Mills had already published a paper in the *American Sociological Review*, and it was no doubt unprecedented that an undergraduate had articles accepted by each of the two leading journals in sociology.

Many of Mills’ professors at Texas commented on his aggressive, insensitive, arrogant manner—qualities that many of his associates in later years spoke of as well. In contrast with this perception, Mills’ close friend, Wilson Record, told Horowitz that Mills was quite ambivalent about the decision to go off to the University of Wisconsin and become an academic sociologist:

In Dallas in the Spring of 1939 [Mills] was seriously debating whether to abandon academia altogether. He thought about going into business. . . . Mills would be taken into an insurance company, possibly his father’s own firm. Mills said also that he was thinking about becoming

a used car salesman. He expressed doubt about his ability to cut it at Wisconsin. I tried to reassure him, telling him I thought he would do extremely well, and that it would indeed be a tragedy if he did not complete his graduate work (Horowitz, 1983, p. 40).

He did pack up and move in August of 1939 to Madison with his young wife Dorothy (“Freya”), whom he married in 1937 when he was 21. In Madison Becker became his major professor, and Mills took courses with Becker each of the four semesters he was in residence, including four the first year. All of his courses were in sociology and statistics except for three with Selig Perlman in the Department of Economics. He took Perlman’s year-long course on the history of economics and his course on capitalism and socialism, both of which also reflected the influence of John R. Commons. Mills disagreed with Perlman’s view of unionism and job consciousness, but he was strongly influenced by Perlman’s insistence that politics does not merely reflect economics and that one needs to focus on labor struggles in studying social stratification (Horowitz, 1983, pp. 43-45).

Mills was never able to establish the kind of intimate intellectual relationship with most of his Wisconsin professors that he had enjoyed at Texas. It was a much more competitive environment, and some of the professors as well as many of his fellow graduate students were put off by his aggressive and disrespectful manner. The one professor with whom he was able to establish a close relationship was the most marginal faculty member in the department—Hans H. Gerth—who arrived in the department at the start of Mills’ second year. Mills took no formal courses with Gerth, though he did sit in on some of his lectures. Gerth did not serve as his dissertation advisor, and Mills’ request that Gerth be permitted to serve on his dissertation committee was rejected. I will say more about the long, troubled collaboration and friendship of Gerth and Mills in the next chapter, but here I will focus on Mills’ conflicts with Becker.

Given their different personalities and Mills’ tendency to chafe against authority, it is not surprising that the relationship between Becker and Mills soon broke down into open conflict. In fact, Mills felt extreme hostility toward Becker, though it is not clear whether or not he hid this fact successfully from Becker at first. Mills did reveal his feelings to his friend Wilson Record, however:

During his Wisconsin years Mills had some extremely derogatory things to say about Howard Becker. He characterized him as a “real fool.” Mills said he resented Becker because he was a Nazi sympathizer, and had said many very favorable things about the German Youth Movement. How much of this was true I don’t know. I haven’t read Becker’s stuff

for years, and I don't recall what he wrote that might justify Mills' accusation. Perhaps this wasn't the real source of Mills' distaste; possibly it was simply a convenient alibi. In my view, his relationship to Becker was strained because of the seemingly unequal positions in which they found themselves: Mills a student, and to a degree dependent on Becker, and Becker a professor in a position to judge and control things that Mills did. I am sure that the strain was due as much to personal clashes as to any political differences (Record to Horowitz, Horowitz, 1983, p. 52).

Becker did publish a book on the German youth movement, *German Youth; Bond or Free*, after the war in 1946, but I have not found anything in it or in Becker's other writings that could be described as remotely favorable to the Nazi regime. The book was translated into German and published in Germany in 1950, receiving praise from critics as "invaluable to all those concerned with the re-education of Germany." A German critic wrote that the book "represents an unusual depth of penetration on the part of a foreigner into the minute details of German life" (UW-Madison Archives 24/9/3 Box 79, Sociology and Psychology through July, 1953). In a letter dated July 18, 1933, to the Jewish People's Committee that I found in the archives, Becker wrote that he was "more than glad" to sign the anti-Nazi statement that they sent him. He also commented that he had been a member of the German Sociological Society but had resigned in protest against Nazi influence in 1933 (UW-Madison Archives, 7/33/6-1, Box 1, Folder 1937-1953, H-Q). Becker also had a distinguished war record with the OSS working against the Nazi regime during World War II. Afterwards, during the Occupation, he played an important role as an educator advising on the reconstruction and democratization of German universities. In 1956 Becker reported to Nels Anderson at UNESCO that he had already received four security clearances, including one in connection with an invitation from Allan Dulles to act as Educational Director for the CIA (UW-Archives, 7/33/6-1, Box 5, Folder 1956, March-May7, A-F).

Mills, on the other hand, had an ambivalent view toward the war, seeing it more as an imperial redivision of the world rather than a fight against Nazi and Japanese totalitarianism (Horowitz, 1983, pp. 63-64). He secured military deferments as long as he could, and when he was finally drafted in 1944, described the induction notice as a "filthy thing." When he failed his induction medical exam because of high blood pressure and an elevated heart rate, he breathed a sigh of relief (Mills, 2000, pp. 66-68). As Wilson Record suggested, the denigration of Becker by Mills seems to have been due more to personal animus than to a reasonable appraisal of his scholarship or political views.

An incident in December, 1940, certainly deepened Mills' hostility to Becker. Robert Schmid, a disaffected former Becker student teaching at Vanderbilt, alerted Mills that Becker was scheduled to read a paper on George Lundberg at the Christmas meetings of the American Sociological Society. It appeared to be substantially the same as a paper that Mills had written:

It's your paper. . . . Did he [Becker] give you fifty bucks for your ideas and tell you to shut up? From here it looks like dirty work (Oakes and Vidich, 1999, p. 105).

Mills sat fuming at the meeting while Becker presented the paper, but he felt powerless to protest Becker's appropriation of his ideas without credit. In fact, he believed he could not risk making the facts public, since he was in a powerless and subordinate position, and he withdrew his own article from publication by the *American Journal of Sociology* (Oakes and Vidich, 1999, pp. 105-106). Astoundingly, Oakes and Vidich, in a book purporting to be about ethics in academic life, even tried to justify the appropriation of student intellectual property: ". . . The appropriation of student work by established academicians may be regarded as an implicit right or a mode of compensation, in exchange for which the student receives a PhD and initiation into the academic community" (Oakes and Vidich, 1999, p. 106). They go on to argue that Mills himself later turned around and did the same thing to one of his own graduate students. James B. Gale had been a graduate student of Mills at the Baltimore campus of the University of Maryland in 1942, and he wrote a paper presenting a typology of different types of saleswomen at Macy's Department Store, based upon his years of experience working at Macy's. Mills presented an almost identical typology as the centerpiece of his chapter, "The Great Salesroom," in *White Collar*, which was published in 1951. In a footnote Mills did acknowledge Gale's paper as the basis for the development of his own typology, but Oakes and Vidich, who were hostile to Mills, argued that he was not forthcoming about the extent of his indebtedness:

The *White Collar* typology is Gale's. Mills' comments on each type of saleswoman are also drawn from Gale's paper. They repeat Gale's main points about the distinctive features of each type, often in his language. Nevertheless, none of the passages from *White Collar* reproduced above is placed in quotation marks and credited to Gale (Oakes and Vidich, 1999, p. 110).

In those days, though, there was less concern for students' rights, and this did not become an issue until Oakes and Vidich raised it more than three decades after Mills' death.

At the University of Texas Mills had become enamored with the pragmatist philosophical school—particularly the work of Charles Sanders Peirce and John Dewey, and he wanted to do his dissertation as a sociology of knowledge analysis of pragmatism. Becker was from the start uneasy about his choice of topic, since he thought it came close to encroaching on the disciplinary boundary of philosophy, and he wrote a formal letter to Mills in November, 1940, expressing his misgivings (UW Archives 7/33/4, Box 2, Folder Sept. 18, 1940–May 10, 1941, A-D). His dissertation committee also thought it was more a topic in philosophy than in sociology and only reluctantly approved the topic. According to Horowitz (1983, p. 144) only one member knew the work of Peirce and the rest had only a superficial knowledge of Dewey. Apparently the Department of Philosophy did not raise objections, but only a junior member of the department was assigned to the committee as minor representative.

Mills himself was apparently unaware of Marxist critiques of pragmatism, but as he progressed in his sociological training, he began to lose interest in his dissertation topic. He took a position teaching at the University of Maryland without completing the dissertation, but at the urging of Gerth he eventually returned to work on it and finally completed it. The committee members' criticisms of the final draft were perfunctory—for example, complaints about his atrocious spelling and sloppy handling of references (Horowitz, 1983, p. 122). Later, in a letter to Gerth, Mills wrote that he liked a particular article in the *New Republic* “. . . because it satirizes the kind of ‘English criticism’ which stuffed shirts like Becker always make” (Mills, 2000, p. 58).

We have two accounts of what happened during Mill's oral dissertation defense in August, 1942. The first is from Martindale, who probably was given the details by Gerth. Gerth was denied permission to be a member of the committee, but he could have been present at the oral, since all faculty had a right to attend dissertation defenses. If he was not present, the story is likely third-hand or worse and may be distorted. According to Martindale's account, the dissertation focused on Charles Sanders Peirce. Peirce had denounced William James famous essay on “The Will to Believe” as an invitation to intellectual shoddiness, and he wrote that if that was pragmatism, he himself was not a pragmatist. He invented a new term, “pragmaticism,” to describe his own position. He said the term was “ugly enough to be safe from kidnappers” (Peirce, 1931-35, vol. 5, p. 414). Mills also adopted the neologism to describe Peirce's thought in his dissertation.

Becker was irritated when he ran across the numerous uses of “pragmaticism” in the dissertation, but since he had little background in philosophy, he asked Eliseo Vivas, a young Assistant Professor of Philosophy who was the minor representative on the committee, whether the term was

legitimate. Vivas was not familiar with the term either. He could not find it in the dictionary and wrote in blue pencil over the final copy of the dissertation, “not in the dictionary.” Wherever he found the term, he circled it in blue pencil and wrote exclamatory notes. During the oral when his questioners attacked him for “terminological barbarism,” Mills coolly proved that he was using Peirce’s own language.

At that point the entire examination collapsed as an unfounded, misguided attack on Peirce’s language. Becker was dismayed by this turn of events. After the warrant for final oral had been signed, Becker tossed the desecrated copy of the dissertation—which was in no condition to go to the library or graduate school—towards Mills with the peremptory command: “Clean it up.” This was the moment Mills had been waiting for. He said, “It was not my doing to put incompetents on my committee. I will leave the job to my advisor who was responsible for it.” He then turned and left the room. Becker rushed out of the room and shouted after Mills’ retreating figure: “Go to hell.” Mills turned on his heels and strode back, stopped and leaning menacingly toward Becker, said in ominous tones: “What did you say?” “Go to hell,” Becker shouted again. Mills said: “After you, Sir.” He clicked his heels, bowed, and turned once more and this time departed without further exchange (Martindale, 1982, pp. 155-156).

Becker’s own account of the incident was quite different. In a letter to his friend, the classicist and philosopher Norman O. Brown, on November 25, 1942, he wrote

The summer was wearying for another reason: Mills got into my hair. I have put up with a great deal from him, but it finally got so bad that I almost washed my hands of the task of getting him through the oral examination. Some of his less guarded statements evoked the ire of the Philosophy Department and their representative came over ready to commit mayhem. I weakened at the last minute and saw him through the fray as best I could. We saved the situation only by my suggesting that some especially objectionable passages be expunged or revised, and the necessary signatures were granted. When I told Mills he would have to alter his ipsissima verba, he tried to tell me what he would and would not do, with the consequence that I lost my well-known temper and told him what he would do or else. He climbed down and I cooled off so that the revisions (of minor character) were made with a minimum of re-typing—and that is the last I have seen or heard of Mills (UW-Madison Archives 7/33/6-1 Folder 1937-1953, A-G).

The end of the oral left matters in an awkward state. The corrections and retyping did get carried out, but it is not clear who did them. Mills, however, was short in satisfying the residence requirement for the PhD. Becker had agreed that Mills could satisfy the requirement with residence in Madison for a 4-week pre-summer session plus an 8-week summer session or with two 8-week summer sessions. Horowitz reported that Mills' transcript showed no further course work in Madison and no evidence that the residence requirement was ever satisfied. Neither were two incompletes in courses taught by Becker ever removed. Horowitz also thought there was no evidence that his committee ever formally approved his dissertation, but this is not the case. The dissertation was approved and signed by Becker, Vivas, Leland C. DeVinney, and Graduate Dean E. B. Fred on August 15, 1942. Horowitz concluded, "The resolution was simply to let matters rest, and in effect work around Becker—with the latter's tacit consent" (Horowitz, 1983, p. 53). If this is true, the Graduate School was much less vigilant in enforcing regulations in the 1940s than it is today.

Another source of contention between Mills and Becker was the book contract for *Character and Social Structure*. Becker was the editor of D. C. Heath's social science series, and in 1941 he received a memo from Gerth and Mills proposing that they coauthor a textbook in social psychology that would be grounded in a Weberian institutional and historical analysis and be less abstract than standard textbooks. They envisioned a book of 34 chapters written roughly around the files of Gerth's lecture notes on the subject. They did sign a contract with Heath, but received no cash advance. After Mills moved to the University of Maryland and his relations with Becker deteriorated further, Mills began to regret the contract.

Becker kept asking to see drafts of the sections completed, but Mills did not want to show him anything until the book was completed. Finally, in 1944 Gerth gave in to Becker's pressure and let him see the 300 or so pages that had been written, mostly by Mills. After reading the manuscript Becker announced that Mills could not write proper English and demanded that the pages be reviewed by a professor of English for style. Gerth recruited the distinguished scholar Frederic Gomes Cassidy for the task and Cassidy wrote "The paper is altogether correct and idiomatic English, and succeeds very well, considering the abstraction of the subject and method, in being clear." Mills was furious about Becker's attack on his writing ability, and he became determined to break the contract with Heath. He was also eager to find a publisher who would give them a substantial cash advance (N. Gerth, 2002, p. 195).

Mills persuaded Gerth that they should ask for a release from the Heath contract, and they eventually even got a reluctant Becker to ask the publisher

to release them. Heath wanted to keep the book, and even though the project had lain dormant for several years, they delayed and temporized to try to avoid giving them a release. Mills, out of patience with Heath, secretly negotiated a new contract with Harcourt Brace, without telling them about the earlier contract with Heath, which was still in force. Each author received an advance of \$1500. Gerth was reluctant to sign what he thought was an illegal contract, but Mills once again succeeded in bullying him into consenting. They both needed money, and they sought to justify their actions on the grounds that Mills could not work with Becker. Mills, in a letter to Gerth, said “. . . I abhor the very idea of having that dirty son of a bitch’s name on any book that bears my own” (Oakes and Vidich, 1999, p. 60). In another letter to Gerth in 1944 discussing their efforts to cancel the Heath contract, he was unrepentant about their treatment of Becker:

You know, Gerth, I’ve wasted time and emotion over this little man. I don’t really hate him. If I could judge sentimentally rather than consequentially I could even pity him. He is not really a threat to anybody anymore. Really he isn’t. His kind hang themselves, even before fools, they hang themselves. I can forget him now, and I wish him the kind of luck he wants, whatever foolish thing it may be (Mills, 2000, p. 139).

Mills told Heath in 1949 that he and Becker had gone for five or six years without speaking to each other and that he and Becker could not work together: “We are civilized about it but I doubt if there is any mutual intellectual respect between us, and certainly no comradely feeling such as might be expected to exist between academic editor and writer” (Mills, 2000, p. 140).

Mills had tried to convince Gerth that they were not really bound by the Heath contract, because they had not received a cash advance. A contract is not valid without an exchange of value, but the promise to publish, with conditions spelled out in the contract, probably constitutes such a value whether or not a cash advance is given. Thus, the new contract with Harcourt Brace was probably illegal, but Heath chose not to pursue the matter legally after they found out about it, and they finally gave Gerth and Mills a release in 1950. Oakes and Vidich regarded Mills’ actions as a major breach of ethics and devoted a whole chapter to the subject. The textbook was finally published by Harcourt Brace in 1953—13 years after it was conceived (Oakes and Vidich, 1999, pp. 57-90; N. Gerth, 2002, pp. 194-201).

Becker was furious when he learned about the second contract, but nevertheless he asked Heath to grant Gerth and Mills a release, and when Heath was slow to do so, he gave valuable advice to Gerth regarding the negotiations. The affair placed Becker in a particularly awkward position with Heath, because he was also about to lose another of their contracted

textbooks with Don Martindale, with whom he had proposed to collaborate and publish two introductory textbooks with Heath.

Mills' reputation had been growing as a result of his publications while he was teaching at the University of Maryland. He had been working at the Bureau of Applied Social Research part-time in 1944 and 1945 and was being considered for an appointment in Sociology. In October, 1945, Becker wrote a letter to Robert K. Merton with a footnote to be given to Robert Lynd at Columbia denouncing Mills and apparently trying to block his appointment at Columbia. He wrote, ". . . I would be very sure, if I were you, that I did not lend too much weight to persons formerly and perhaps still, in the habit of 'biting the hand that feeds them.'" He mentioned that Mills had forced himself as a co-author of a book that was really the product of Gerth and that Mills was "a hard arrogant man." He ended with the admonition that ". . . it might be wise to hold such facts in mind before going out on any limbs for such characters" (letter supplied by Merton to N. Gerth, 2002, p. 165). Mills knew that someone at Wisconsin had written a poison letter about him to Columbia, but he never learned that it was Becker. Even if he had known, their relations could hardly have become worse. Columbia ignored the letter, however, and did bring Mills from Maryland to Columbia. He was later promoted to Associate Professor, but he became increasingly alienated and isolated from his colleagues there, and was relegated to undergraduate teaching. He remained at Columbia for the rest of his career, but most of his colleagues turned against him (Horowitz, 1983, pp. 76-113).

Over the years the feelings of Becker and Mills toward each other melted somewhat. In 1953 Becker sent him two packs of their letters, writing, "You may find it of some historical interest—at any rate, it is better in your hands than mine." It was signed, "Cordially Yours" (UW-Archives 7/33/6-1, Box 1, Folder 1953, July-Dec., G-M). In April, 1960, just two months before his death, Becker wrote to Mills trying to get him to present a paper on Herbert Spencer at the ASA meetings, since the association was celebrating the 100th anniversary of the publication of the prospectus for Spencer's *Principles of Sociology* but as yet had no papers on Spencer scheduled. He remembered that Mills had expressed admiration for some passages in Spencer's works when he was a graduate student. Mills confirmed that he was "an admirer of Spencer," but he was on his way from Mexico to Russia and had no time to work on a paper. By the time they finished exchanging several letters, Becker was calling Mills "Wright," and Mills was calling Becker "Howard." Both signed their letters "Cordially" (UW-Archives, 7/33/6-1, Box 13, Folder 1960, March-May, K-S). Perhaps if Becker had lived longer, there might have been a reconciliation.

Becker's Relationship with Don Martindale

Don A. Martindale was the other exceptionally gifted graduate student of Howard Becker in the 1940s, and though his relations with Becker were more amicable while he remained a student, he ended up as much estranged from Becker as Mills had been. Martindale was born February 9, 1915, in the small town of Marinette in northern Wisconsin situated on the north shore of Green Bay. He was the first of nine children in a working class family. His father had only six years of education, his mother eight. His father had worked in a circus as a child and later served in the navy and bummed around the country as a hobo, before returning to Marinette and settling down as a laborer. He worked first in a box factory and later in seasonal jobs cutting ice, working in a florist shop and a toy factory, and finally working for the gas and electric company. From the age of 10 Don started doing odd jobs to earn a little money to help support his younger siblings. By 12 he was working full time as a farm laborer during the summers earning \$1.00 to \$1.20 for a ten-hour day. During the school year he did a variety of odd jobs after school and on weekends to earn as much money as he could. Until he graduated from high school at the age of 17, Don's life was a grim round of nothing but school and hard physical labor. He never went to a movie, went out with a girl, or had other recreational activities with friends. He turned over all his earnings to his mother, who never thanked him and only complained because he earned so little. In the face of these external pressures, Don's interests turned inward, and he began to spend most of his spare time reading or studying in a library. He also developed a strong interest in poetry.

After graduating from high school Don first worked in a cheese factory and then attended the county normal school for one year and obtained a teaching certificate. In the depths of the depression, however, he could not find a teaching job. After working in a box factory and lumber mill for two years, during which time he continued to turn over all his earnings to his mother, the number of children at home had declined, and he decided that his earnings were no longer needed to support the family. He moved to Madison and was able to enroll in the University of Wisconsin, where he was completely self-supporting. He continued to write poetry but finally concluded that he was more interested in ideas from the classical humanities, philosophy, and social sciences than in the form of expression of the ideas. He destroyed nearly all of his early poetry, but continued to write traditional and metered verse of a humorous or satiric nature for the rest of his life. At the university he majored in philosophy and was a brilliant student, graduating summa cum laude in 1939. He also earned an MA in

classical humanities and philosophy in 1940 (Edith Martindale, 1979, pp. 1-24; Bardis *et al.*, 1986, p. 66).

Martindale had become increasingly dissatisfied with the relatively narrow focus on American pragmatism in the Wisconsin philosophy department, which was dominated by Max Otto, the chair from 1936 to 1947. Most attention was given to John Dewey and William James, even excluding other pragmatists such as Charles Sanders Peirce and George Herbert Mead. Those who were interested in major philosophers of the past such as Hegel, Marx, Schopenhauer, and Nietzsche or new developments in logic from Russell and Whitehead, were looked at with suspicion. He also became aware of conflicts between Otto and Eliseo Vivas, the assistant professor who was his advisor, and feared that this might lead to difficulties for himself.

Martindale had minored in sociology for his master's degree, and he had been drawn to Howard Becker, who "was an able, organized lecturer with an effective delivery," and who had coauthored the impressive *Social Thought from Lore to Science*. He had also translated some of the work of Leopold von Wiese, who showed some Kantian influence, which Martindale found appealing. None of the sociology graduate students that Martindale knew at the time were aware of Becker's limitations or tendency to exploit students. Martindale was also impressed with the richness of the lectures of Gerth, who had just arrived, but he was repelled by the cultic following of students that Gerth soon attracted. It was really Becker who led him to transfer to sociology for his PhD work, but actually the professors who made the biggest impression on him were from outside his major fields of philosophy and sociology—Selig Perlman in economics, George Clark Sellery in history, the poet William Ellery Leonard, and the visiting anthropologist Alexander Goldenweiser (Mohan, 1983, p. 38).

After the rigorous courses in philosophy, Martindale found sociology easy, but at the end of his first semester as a sociology major he was "thunderstruck" when he received four *Bs*—the worst grades in his entire academic career—including *Bs* from Becker and Gerth. Three of the four professors who had given him the grades stopped him in the hall and apologized. Becker and Gerth explained that the department had decided in a staff meeting that they were giving too many *As*, and they decided to grade down Martindale because, in view of his record, "they knew I could take it." Some lesser students had been given *As*. This disillusioned Martindale with Becker, Gerth, and the whole sociology department, and he even thought about transferring to another university. It still rankled more than two decades later when Martindale wrote, "What kind of discipline had I chosen whose professors would go out of their way to grade down a performance they admitted was better, in order to reward their admittedly poorer favorites?" (Martindale, 1982, pp. 63-64)

Martindale decided graduate school was too dangerous a place to linger in, and undertook a prodigious work schedule to finish as quickly as possible. He took a maximum course load, passed his French and German reading exams, passed a special newly instituted exam on the history of social thought, and completed a first draft of about half of a dissertation by June of 1942. He thought that he would be able to pass his prelims and complete the dissertation by September and asked his draft board for a three-month deferment to complete his PhD. They sent him a 1A card by return mail, and he was immediately called up before he could do any further work on his degree. He was resentful, because he knew of many persons who had secured deferments, often for longer periods and for less significant reasons. It proved impossible to do any work on the dissertation while he was in the army, and he abandoned it, never to take it up again.

Martindale entered the army as a private, but when he came to see Becker in December, 1942, during a leave from the Quartermasters Corps at Camp Lee, Virginia, he said he hoped to get into officer's candidate school. Becker thought it was unlikely because of Martindale's short stature, but he was impressed with the technical knowledge about logistics that he had already picked up (UW-Madison Archives, 7/33/6-1, Box 1, Folder 1937-1953, R-W). Martindale was accepted, however, and became a training offer in the Army Air Force. By 1945 he was a captain and was sent to Okinawa in preparation for the anticipated invasion of Japan. At the war's end Martindale was eager to resume his work on the PhD, and sought an early discharge. He asked McCormick for a letter supporting his request, but he learned from Gerth years later that the faculty had discussed the request in a staff meeting and had decided not to provide the letter on grounds that the army probably still needed his services. Martindale wrote angrily in 1982, "Once again the boundless pettiness and sadism of American academics had triumphed over simple human consideration" (Martindale, 1982, p. 64-65). He was soon released anyway, since he had accumulated enough points in the system devised by Sam Stouffer and his staff to qualify for demobilization.

Martindale returned to his graduate work in Madison in 1946, this time accompanied by his wife Edith, whom he had married in 1943. They had met in Madison while she was working as a registered nurse and studying for a BS in sociology and social work. After the long absence Martindale found that he needed to audit courses and study intensively to prepare himself for prelims, particularly since in his absence Max Weber's influence had come to supersede that of Von Wiese, largely due to Gerth's teaching and mimeographed translations. He also persuaded Becker to let him write his dissertation on the morale of civilian soldiers, based on his experiences in the army. Martindale had started out writing long descriptive letters to Gerth about his army experiences, and he gradually began to conceive of the

possibility of doing a dissertation on this new interest. Gerth also encouraged him and promised to keep copies of his letters for Martindale's later use. This was probably the beginning of a closer relationship between Martindale and Gerth. Becker had wanted him to work on another topic, but after Martindale showed him his extensive field notes, Becker was impressed and agreed to permit the new topic. He even persuaded Dean Ingraham to provide a grant of \$240 to type up the notes and place them in the university library (Martindale, 1982, pp. 65-66; Martindale, 1946).

By the fall of 1946 Martindale passed his prelims and accepted a position as acting instructor in the University of Wisconsin Extension Division to teach introductory sociology at four small cities in northern Wisconsin: Rice Lake, Ladysmith, New Richmond, and Spooner. Constant travel among the four cities was a challenge, especially in winter weather, and the lack of accessible libraries forced Martindale to write his own lectures from memory. By the end of the semester he had written about 350 pages of text. Near the end of the semester McCormick recalled Martindale from the north to teach in Madison in the winter-spring semester of 1947. Becker had accepted a position as Chief of the Office of Higher Education for the army of occupation in Hesse, Germany, and McCormick needed Martindale to teach Becker's theory course and supervise his graduate students while he was away.

As soon as Martindale arrived in Madison an embarrassed McCormick said that another problem had come up. The Rand Corporation had invited Gerth to spend two months in Germany studying the development of democratic practices in middle class political parties. Gerth was desperately eager to undertake the assignment, but McCormick said that with Becker gone, he could not release Gerth unless Martindale would also undertake to teach Gerth's classes on mass communications and the social psychology of leadership. It was a crushing burden, but Martindale agreed to accept it, to the relief of McCormick and the great joy of Gerth. McCormick thought that Martindale, with his experience as an army captain and training officer, would be particularly effective in dealing with the many military veterans who were now filling the classrooms, but he would still offer only an acting instructor rank because he had not yet finished his dissertation. He did, however, indicate that he was being considered for a permanent position in the department, and Martindale interpreted this as a promise of a position if he were successful in his teaching (Martindale, 1982, pp. 66-68).

Before he departed, Becker learned of the material Martindale had written for his introductory sociology course, and he proposed that they coauthor an introductory text for D. C. Heath, for which he was the social science editor. He had originally signed himself up for a text based on transcripts of an old radio course he had offered, but it needed to be rewritten, and

Becker had not found the time to work on it. Martindale was flattered to be asked and readily agreed, but discovered only after the fact that the new contract specified that Becker would receive 12 percent of the royalties and Martindale only 4 percent. Becker did permit him to move into his office while he was away, so he had access to one of the finest private libraries in the university. With his iron discipline and capacity to handle crushing responsibilities, he made a rule for himself never to leave Sterling Hall until the next day's preparation was done. He rarely returned home to Edith before 2:30 a.m. After Gerth returned McCormick thanked Martindale but told him, "Well, we know you can teach. . . but we don't know what kind of scholar you are. You have to finish that dissertation." Because they were still short-handed, he also asked Martindale to teach in summer school. He did not feel he could refuse but wondered how he could find the time to work on his dissertation (Martindale, 1982, pp. 69-70).

He did find time to work on the dissertation, but his letters to Becker seeking advice and clearance on his plans went unanswered. Since it did not appear that Becker would return within two years or perhaps longer, he began to feel trapped. In the meantime, Martindale's relations with Gerth had become much warmer. Gerth was extremely grateful to Martindale for teaching his courses during the two months he was away, since he would not have been able to take the Rand assignment otherwise. Martindale explained his problem to Gerth and asked him if he would be willing to become his advisor, and Gerth "seemed to be delighted at the prospect." McCormick also agreed to the change and overrode some resistance from the Graduate School. Martindale would not have changed advisors if Becker had responded to his letters, for he was at that point still on relatively good terms with him.

Martindale completed his PhD with Gerth while teaching as an acting instructor in Madison and was hoping to stay on as a tenure-track faculty member. When he received an offer of an assistant professorship at the University of Minnesota at a slightly higher salary, however, the Wisconsin department refused to meet the offer, and Martindale angrily departed for Minnesota. Details are presented in the next chapter on Gerth.

Becker soon returned to Wisconsin from Germany, and Martindale continued to work on the introductory sociology book with Becker. To his astonishment, however, Becker then asked that the book contract be broken and taken over entirely by Becker. He even had the effrontery to insist that Martindale sign a contract that he would not produce a competing textbook for twenty years, which would essentially mean that he would be appropriating Martindale's material without credit. Martindale agreed to the breaking of the contract but refused to sign away rights to his own material. Elio D. Monachesi, Martindale's chair at Minnesota, then proposed

that they collaborate on a text, and they were able to complete it in two months of work in the summer of 1950. It was published by Harpers in 1951. Becker must have been dismayed at this development, but later he renewed correspondence with Martindale and asked him to write letters of recommendation to various foundations for research and travel grants. He did so, wanting to maintain friendly relations if possible (Martindale, 1982, p. 117).

In 1958 John Sirjamaki arranged for Becker to give a public lecture at the University of Minnesota. Sirjamaki told Martindale that Becker had written him that he would be staying with the Martindales, even though they had not issued an invitation. Martindale suspected that perhaps he was insisting on equal treatment with Gerth, whom he surely knew was a frequent house guest of the Martindales. Martindale said he would be happy to have Becker as a house guest during his visit. Martindale and two of his Minnesota colleagues had been working on a book on German National Character. Martindale had completed his section on German social structure and the anthropologist Robert F. Spencer had completed his on German character, but the chair of the German department had not produced his section on the German intellectual. Spencer proposed that they recruit Becker to take over the section on the German intellectual, and Martindale agreed. They spent an entire afternoon talking with Becker about the project and giving him the opportunity to go through the two sections that had been written. He showed considerable excitement about the project, but would not give an immediate answer. Over the next two or three months he took on-again, off-again positions, but finally declined on the grounds that they did not yet have a contract with a publisher.

Marquette University Press heard about the manuscript, since they were considering starting a monograph series on German character and culture, and they asked to review it, even though the section on German intellectuals was still unwritten. Their editorial committee read it and accepted it in principle but asked for permission to send it out for an external review. Without knowing of Becker's earlier history with the project, they innocently chose him as the reviewer. With cheerful malice, he killed the manuscript outright with a strongly negative review. He taunted Martindale, telling him what he had done and saying "in affairs of this kind it is the right of every man to yell, 'kill the umpire'." When this did not provoke a reply from Martindale, he sent additional provocative letters, at one point saying, "Well, Old Buddy, what's done is done, life must go on" (Martindale, 1982, pp. 117-119). Martindale wrote bitterly,

I did not answer them either. I did not want to waste any time or energy fighting or agonizing over the matter. It was obviously a mistake to put one's self in a position of trust with Becker; he seemed to be unable

to resist taking advantage of it. Sometimes the primitives had the best solution: outlaw or outcaste the individual who is impossible to live with, never see or think or worry about him again (Martindale, 1982, p. 119)

In letters to Gerth Martindale called Becker “a sub-human type with the morals of a water snake” and said that he wanted absolutely nothing to do with Becker in the future. He could not avoid Becker entirely, however, and he reported to Gerth that he was physically attacked by Becker in a hotel corridor at the 1959 Midwest Sociological Society meetings in Lincoln, Nebraska (N. Gerth, 2002, p. 167).

Becker’s Relationships with Colleagues and Others in Academia

When Becker first came to the University of Wisconsin in 1937, his star was rising. He was 37 years old and in the prime of life. He was becoming increasingly visible in the profession and he was widely regarded as one of the foremost scholars working in the sociological theory area. With the retirement of Ross and the soon-to-be retirement of Gillin, he was arguably the most distinguished sociologist at Wisconsin, and he was in the prime of life. There were persistent rumors that Becker had the inside track to become chair of the department when Gillin stepped down in 1941, and Becker confidently expected to be elected. But he was not. Already his colleagues were becoming distrustful of Becker, afraid that he might use the chair position to further his own interests at the expense of others. There was also some conflict in the department between those in the qualitative wing of the department, led by Becker, and those in the quantitative wing, led by T. C. McCormick. McCormick thought that what Becker taught as theory was at best unsubstantiated opinion or, at worst, ideology (Martindale, 1982, p. 38).

Graduate students were very much aware of the conflict between Becker and McCormick and were caught in the crossfire between the two factions (Martindale, 1976, p. 141). Becker and McCormick, however, served jointly as Book Review Editors for the *American Sociological Review* in 1943. Even those who stood apart from the disciplinary disputes were more trusting of McCormick to be fair and to put the welfare of the department first. McCormick was elected, and he continued to serve as chair for the next eleven years, longer than any other chair in the department’s history, perhaps because his colleagues feared that Becker would otherwise become chair. Martindale commented that McCormick “. . . was too much a man of principle ever to use the powers of the chairmanship as a weapon against a colleague. Becker was not so principled” (Martindale, 1982, p. 38).

At this time there were also rumors that Becker was likely to become

the next president of the American Sociological Society. Again, he did not, though he was elected Second Vice President for 1941. These twin disappointments had a devastating effect on Becker, and Martindale speculated they were responsible for a dark turn in Becker's character:

. . . Everything I knew about Becker indicated that he became increasingly exploitive of those around him only after losing out in both the race for chairmanship and for presidency of the society. Becker's colleagues at the end of the 1930s and in the early 1940s when they passed over him were obviously convinced that he would only use his positions as department chairman and as president of the society to exploit. Becker had managed to persuade his colleagues that he was overly ambitious and abrasively egotistic, and there were many stories of real or threatened fist fights and broken jaws (Martindale, 1982, p. 36).

Becker was elected President of the Midwest Sociological Society for 1946-1947, but this was far short of his ultimate goal. He had to wait almost two decades more before finally being elected President of the American Sociological Association for 1960. He did become department chair, succeeding McCormick in 1952-1953 but was replaced after one year by William White Howells, the first anthropologist to chair the department. Howells, however, left the next year to take a professorship at Harvard which had been vacated by the death of Earnest Albert Hooton, and Becker was called again to serve as chair in 1954-1955. At the end of that year he was replaced once again by another anthropologist, David Albert Baerreis, who served for the next three and one-half years. William H. Sewell followed Baerreis, and the anthropologists split off into an independent department in September, 1958.

Becker was known for his abrasive, disputatious, and bullying style, and was constantly in conflict with his colleagues, as well as with some of his own graduate students. He was a disruptive force in department meetings, making it difficult to carry on business and reach decisions in a collegial atmosphere. He was also abusive in using his power and authority to coerce graduate students and junior colleagues. When a new assistant professor arrived two weeks before the fall term started he had an unsettling encounter with Becker:

. . . Howard Becker walked in his office and said, "I'm Howard Becker," and shook hands with him, and he said, "I understand you'll be teaching one of the big sections in introductory sociology," and Dick said, "Yes, I will." And he said, "I assume you're going to use my book, *Man and Society*, or whatever it was called, his introductory book. And Dick said,

no, he hadn't intended to. And Becker said to him, "Well, you'd better if you ever want to get promoted around here, young man," and walked out the door. And he was perfectly capable of blocking somebody's promotion if he could (Sewell Oral History Interview 2, 1983).

Sewell had joint appointments in both Rural Sociology and Sociology, but he so disliked Becker that he tried to avoid attending the clamorous Executive Committee meetings in Sociology until he himself became chair of Sociology in January, 1958, and had to chair the meetings. Sewell went on leave to the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences at Stanford after his first year as chair of Sociology, and it was a great relief to him to get away from Becker. While he was on leave he received a very attractive job offer from UCLA, and he was inclined to accept it because it was an equally good department and he would not have to deal with Becker:

As much as I loved Wisconsin as a place to live and everything else and liked the University, I had just decided that the costs of having to deal with this guy were too great to come back. Just about as I was ready to go or to accept, we got a telegram that Howard had died of a stroke. And my wife said, "Oh, he'll go back to Wisconsin. . . . But anyway, he was a terribly difficult man, and just kept the department in ferment and trouble all the time. And I think that probably accounts—although I couldn't say so for sure—for some of the departures and I'm sure it accounted for some of the reasons that people didn't come (Sewell Oral History Interview 2, 1983).

Becker also insisted that all sociology graduate students take the social theory course with him, even though Gerth and other faculty sometimes taught it. McCormick's demography students believed it was very difficult for them to pass any of Becker's courses.

Some sociologists in the profession at large were aware of Becker's negative reputation among his Wisconsin colleagues, and this may have kept him from being elected President of the ASA earlier. By and large, however, Becker had a very positive reputation in the profession based on his scholarly publications. In his interaction with sociologists at other universities he could be charming and friendly. I have read hundreds of his letters to and from other scholars that are in the UW-Madison Archives, and they are invariably friendly, helpful, and accommodating. The warmth in his written words effectively masked the cold nature of his personality. There is none of the bluster, aggressiveness, and harshness that was so common in his face-to-face interactions with Wisconsin colleagues and students. He showed a special warmth toward those who sought to make use of his version of

“constructed types” and the sacred-secular continuum for classifying societies. His most important disciple in this regard was John C. McKinney, who earned a PhD at Michigan State University rather than at Wisconsin, but who became a strong advocate for the constructed type methodology. They began collaborating on a book on constructed types in the late 1950s. McKinney wrote to Becker in June, 1956, “There is certainly no one I would rather write such a book with than you. It is just that I have never felt any motivation along those lines, and moreover have no confidence in my abilities to produce such a volume. . . . However, I am willing to go along. . . .” (UW-Archives, 7/33/6-1, Box 5, Folder 1956, June-Aug. K-R). They were still working on the project at the time of Becker’s death, and McKinney finally completed the work, *Constructive Typology and Social Theory*, in 1966.

One last point—the Howard Paul Becker of Wisconsin should not be confused with the younger Howard Saul Becker, who was a Professor of Sociology at Northwestern University and was universally liked. They were not related but were often mixed up by others, to the great displeasure of the elder Becker. When Howard Saul was still a postdoctoral student at the University of Illinois in 1953, he wrote to Howard Paul asking if he could come visit “my very illustrious namesake” during a vacation trip to Wisconsin. He received a courteous invitation to visit around Thanksgiving, but it was later revoked by the elder Becker on the grounds that his son Christopher was getting a leave from basic training at Fort Leonard Wood in Missouri, and he and Frances were planning to drive down to visit him (UW-Madison Archives, 7/33/6-1, Box 1, Folder 1953, July-Dec., A-F). He may have been relieved to avoid having someone question him about his family history. They did meet once in later years and quickly determined that their families were not related.

The younger Becker posted his account on his personal web page. This was in response to an inquiry by the wife of one of Howard Paul’s first cousins once removed. I quote it at length, since personal web pages tend to have a fleeting life:

First of all, I’ll tell you that there’s no relation to your husband’s family. My grandparents were Jews who fled Lithuania to avoid the pogroms and the Czar’s army. I did meet Howard [Paul] Becker once and we quickly established that there was no relation, when I told him about my grandparents and he said, definitively, “My people came from Hessia, we couldn’t be related.”

Actually, the story about him and me is interesting. I started graduate work in sociology in 1946, quite young, when he was already a famous

professor at Wisconsin. He was a contemporary of Everett Hughes, my teacher—they were both students at the U. of Chicago in the 20s, when that was the world center of sociology.

Naturally, it was irritating for him to suddenly have someone in his profession who had essentially the same name. People sometimes confused us, and sent him letters meant for me. He had a reputation as a very difficult person and I would get copies of letters he sent to people who made that mistake, heavily ironic letters saying that it was kind of them to ask if he was interested in being an assistant professor in their department but he was already a full professor at Wisconsin. Things like that.

A young colleague of mine who . . . did research in the archives at the University of Wisconsin said that he found a lot of letters from Howard P. complaining about the trouble my existence caused him.

The funny thing in all this is that I always used the middle initial “S,” even before I became a sociologist and these confusions started happening. And it’s funny because my middle name is Saul. Since his middle name was Paul, the stage was set for a joke and he finally found one. In one of his last books, he mentioned in the preface that there was a younger scholar named Howard S. Becker, who should not be confused with him, and he explained that he was Paul and I was Saul and that it went against Biblical tradition to change Paul into Saul, that the precedent ran the other way. Which I thought was a pretty good gag.

. . . . I’m sorry to speak ill of him, but I have to tell you that he was widely hated by his colleagues at Wisconsin and by people who had been graduate students there. After he died, a number of people came up to me at the next big sociology convention to offer condolences and when I told them we were not related, said some version of, “Oh, you weren’t? Well, he was a mean son of a bitch.” (Howard S. Becker, http://home.earthlink.net/~hsbecker/news_two_howies.html).

Career Culmination

In spite of his personal difficulties in relationships with colleagues and students, Becker had an excellent reputation within the profession on the basis of his scholarly publications. He was elected President of the American Sociological Association in 1958 and became President-Elect in August, 1959. He was extraordinarily busy and productive during his last year of life

while he served as President-Elect. He was an official representative and gave an address at the meetings of the German Sociological Society, where he heard his old mentor, Leopold von Wiese, lecture about the contributions of Georg Simmel. He read papers at several German and Austrian universities and spoke on American sociology at Oxford University. He attended the Fourth World Congress of Sociology at Stresa, Italy, and lectured at several American universities. He continued to supervise a number of doctoral and master's students and completed a number of articles, including his annual essay on "Sociology" for the *Britannica Book of the Year*. He had also begun collaborating with John C. McKinney on a book on the theory and method of constructive typologies (Baker, 2000). As Gerth commented in his obituary for Becker, "He was a force" (H. Gerth, 1960, p. 744).

Becker was to begin his term as President of the ASA in August, 1960, but died of a stroke in Madison, June 8, 1960, at the age of 61. It was two months before he was scheduled to deliver his presidential address. His son, Christopher Bennett Becker, a historian at Yale University, completed his almost finished Presidential Address, "Greeks Bearing Gifts: Cosmos into Chaos." He read it for his father at the ASA meetings (H. P. Becker, 1962). Christopher had grown up without knowing the true identity of his grandfather or about his conviction and execution for murder, and he was astounded when he was first informed by a relative in the late 1980s. As one might expect of a historian, he became fascinated by the Rosenthal murder case and assembled a large collection of documents relating to it. When he died he was buried in the old cemetery at Callicoon Center, next to the grave of Conrad Becker, his grandfather's father (Dash, 2007, p. 352).

There were enough hard feelings toward Howard Becker that his death apparently did not occasion feelings of grief on the part of his colleagues in the Department of Sociology. Don Martindale reported that "a spontaneous cocktail party was held by Wisconsin sociologists in a joyous celebration of his death" (Martindale, 1982, p. 48). I have not been able to confirm this story. Martindale was then at the University of Minnesota, but he still had very close relations with Hans Gerth, so he could have been told this by Gerth. That would have been uncharacteristic of Gerth, however, since it was against his personal code to speak ill of the recently deceased. No one had greater grievances against Becker than Gerth, but Gerth's obituary for Becker published in the *American Sociological Review* was filled with words of praise and was devoid of criticism (H. Gerth, 1960). Thomas J. Scheff was in the Department of Sociology at the time of Becker's death, and he knows of no such celebration. He believed that Becker tried to use him—without success—and he shared the general negative sentiments toward Becker. Glenn Fuguitt was also present in the Department of Rural Sociology in June, 1960, and he thinks the story is dubious. He was usually in Agriculture

Hall rather than Sterling Hall, but he never heard anything about a party celebrating Becker's death. David Mechanic, Joseph Elder, and Jack Ladinsky joined the Sociology Department a short time after Becker's death, and though they heard many negative stories about Becker, none of them heard anything about a celebration as described by Martindale (Personal communications from Scheff, Fuguitt, Mechanic, Elder, and Ladinsky). No doubt most of the sociologists privately felt relief that Becker would no longer be around to make trouble, but I believe it is highly unlikely that there was a celebratory cocktail party. If anything of the nature occurred, it was probably nothing more than two or three people having a drink together and discussing how the death would affect the department. A "celebration" would have been an affront to Frances Bennett Becker, Howard's widow, who was held in high regard by everyone.

During Elder's first year at Wisconsin in 1961-1962 he was asked to read papers and assign grades to a graduate student and an undergraduate student who had earlier received Incompletes from Becker. He also recalled that a graduate student came during one of his office hours and "spent the entire hour describing how traumatized graduate students and junior faculty had been by Howard Becker. The graduate student described the sense of relief he and other graduate students felt now that Howard Becker was gone" (Joseph W. Elder, personal communication).

Becker's family left Madison in a matter of days after his death, selling most of his extensive personal library and the house in Shorewood Hills. Jack Ladinsky says that even after the family had claimed or sold most of the books and office possessions, there remained a considerable number of books on his office shelves, mostly in foreign languages, as well as "dozens and dozens" of bound PhD dissertations, master's theses, and term papers. He was invited to help himself to any remaining items but found little that interested him except for a copy of E. A. Ross' autobiography. Most of the remaining books and bound theses and papers have since been lost. His personal papers from 1923 to 1960 are now stored in 45 boxes and 5 card trays in the UW-Madison Archives.

Frances Bennett Becker moved to Washington, D.C., but in 1968 returned to Madison to marry Merle Curti, the distinguished professor of history at Wisconsin, who was a long-time family friend. The wives of the Sociology colleagues gave her an afternoon party in celebration (N. Gerth, 2002, p. 150). Frances died in 1978, but Merle Curti lived until 1996 and died at the age of 98. Howard Paul and Frances Bennett Becker are both buried in Mann's Chapel Cemetery, Rossville, Illinois, Vermilion County, near Frances' birthplace. Frances' father and mother, Edwin D. and Effie Bennett, and nine others from the Bennett family are buried in the same cemetery.

Hans Heinrich Gerth (1908-1978)

Hans H. Gerth was a non-Jewish political refugee from Nazi Germany, who escaped to England and then to the United States in 1937, one step ahead of the Gestapo. He was the last of the early notables to arrive at the University of Wisconsin before the Sewell era. He was unique in building an international reputation as a gifted scholar of the German sociological tradition primarily on the basis of his teaching and his translations of important works by Max Weber rather than from his own original publications.

A Complex Personality

Gerth was the only one in the early group of notables whom I knew personally, since he was still in the department during my first eight years at Wisconsin, during three of which I served as chair. Yet I found this one of the most difficult chapters to write, sorting out the tangled web of relationships, conflicts, and rivalries involving Gerth, Howard Becker, C. Wright Mills, Don Martindale, and Gerth's other colleagues. The relationship between Gerth and Mills blew hot and cold over the years, but a rivalry between the partisans of Gerth—mostly former students—and the partisans of Mills continued long after the principals died, with sharply different claims and interpretations.

Gerth never wrote an autobiography, but fortunately we have valuable accounts of his life by the two people who probably knew him best. One is a formal biography by his second wife, Nobuko Gerth (N. Gerth, 2002). A wife's biography of her husband is generally seen as a biased source, but Nobuko's biography has the great virtue of being based substantially on her rich collection of Gerth's letters and other papers, along with her memories of their life together. She is also frank in acknowledging Gerth's weaknesses in addition to documenting his strengths. The book's sometimes bitter accusatory tone is probably in part a reflection of Gerth's own interpretation of situations and events. There is no question that Gerth was treated unfairly over a long period of time and that he suffered an appalling number of reverses in his career, but his suspicions and resentments were often exaggerated.

The other account is a memoir about Gerth by Don Martindale written without access to letters or documentary evidence and based on personal recollections (Martindale, 1982). I am aware that there are some inaccuracies in his account, particularly with regard to time sequences, and that is not surprising for someone trying to reconstruct events after twenty years without any documentary landmarks. Martindale was one of my first graduate teachers, and I have very fond memories of him as an exceedingly brilliant man and a man with great empathy and concern for other people. Martindale had been a student of Becker but shifted to Gerth when Becker was away for an extended period in Germany, and they became close friends. Just how close is suggested by the fact that Martindale volunteered to help Gerth build a house next door to the one that he was building for himself. He also became a collaborator with Gerth in translating some of Weber's works and suffered the usual frustrations of working with Gerth. In their intimate friendship Gerth spoke freely to Martindale about the various experiences of his life, from childhood onward. Of all Gerth's students, I believe that he had the most realistic view of Gerth—an unbounded appreciation of his remarkable gifts but also a critical awareness of his limitations.

Oddly enough, both the Nobuko Gerth biography and the Martindale memoir are hard to find in American libraries or used book stores, and there were no copies of either in the University of Wisconsin libraries when I began work on this history. Nobuko Gerth's book was published in Germany and has been out of print, but she sent me a copy to place in the UW-Madison library. Martindale's book was published by an obscure firm in India. I have not been able to discover the reason for his choosing to publish it there, though it was a part of the Intercontinental Series in Sociology, for which he and Joseph S. Roucek served as Advisory Editors. When I asked Nobuko if Martindale ever told her why he published the book in India, she wrote the following:

I have no idea why he published it in India and I had no idea that he was doing it. After Hans' death at the end of 1978, Don was writing to me very often, advising me to publish Hans' essays . . . but never mentioned that he was writing Hans's life. I learned of it first at Joseph Bensman's in New York because he had a copy. . . . I received a copy of Don's book later signed "To Nobi, with Love, Edith and Don, June 6, 1983" in Edith's handwriting. The book showed his ambivalence toward Hans, and I felt he did not want me to know of it or read it. I knew of his feelings all along and that was his affair. What made me upset was that so many "facts" were wrong. I found a slip of paper in the book on which I wrote about my first impressions of the book: "Don has a fantastic way of telling stories in such definitive ways that one mistakes them as

facts. The Memoir makes an interesting reading but the facts and his imaginations are merged. What he presents as facts are often wrong or at best not more than his interpretative judgments based on his memory.” I decided at that time that some day I would write Hans’s biography based on research (N. Gerth to Middleton, Jan. 3, 2014).

I respected Gerth as a brilliant and thoroughly knowledgeable scholar, but I never got to know him well during our eight years together. Nobuko Gerth wrote that her husband was “unable to carry on ‘small talk’ at cocktail parties,” and in this respect was like his hero, Max Weber, who was also normally a voluble talker (N. Gerth, 2002, pp. 215-216). It was often difficult to have a casual conversation with Gerth, because as soon as you asked a question or made an observation on almost any subject, he might launch into a “lecture”—a monologue that ran on and on without pauses that would permit you to make a response or interrupt. Most academics do not like to be lectured to in a social setting, and Nobuko thought that his tendency to “talk endlessly” may have contributed to his isolation and intellectual alienation within the department (N. Gerth, 2002, pp. 229-230). This volubility of Gerth was a characteristic that went back to his high school days, and it was such a noticeable trait that it led Martindale, who was generally an admirer, to entitle his book about Gerth *The Monologue*. According to both Nobuko Gerth and Martindale, Gerth was perfectly aware that he turned people off by talking too much and that he sometimes snatched defeat from victory by continuing to talk after his point had been made. Yet, he was seemingly unable to recognize the social cues that he should cut his comments short or to control his impulse to talk. This volubility, along with his forgetfulness, and difficulty in completing long sustained projects, remind me somewhat of the characteristics of an adult person troubled with ADHD.

Gerth and I were friendly, but never intimate. He was always courteous, courtly, and gentlemanly in an Old World way, but perhaps overly deferential to persons in positions of authority. When I was chair I was made acutely uncomfortable whenever he showed any signs of deference toward me—something that I regarded as egregiously inappropriate as a young sociologist in the early stages of my career. Martindale had the same experience when he first returned to the campus after military service wearing his army captain’s uniform, and Gerth at first reacted with unmistakable signs of deference. Many aspects of his complex personality remained an enigma to me until I read the books by Nobuko Gerth and Martindale, which proved to be very enlightening. In this account I follow their lead, supplemented by my own memories and the memories and stories of colleagues and former students.

Early Life in Germany

Gerth was born April 24, 1908, in Kassel, in northern Hesse, Germany, where the Brothers Grimm compiled their fairy tales in the early 19th century. His father went through trade schools to become a construction engineer and eventually was employed as a civil servant of the city of Kassel supervising sewer construction. His mother was a good natured woman who came from a farm family. A sister was born two years before Gerth. Both mother and father were Reformed Evangelical Protestants. Neither parent had any university education, but they had high educational ambitions for their son. They entered him in a *Gymnasium*, a 9-year secondary school similar to an English grammar school or an American prep school and a normal avenue to admission to a university.

Gerth's father died when he was twelve, and after the Treaty of Versailles, conditions of life even for the middle classes in Germany became very difficult. Forced reparations and protective tariffs against German goods brought about economic depression and super inflation, resulting in widespread hunger (N. Gerth, 2002, pp. 13-16). During the hunger years Gerth was able to spend his school vacations at his mother's parents' farm, where there was adequate food. Nostalgic memories of those summers on his grandparents' farm led him in 1958 to move to the small village of Roxbury about 22 miles northwest of Madison. After two and one-half years the daily commute to Madison became burdensome, and he moved back to Madison. After that the Roxbury house was a vacation retreat until 1965 when the house was destroyed in a propane explosion caused by a defective heating system (N. Gerth, 2002, pp. 130-131).

In *Gymnasium* Gerth had nine years of Latin classes, and it was his favorite subject. His teacher sought to curb his incessant talking by assigning him long passages of Latin texts to memorize as punishment. His favorite teacher, however, taught geography and served as school librarian. Gerth worked in the library after school to assist his teacher, and he helped to kindle Gerth's love of graphic arts. At the age of ten Gerth also started taking piano lessons and proved to be very talented in music. He became very proficient at reading music, and throughout his life he loved to play the piano for enjoyment and solace. During his youth the *Wandervogel* youth movement with a romantic dedication to living a simple life close to nature was very popular, but Gerth was more interested in politics. At fifteen he joined the *Arbeiter Jugend* (Workers' Youth) and began to associate with friends with a socialist orientation. He read socialist literature voraciously and even took a course on historical materialism at the Adult School. He helped some of the worker children with their studies. During a May Day parade he joined

with the sons of workers to carry a red flag at the head of the Young Workers' Chorus—an unheard of act by a *Gymnasium* student.

University Education

Gerth discovered Max Weber while he was still a *Gymnasium* student in Kassel, borrowing Weber's essays on "Politics as a Vocation" and "Science as a Vocation" from the Kassel City Library. He became an immediate—and lifelong—devotee and determined to study with Weber at Heidelberg University, about 150 miles to the south of Kassel. When he arrived in Heidelberg in 1927 to begin his studies he was greatly disappointed to learn that Max Weber had died seven years earlier at the young age of 56, and that the Professor Weber then at Heidelberg was Alfred, Max's younger brother. Gerth initially studied law and national economy and took courses with Alfred Weber, Emil Lederer, Arnold Bergstraesser, and Heinrich Mitteis. He wrote a paper for Bergstraesser's seminar on Ferdinand Lassale, a socialist activist in the 19th century who was one of the founders of a party that became the Social Democratic Party. Bergstraesser was impressed and recommended that Gerth speak with Karl Mannheim, a Hungarian sociologist who was a *Privatdozent*, an outside lecturer qualified to teach at the university without holding a chair and without necessarily being paid by the university. Gerth's summer vacation intervened, and he spent it studying Georg Lukács's *Geschichte und Klassenbewusstsein: Studien über marxistische Dialektik* (History and Class Consciousness: Studies About Marxist Dialectics). He found it a useful key to studying other classic writers such as Hegel, Rickert, Kant, and Fichte (N. Gerth, 2002, p. 23).

When Gerth went to see Mannheim after his summer vacation, he happened to mention that he had been reading Lukács, without realizing that Lukács had been Mannheim's mentor and friend in Budapest in the days before and during World War I. They both were Jewish Hungarians, and while Mannheim became a sociologist interested in ideology and the sociology of knowledge, the older Lukács became a leading humanistic Marxist philosopher. Lukács became a Communist and joined the revolutionary government of the 133-day Hungarian Soviet Republic in 1919 as People's Commissar for Education and Culture. Mannheim did not follow his example and become a Communist, but through Lukács' influence he did secure a position in a teacher training school during the Soviet Republic. The government led by Béla Kun, an ultra-leftist Communist who presided over a "Red Terror" campaign, was overthrown in August, 1919, and a counter-revolutionary government under the leadership of Rear Admiral Miklós Horthy was installed. It carried out a "White Terror" campaign of violence directed primarily against Communists and Jews over the next two years, and

Lukács fled to Austria and Mannheim to Germany. Mannheim first went to Freiburg and later to Heidelberg, where he studied with Alfred Weber. He qualified to teach as a *Privatdozent* at the university in 1926.

When Gerth came to see Mannheim in Heidelberg, Mannheim was delighted to find a student who was familiar with German philosophy and socialist theory, and immediately asked him to be his unofficial assistant, though he did not have funds to pay him. Gerth was happy to hitch his wagon to a rising academic star. Gerth performed mundane duties such as running errands to the library, searching for new books that might be of interest to Mannheim, and helping students who had difficulty understanding Mannheim's lectures. In the evening Mannheim often went to the Café Krall to work on his book *Ideologie und Utopie*, and Gerth would accompany him. Mannheim was not a native speaker of German and felt that his writing in German was often awkward and stilted, so when he finished writing a page, he would hand it to Gerth to edit for style. Ironically, the roles were reversed later in life when Gerth was translating Weber and other German authors to English and depended on his graduate students and C. Wright Mills to improve his English. Mannheim also depended on Gerth to add documentary material and make sure the references were correct. *Ideologie und Utopie* was published in 1929 and proved to be a landmark book that established the field of the sociology of knowledge on a firm foundation. It was one of the most influential books of this period, and it made Mannheim's reputation, though Marxists and neo-Marxists were cool toward it. Gerth changed his major to sociology and joined the Mannheim seminar, taking five classes with him during his two years in Heidelberg. He was influenced perhaps even more by the economist Emil Lederer and took seven classes with him (N. Gerth, 2002, pp. 23-27).

Gerth gloried in the intellectual life of his student days in Heidelberg. He recalled fondly,

Education in those days had human elements. To teach, to study, to participate in seminars are altogether a way of life. One discussed intellectual concerns that happened to occupy one's mind then; a Schumpeter essay, for instance, with friends sitting in a coffee house or taking a walk (N. Gerth, 2002, p. 27).

Gerth pursued the various learning opportunities in high gear, but the intensity of the intellectual pressures proved too great and he flamed out with a "nervous breakdown" after five semesters. Mannheim and Lederer thought that he needed a change of environment, and they arranged for him to study for two terms between October, 1929, and March, 1930, at the London School of Economics. Among the notable professors he studied with

in England were Harold Laski, Morris Ginsberg, R. H. Tawney, and Lionel Robbins. Afterwards he also attended international seminars in Davos, Switzerland, and heard Albert Einstein and Werner Sombart speak. These experiences whetted his desire to study abroad and he applied for several fellowships to study in the United States and Britain. He received strong recommendations from many of his teachers, including Mannheim's endorsement that "Hans Gerth is the most gifted of all my former students," but he did not receive any of the fellowships (N. Gerth, 2002, pp. 30-33).

Mannheim was appointed Professor of Sociology at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main (usually referred to as Frankfurt University) in 1930, and Gerth and many of Mannheim's other students at Heidelberg followed him to Frankfurt. The university was founded in 1914 with private funding and had a reputation as the most progressive in Germany. Because of its more liberal orientation and nondiscrimination policy, it had more Jewish faculty members and students than the older universities. Gerth was a member of the Mannheim seminar and continued his studies for five semesters at Frankfurt, taking classes with Mannheim, Paul Tillich, Adolph Lowe, and others. A rival intellectual center for the social sciences with a more Marxist orientation was the Institute for Social Research under the direction of Max Horkheimer. There was rivalry and competition between the sociological Mannheim circle and the Institute group, but they were not antagonistic and students could freely take classes in the rival center. Gerth himself took classes each semester from Institute faculty, including Horkheimer, Friedrich Pollock, and Theodor W. Adorno. After the Nazi takeover in Germany and the dismissal of much of the Frankfurt faculty, Horkheimer managed to move the Institute to America, where its members came to be referred to as the "Frankfurt School" (N. Gerth, 2002, pp. 33-34).

Norbert Elias, who had a PhD from Breslau, came to Heidelberg to work on his habilitation (second dissertation) project with Alfred Weber so that he could qualify as a university lecturer. He became Mannheim's official paid assistant in Heidelberg, and Mannheim induced him to take the same position in Frankfurt with the promise that he could continue to work on his habilitation. He was an excellent teacher who devoted most of his time to helping Mannheim's students, and though Gerth had little contact with Elias, Nobuko Gerth wrote that "it was said that the center of the of the circle was not Mannheim, but Elias" (N. Gerth, 2002, p. 37). Mannheim wanted Gerth to continue as an assistant as well, but since he had no funds for a second assistant, he asked Elias to share his small salary with Gerth. This was certainly an unfair request that caused Elias to be resentful, since Elias already had a PhD, and Gerth was still a predoctoral student like others Elias was tutoring. Elias completed his habilitation thesis and submitted

it, but it was never accepted. He and Mannheim were both Jewish and dismissed from the university in 1933 when the Nazis assumed power. Elias went first to Paris and by 1939 to England, becoming once more reunited with Mannheim at the London School of Economics. He was interned for eight months during World War II as an “enemy alien,” but after the war he acquired British citizenship and had a distinguished career in sociology.

In January, 1933, just as the Nazi depredations at Frankfurt University were beginning, Gerth took a job as a research assistant at the World Economic Institute of Kiel University under a Rockefeller grant. Gerth assisted Rudolf Heberle in gathering data to analyze the results of elections in several north German states from 1919 to 1932. Gerth got valuable experience interviewing farmers and carrying out statistical analyses, as well as gathering qualitative data. Conditions became difficult as the Institute began to be visited by aggressive storm troopers (SA) who terrorized professors and secretaries. Those who wished to remain were forced to wear SA brown shirts. The Rockefeller grant was suspended in March, 1934, and Gerth lost his job.

Gerth’s professors, who were mostly Jewish, were dismissed from Frankfurt University in April, 1933, and Gerth faced the problem of finding an examining committee for his dissertation. Under Mannheim’s supervision he had written on the social position of bourgeois liberal intellectuals at the turn of the 18th century in Germany. After months of searching he was unable to find anyone who would accept the task, and he finally appealed to Ernst Krieck, the newly appointed President of Frankfurt University. Krieck was a Nazi, but he agreed to take him on, and he recruited two other professors for the committee. To make the dissertation acceptable to the Nazis, Gerth removed the names of all Jews who had played important roles in German liberalism from the dissertation. Gerth passed the examination and received a distinction of “very good”—leading Gerth to speculate that Krieck had not read the dissertation. The university required him to have 200 copies of his dissertation printed before it would award the degree, and it was another two years before he could raise sufficient money for the printing. With the help of his future fiancée, he finally succeeded and the degree was awarded in April, 1936. It was republished by an established German publishing house forty years later in 1976 (N. Gerth, 2002, pp. 40-41).

Journalist in Nazi Germany

Gerth’s efforts to move to Britain did not bear fruit, so after he lost his job at Kiel, he moved to Berlin where he thought he might be able to find a position as a journalist, like some of his friends from student days. Gerth had established a friendship at Kiel University with Countess Hedwig Ide Reventlow, and she arranged for him to meet her cousin, Count Albrecht Bernstorff, a

banker in Berlin. Bernstorff in turn gave him two signed calling cards introducing him to two of his friends in the press. The *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* had no openings, but Paul Scheffer, the new editor of the *Berliner Tageblatt*, was willing to give him a trial, after which he became a trainee, and then a full-fledged staff writer.

The *Berliner Tageblatt* had been part of the advertising empire of the wealthy Jewish Mosse family. It was founded by Rudolf Mosse in 1872 and came to be regarded as the liberal Jewish newspaper in Germany. When the Nazis came to power they ousted the Mosse family from control, but Joseph Goebbels, the Propaganda Minister, did not at first insist that it print government propaganda, since he wanted to convince the West that there was still a free press in Germany. Paul Scheffer, their liberal-minded foreign correspondent, agreed to become the new editor after he was assured by the Propaganda Ministry that the newspaper would be allowed a high degree of editorial independence. Scheffer was bitterly condemned by Jewish refugee intellectuals for his willingness to take the position, and after he himself gave up and became a refugee to the United States in 1937, they remained hostile. Many regarded him as a collaborator.

Gerth also suffered repercussions from his willingness to work at the newspaper after it came under Nazi control. George L. Mosse, the grandson of Rudolf Mosse, had to flee Germany along with his family in 1933 when the Nazis took over, and he went to England and the United States to study, eventually earning a PhD in history at Harvard. In 1955 he became a Professor of History at the University of Wisconsin in Madison and was regarded as one of the university's most distinguished professors. The George L. Mosse Humanities Building, which currently houses history, music, and art, was named in his honor. Built in the stark Brutalist style, it has been the most architecturally controversial building on campus from the time of its construction. Mosse published more than twenty-five books and was best known for his studies of Nazism. He never forgave Scheffer for taking the editor's position, and he was also critical of Gerth for working at the newspaper (N. Gerth, 2002, pp. 46-47).

Gerth worked at the *Berliner Tageblatt* for almost two years, trying to write about important subjects without venturing into areas that were sure to be censored by the authorities. Some subjects were definitely forbidden, but in gray areas Gerth tried to tell the truth by finding ways to outwit the censors. According to Nobuko Gerth,

It was a war of wits and a race with time to beat the censor in writing about the intellectual areas not yet touched by censorship. . . . Gerth learned the art of getting the point across to the readers without informing them directly. He said it was like walking on a circus tight rope.

One chose words very carefully, so that the public could read “between the lines” to discern what was really going on. They often resorted to history and analogy as useful tools to explain the present. To criticize propaganda films, Gerth not only used references to historical figures, but also Aesop’s Fables, Goethe’s *Reinecke Fucks* [Reynard the Fox], Grimms’ fairy-tales, and other classics (N. Gerth, 2002, p. 52).

Though Scheffer was very complimentary to Gerth, he dismissed him from the newspaper at the end of 1935 because of “organizational necessities.” The reason was never clear. Gerth thought that some rivalry or intrigue among the editors might have been responsible. Some of the staff criticized him because he was often late in completing his writing assignments. Scheffer thought that he was not an effective writer on foreign policy. Margret Boveri, a colleague at the newspaper, suggested that there may have simply been a wish to restore some quiet to the editorial offices. She wrote that Gerth’s incessant talking became very taxing to the listeners, and “with Gerth, one ended up listening against one’s will” (N. Gerth, 2002, p. 55). Martindale’s interpretation on the basis of what Gerth told him was that Gerth, with his penchant for outwitting the censors on sensitive subjects and testing the boundaries of censorship, was becoming simply too dangerous for the newspaper to retain on its staff (Martindale, 1982, pp. 22-23). This seems to me to be the most likely explanation.

Hedwig Ide Reventlow was a student of economics at Kiel University when Gerth first met her, and they soon became good friends. She was writing her thesis on the agricultural economy in Schleswig Holstein, the state where she was born, and developed radical views. Since Gerth was working on a similar topic at the World Economic Institute, he could help her with her research. After she graduated from Kiel she studied at Oxford for a year, but when she returned to Kiel she found notices on bulletin boards that she had been ousted from the university for “having studied abroad without permission of the Nazi Student Organization.” She was barred from using the library and all campus facilities. She then moved to Berlin and sought Gerth’s advice on how to continue her studies. He suggested that she ask Professor Constantin v. Dietze, an eminent agricultural economist at the University of Berlin, to supervise her doctoral studies. Her presence at the university was maintained in semi-secrecy, and one of Gerth’s friends provided her office space and checked out books for her. She passed her examination for the PhD in economics in December, 1936, with a dissertation on the development of British agrarian protection, and it was published in Berlin the following year (N. Gerth, 2002, pp. 115-116). Through this period Hedwig and Gerth lived in the same neighborhood in Berlin and began to see more of each other. In time the friendship blossomed into a romance

and then into an engagement to be married. Her mother was strongly opposed to her marrying a penniless commoner, but Hedwig would not be dissuaded. It led to a painful break with her family that was never fully reconciled.

Between 1935 and 1938 Gerth was a freelance journalist, continuing to submit articles to the *Berliner Tageblatt*, but also to the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, being paid by the line. He also worked briefly in the Berlin Bureau of the *Chicago Daily News* and for approximately nine months as an editor at the Berlin office of the *United Press* (Martindale, 1982, p. 24; N. Gerth, 2002, pp. 60-61).

Escape to America

Gerth had been attempting to flee to England since 1933, and was corresponding with Mannheim who had managed to find a position at the London School of Economics. An aborted attempt to write to the Academic Assistance Council in England led to Gerth's being interrogated by the Gestapo when he was in Kiel in 1933. Nothing came of this, but in September, 1937, in Berlin he was again called into Gestapo headquarters for interrogation. He was questioned about a Jewish merchant from his home town to whom he had confided some forbidden information, and it appeared that the merchant had given up Gerth's name, probably under torture. Gerth denied knowing the man, and the official did not immediately arrest him, but he announced, "Well, Dr. Gerth, you will hear from us." Gerth realized that he was in danger of being interned in a concentration camp or possibly executed, and he sought to escape immediately. Hedwig helped him to remove incriminating books and documents from his apartment, and she provided him with a train ticket to Kiel. In Kiel he managed to find a man who could alter the date on an old expired exit permit and used it to cross the Danish border safely. From there he made his way to England, where he also had some tense moments when an official asked him why he had no return ticket (N. Gerth, 2002, pp. 63-66).

The Academic Assistance Council was now called the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning, and though it was primarily concerned with helping Jewish refugee scholars to move to the United States, it did arrange for Gerth's visa to be extended. He did some work for Mannheim during this time, but he could find no permanent employment in England. Eventually he received a visitor's visa to the United States, but he had to solicit some disingenuous letters from friends to "prove" that he was merely visiting and did not intend to become a permanent resident and that he had sufficient funds for his support. The bogus documentation probably fooled no one, but both the British and the American governments wished to aid

the refugees from Nazism on humanitarian grounds (N. Gerth, pp. 66-69).

Gerth arrived in New York on the *Aquitania* from Southampton on Dec. 21, 1937. He was met by Edward A. Shils, probably at the request of Mannheim or Louis Wirth. Mannheim and several other scholars had also supplied him with letters of recommendation to help him find his way in America. These contacts led to an interview with Carl Joachim Friedrich and Gordon Allport at Harvard. They were looking for someone to assist in their research project on the attitudes of different social groups to a variety of newsreel topics. Gerth was given a three-month contract and set to work drafting a questionnaire and distributing 1000 copies to various organizations. He also gave a private seminar on Max Weber to a group of Harvard graduate students who were preparing for their PhD language examination in German. He remained at Harvard for most of the next year while he looked for a university teaching position, and he developed friendships with many of the people at Harvard. One of his closest friends was Robert K. Merton, who was two years younger than Gerth but shared his intense interest in European social theory. He also had four important friends at other universities helping him in his job search, providing him with strong letters of recommendation: Hans Speier at the New School for Social Research, Louis Wirth and Edward A. Shils at the University of Chicago, and Leonard W. Doob at Yale University (N. Gerth, 2002, pp. 77, 88). He had visiting appointments to teach at the University of Illinois in the summer of 1938 and at the University of Michigan during the spring semester of 1939. After he managed to secure a permanent residence visa and the offer of a few months of employment at Michigan, he arranged for Hedwig to come to the United States on a visitor's visa, using invitations from Doob and Merton as a pretext. They were married in Cambridge in December, 1938 (N. Gerth, 2002, pp. 71-82, 86).

Gerth still did not have a permanent position, and the academic market was saturated with German refugee scholars, mostly Jewish. Gerth was not happy at Michigan, where the chair and dominant individual was Robert C. Angell, a son-in-law of the pioneer sociologist Charles Horton Cooley. He was a conservative and, to Gerth's dismay, spoke glowingly about compulsory labor service to teach "community spirit" to Americans. To Gerth, this sounded much like some of the programs of the Nazis. The University of Illinois invited him back to teach during the summer of 1939, and he was happy to accept. The appointment was extended through the 1939-1940 academic year, and he was able to begin a research project doing a community study of Morton, Illinois.

Gerth Comes to Wisconsin

Gerth still had no offer of a job for the following year, but in the spring of 1940 Howard Becker gave a lecture at the University of Illinois and met Gerth. Not long afterwards Becker wrote to Gerth asking for his curriculum vitae and reprints of his publications, though he emphasized that he was writing only on his personal initiative and not in any formal capacity (UW-Madison Archives 7/33/6-1, Box 1, Folder 1937-1953, A-G).

The University of Wisconsin was trying to find a social psychologist to fill the void created when Kimball Young left the department. They wanted to find a replacement with a big name so that the department would not suffer a loss of prestige. They considered a number of well-known social psychologists, including George Lundberg, Gardner Murphy, Florian Znaniecki, and Raymond Sletto, but finally settled on Herbert Blumer. They knew, however, that they would have to offer a salary of at least \$5,000 to attract Blumer, but President Clarence A. Dykstra and Dean George C. Sellery balked at such a high salary. They wanted to replace Young with an instructor or assistant professor at a much lower salary, since they were in a difficult financial bind at the time. Gillin protested strenuously that this would seriously injure the department and cause a loss of prestige, but the administration was adamant. In the end the search came down to three junior candidates—Henry Shryock, James Edward Hulett, and Hans Gerth. The first two had been taught by Young, but it soon became clear that there would be little hope of attracting Shryock from his Census job at an authorized salary of \$3,500. There were some doubts of Hulett's originality and independence from Young's influence, so the department decided to consider Gerth. Gillin, who was the chair, was not sure of Gerth's ability to handle the social psychology course, and thought that Becker might give him some assistance with it (UW Archives 24/2/3 Box 70, Sociology, 1927-1941).

Gillin then sent Gerth a telegram asking him if he would be interested in taking a position at Wisconsin replacing Kimball Young. Gerth came to Madison the next day and underwent many hours of interviews, after which he was offered a two-year contract as Acting Assistant Professor of Social Psychology. He was especially impressed with E. A. Ross, who was still active in department affairs even though he was retired. Ross pointed to his shelf of twenty-eight books that he had written and said, "Look here, young man: all Ross." Afterwards Gerth liked to claim that he was hired by Ross (N. Gerth, 2002, pp. 95-96). Actually, it was Becker who was most responsible for his being hired, and Becker never let him forget it. He regarded Gerth as a very junior subordinate, and Gerth rarely resisted Becker's bullying and manipulation. Becker also maintained a monopoly over teaching

theory courses at first, though Gerth was clearly more knowledgeable about Max Weber and Mannheim. Gerth was originally relegated to teaching social psychology, which was only one of his many interests. When Becker went to Germany with the OSS in 1944, however, Gerth took over his theory courses while he was away.

An “Enemy Alien”

When Gerth first arrived in New York and visited the New School for Social Research he was shocked to find that many of the scholars in the *émigré* community were extremely hostile to him. They regarded him as a “late” emigrant with questionable anti-Nazi credentials, but they did not know that he had been trying to leave Germany since 1933. Even worse, he had worked for a newspaper that had been confiscated from a Jewish family and was under ultimate Nazi control. They would not accept his argument that he was trying to keep alive liberal ideas under difficult circumstances. He therefore began to turn more toward new American friends for assistance (N. Gerth, 2002, pp. 78-79).

A little over a year after Gerth began teaching at the University of Wisconsin, the United States went to war with Germany on December 11, 1941. The United States was never in danger of being invaded by Germany, though German submarines sank ships in the Atlantic coastal waters and put a few saboteurs ashore in New York and Florida. There were far too many persons of German ancestry for the government to intern them on a wholesale basis like the Japanese and Japanese Americans on the West Coast, but over 11,500 Germans and German Americans were evicted from coastal areas on an individual basis and interned. The United States also induced fifteen Latin American governments to expel over 4500 ethnic Germans for internment in the United States. Only a small percentage were Nazi party members and no more than eight were suspected of espionage (Adam, 2005, vol. 2, p. 182). Germans who were recent immigrants to the United States were forced to register as enemy aliens, even if they did not live in sensitive areas. The restrictions were lifted against most Germans on the West Coast a year later, but not for those in the rest of the country.

Becker had enough questions in his mind about Gerth that he wrote to Carl J. Friedrich, Gerth’s first employer at Harvard, to inquire about him two months after the war began. Friedrich wrote back reassuringly,

I certainly was surprised to have your inquiry about Hans Gerth. I have known Gerth ever since he came to this country, which must be more than five years ago, and it certainly seems to me that he is one of the least likely people to be accused of Nazi sympathies. His whole background

and training in Germany was of the Liberal variety and he came to this country because the Nazis would not let him remain in Germany. I have been in contact with him on several occasions since and he has always expressed himself as entirely out of sympathy with Nazi ideology (UW Madison Archives, 7/33-5, Box 1, Folder F).

Both Gerth and his wife Hedwig were required to be finger printed and registered as enemy aliens, and they were not permitted to leave Madison without a permit from the District Attorney. They were also prohibited from possessing cameras, radios, or maps. Gerth had filed papers requesting naturalization soon after he arrived in the United States in 1938, and in September, 1943, he appeared before an examiner at the Circuit Court in Madison for a hearing on his application, but he was turned down for citizenship. A reason may have been that the FBI had received some reports from people in Illinois between 1940 and 1942 who suspected that he might be a German spy. When he was doing his community study in Morton, he reportedly asked many questions about local industries. The nearby Peoria Merchants Association also was suspicious of Gerth. A former student from the University of Illinois reported that Gerth asked students to describe their own communities' social structures, and he kept the papers rather than returning them to the students. In addition, the wife of a University of Illinois professor complained that Gerth had made the statement at an Independence Day celebration in 1940 that the German army was the strongest in Europe—a statement that was unquestionably true at the time. These reports were sent to the FBI offices in Chicago and Milwaukee, and Gerth was questioned about his statement concerning the German army at his naturalization hearing. In 1943, however, he taught half-time for the US Army in the Civil Affairs Training Program organized by Becker to train Army officers for future Occupation jobs in the military government after the war. After the German surrender on May 8, 1945, the designation as enemy aliens ended, and two weeks later Gerth was finally able to become an American citizen (N. Gerth, 2002, pp. 97-101, 225-226).

Germany was devastated after the war, and conditions of extreme hunger existed through most of the country. Gerth found it difficult to find information about his mother and sister, since there was no postal service. He finally located them in the Soviet zone and found a way to send CARE and food packages to them through friends. He also initiated a drive to send CARE packages to Marianne Weber, the widow of Max Weber. He sent as many food packages as he could afford to his family and friends in Germany. Gerth's finances were totally depleted, and Hedwig was kept busy with the task of wrapping and mailing the food packages. Even Gerth's altruistic efforts to help those in need, however, were criticized by some who pointed



HANS HEINRICH GERTH
(UW ARCHIVES)

out that he was aiding only people in Germany and not those in countries in Eastern Europe who had suffered far greater death and destruction at the hands of the German army (N. Gerth, 2002, pp. 101-108).

After Germany's surrender suspicion that Gerth might have pro-Nazi sympathies quickly subsided, only to be replaced during the period of McCarthyism by suspicion that he might have radical or Communist sympathies. Gerth flew as a civilian employee of the War Department to Germany to investigate conditions there in 1947. Unknown to him, G-2 Headquarters, European Command, suspected him as a Communist courier and on his return requested US Customs to search his belongings for evidence. Again, an FBI report in March, 1950, stated

that a "confidential informant of unknown reliability" reported that Gerth was a pro-Communist, because he had supervised the thesis of a student who had supported Marxist theories. The FBI investigated the report and interviewed someone familiar with Gerth, most likely Howard Becker. The informant defended Gerth, calling him "an ardent German Social Democrat," akin to a "New Dealer" in America. According to Nobuko Gerth, who obtained the redacted 1952 FBI report, the informant assured the FBI that "he had no doubt concerning Gerth's loyalty to the American democratic system on the basis of his activities, expressions, and writings during this period" (N. Gerth, 2002, pp. 227-228).

In 1952 the Office of Education invited Gerth to apply for a position in a State Department project sending American academics to Germany to confer with and assist German educational leaders. The State Department requested the FBI's report on Gerth, and Gerth was rejected for the assignment. Nobuko Gerth wrote that the FBI report "no doubt" was sent to the University of Wisconsin administration and led the dean to resist his promotion, but this is only a suspicion without any concrete evidence (N. Gerth, 2002, p. 229).

Gerth had an appreciation for Marx, but he was primarily a follower of Max Weber and was by no means a Marxist. During the turbulent student demonstrations of the 1960s at the University of Wisconsin he even became the object of attack by a group of radical students, who invaded his seminar and demanded the floor to talk about Marxism. Gerth permitted them to do so, and when the interlopers ran out of things to say, he began to question

them about Marx's ideas. When they could not answer his questions, he began lecturing to them about Marx himself. The students were greatly impressed and soon were transformed from opponents to admirers of Gerth, even though his views were far more complex and sophisticated than their simplistic notions of Marxism (N. Gerth, 2002, p. 244)

Slow Academic Advancement

When Gerth was first employed at the University of Wisconsin in 1940, he was given a two-year contract as an Acting Assistant Professor at a base-level salary of \$3000. He was made an Assistant Professor in 1942 but without any increase in salary. In fact, his first raise of \$200 came only after he had been teaching five years and had completed work on his landmark book, *From Max Weber*. He wrote to Svend Riemer, who joined the department in 1946, "I am tired of seeing our graduate students getting \$3,500 jobs without even their PhD and I must have the pleasure of looking forward to a raise to \$3,200! Ain't I lucky?" (N. Gerth, 2002, p. 220).

Mark Ingraham, a mathematician who served as Dean from 1942 to 1961, developed an antipathy to Gerth, apparently because of the many student complaints about his teaching, and this had serious consequences for Gerth's career at Wisconsin. Nobuko Gerth claimed that Ingraham also objected to his distributing mimeographed copies of translations of some of Max Weber's writings to his students, arguing that it was inappropriate to distribute "enemy material" from a German scholar while the country was at war with Germany (N. Gerth, 2002, p. 100). Since she did not indicate the source of this charge, it was likely one of Gerth's own attempts to account for the dean's hostility, which he could not fathom. Weber was, of course, a German nationalist, but his ideas were not in the least compatible with Nazi doctrines. Such philistinism appears out of character for Dean Ingraham, who was a strong advocate of liberal education and was more sympathetic to the social sciences than other top administrators in the university in his day.

In spite of the dean's disfavor and only tepid support from his colleagues in the 1940s, Gerth managed to hang on to his position, but promotions came very slowly and his salary remained unconscionably low. At the same time that he was given a token raise in 1945, he was told that his contract would not be renewed after the 1945-46 academic year. Clearly, Dean Ingraham did not look with favor on Gerth's retention. Four of the six persons on the department executive committee, including the chair, Thomas McCormick, voted for his dismissal because of poor teaching of social psychology courses and the lack of publications. McCormick also had some doubts about Gerth's loyalty after receiving a communication from the Immigration and Naturalization Service about the grounds for denying him

citizenship. Becker, who was in Germany at the time wrote that it would be unfair to dismiss Gerth, since he was superior in scholarship to some others in the department. A number of student petitions on behalf of Gerth were also submitted to the department, but without noticeable effect (N. Gerth, 2002, p. 220).

Gerth had initially been hired as a replacement for Kimball Young to teach social psychology. During the 1945-46 year the department attempted to recruit a reputable senior social psychologist, but was again unsuccessful. The department was also faced with increasing enrollments with returning servicemen after the end of World War II. Finally, in desperation the department decided it would divide up the field of social psychology and retain Gerth to teach a course on social movements. In an embarrassing about-face, McCormick wrote to the dean that Gerth was “one of the ablest scholars in the country in . . . the Social Psychology of Social Movements, and that it would be a mistake to deprive our . . . students of his contribution” (N. Gerth, 2002, p. 222).

Gerth was retained, and in 1947 he was promoted to Associate Professor with tenure—but again with a mere \$200 raise. In 1954 the department sought to give Gerth a \$500 raise, but Dean Ingraham objected and only reluctantly allowed a \$250 raise. Again in 1956 the department voted to promote Gerth to Professor with a \$1000 raise, but Dean Ingraham and President E. B. Fred concurred in denying the promotion. Over the years the department made repeated attempts to raise Gerth’s salary up to a respectable level, and they were consistently blocked by the administration, which appeared to be intent on forcing him out of the university. Finally, after eleven years as an Associate Professor, in 1958 the administration permitted his promotion to Professor, but without any salary increase. By 1960 Gerth’s salary was below that of all other Full Professors and four of the five Associate Professors in the Department. The mistreatment of Gerth became a widely known academic scandal that harmed the reputation of the university and the department (N. Gerth, 2002, pp. 222-224).

Dean Ingraham retired as Dean in 1961, and subsequent deans did not show the same hostility to Gerth, though they continued to be concerned about the many undergraduate complaints about his style of teaching. Although the department Executive Committee tried to reduce salary inequities, Gerth’s salary continued to lag behind that of nearly all of his colleagues of equivalent rank. The department had a meritocratic system for dividing up merit raise funds, permitting each member to submit his own proposed distribution after examining annual reports of each colleague. A budget committee took these recommendations into account in determining final raises. Gerth and another long-term professor consistently received the lowest recommended raises. The problem with this “merit system,” however,

was that the number of authored articles and books was the predominant basis for judgments of merit. Edited works were given less credit, and translations even less. Teaching and service contributions played only a small role, and equity considerations were generally applied only in the final adjustments by the Budget Committee. Gerth's contributions were primarily through teaching and translations, and thus were undervalued.

Gerth was very unhappy with his position at Wisconsin and accepted visiting professorships whenever he could, since they usually gave him a salary twice as high as the salary he received at Wisconsin, though his salary at Frankfurt in 1967 was less than it was at Wisconsin. From 1954 to 1967 he had visiting appointments at Brandeis, Columbia, Berkeley, Hitotsubashi and Tokyo Universities in Japan, Minnesota, CUNY, and Frankfurt, but none of these resulted in the offer of a permanent faculty position. He had inquiries and in some cases interviews at Chicago, Brandeis, Tokyo Christian University, Harpur College SUNY, and Queen's University in Canada, but these also failed to bring offers. He even applied for positions through the notices of the American Sociological Association—all to no avail (N. Gerth, 2002, p. 225).

Most universities shied away from professors whom they judged ill-suited to teach large introductory undergraduate courses, and they may have regarded Gerth as too much of a luxury or "ornament." By the 1960s the sociology department at UW-Madison was the nation's largest. It had a little more flexibility in course assignments and could make better use of Gerth's unique strengths in small, advanced courses, but there were limits, since all the faculty wanted to teach advanced classes and seminars. It was not until 1971 that Gerth finally received the offer of a permanent professorship at Frankfurt, only to have his dreams shattered once he took up his new position.

Gerth recognized that refugee professors from Germany in the 1930s generally had a difficult time finding appropriate employment in the United States, and they often had low salaries and poor prospects for promotion. He knew of many who were much worse off than he was, and in fact some were envious of his position at the University of Wisconsin (N. Gerth, 2002, p. 230-231). Nevertheless, Gerth's low salary and limited standard of living were well below his expectations for what a professor would have received in Germany during the period when he was a student. Professors at Heidelberg and Frankfurt were in one of the highest levels of society and lived very comfortably. His low salary and delayed promotions were an affront to his ego. So was the lesser deference that professors received from their students in the United States (Oakes and Vidich, 1999).

Domestic Life

Gerth's first wife, the Countess Hedwig Ide Reventlow, was from a wealthy noble family with forest estates in northern Germany. Growing up she had her own suite of rooms in the family castle and her own grand piano and stable of horses. Even though Gerth was a virtually penniless commoner when they first met, she was attracted to him in large part because of his brilliant mind and their common interest in economic and sociological studies. When Gerth worked as a journalist in Berlin he often received tickets to review music or drama productions, and he used them to advance his courtship. He would come to the office dressed in his best clothes, wearing spats, and carrying a cane, and Hedwig would meet him there. Martindale reported, "His newspaper colleagues were amazed to see him stride off to review a play, musical event, or a movie with the countess on his arm." Hedwig also delighted in their defiance of social convention, laughing as they stepped into a taxi (Martindale, 1982, p. 20). When they announced their engagement, however, the opposition of her mother and family to the marriage caused her much grief. She continued to suffer from their rejection for the rest of her life and this led eventually to tragedy.

After she came to the United States and married Gerth, Hedwig settled into the domestic life of a housewife, with a meager family income and without household help. Although she had a PhD in economics, she was not able to find academic employment in the same place as her husband because of widespread nepotism rules at that time. She did help Gerth in editing his manuscripts and helping him with his translations, but he never gave her credit as a co-author, co-editor, or co-translator, except for a bibliography on Max Weber published in *Social Research* in 1949. She was unused to physical labor or mundane domestic chores growing up. Gerth had early showed promise of a brilliant scholarly career, and Hedwig was apparently dismayed that Gerth's career as a refugee academic seemed to be stalled, with a very low salary and long delays before promotions. She was by nature a stoic and reserved person and was always uncomplaining, but the austerity and economic hardship of their lives in Madison no doubt had a wearing effect on her. The birth of their two daughters, Anne and Julia, greatly increased her domestic work load, since Gerth never offered to help with those tasks. He even expanded her work by bringing home unanticipated guests for dinner and insisting that she serve drinks and snacks to the many students he invited to their apartment and house in the evening.

Martindale saw Hedwig almost daily for a year during the house-building project, and he became well acquainted with her, though she rarely spoke of her family, her social rank, or her own academic career: "Hedwig clearly became uncomfortable whenever Gerth talked about her family and

position in her presence and quietly indicated disapproval” (Martindale, 1982, pp. 132-133). After the Martindales moved to St. Paul, the two families continued to exchange family visits. Gerth began to treat the Martindales almost as family, and he was not deterred from repeatedly bringing up a continuing family argument in their presence. Gerth wanted Hedwig to go back to her family in Germany and reclaim her personal property, particularly the grand piano that he coveted: “She winced every time he exclaimed, ‘What do you think of this woman, who does not even want to claim what is hers?’” He ignored her response, “I don’t want to discuss it.” Gerth was insensitive to her feeling that this would humble her before her family and violate her sense of pride (Martindale, 1982, pp. 139-140).

In the summer of 1950 Gerth finally did persuade Hedwig to go with her two daughters to visit her family in Germany while Gerth remained behind to work with Mills on *Character and Social Structure*. He used his advance from the publisher to finance the trip. Hedwig had not seen her mother for ten years, and the visit did not go well. She spent a miserable summer there but did reclaim some personal property and her Grotrian-Steinweg grand piano, which was shipped back in March, 1951, “giving great joy to the family, especially to Gerth” (N. Gerth, 2002, p. 117). Martindale’s book is in error, conflating events in 1950 and 1954.

In 1954 Gerth was granted a leave of absence to teach in the spring semester at Brandeis University in Waltham, Massachusetts, and in the summer at Columbia in New York City. Housing was difficult to obtain in Waltham, so he proposed that Hedwig take the children and spend the next six months with her family in Germany. He thought she would welcome this vacation and did not sense how despondent she was. On January 21, 1954, she took her own life, less than two weeks before her scheduled departure for Germany. While Gerth and her younger daughter were at home, she locked herself in the bathroom, slashed her wrists and stabbed herself twice in the chest. She died as the ambulance arrived, delayed because the hospital called the police first before sending an ambulance (N. Gerth, 2002, p. 118; Martindale, 1982, pp. 141-143).

Gerth was totally devastated by his wife’s suicide and was distraught. Francis Bennett Becker, Howard Becker’s wife, quickly arrived on the scene and took charge, removing the children from the premises, putting on an apron, and scrubbing away the blood in the bathroom. The Kolishes took in the children and other friends also arrived on the scene to give assistance, including William Sewell, Douglas Marshall, and one graduate student, Archie Haller. According to Haller, Gerth was repeatedly crying out in the next room, “Why did she do this to ME!” Those present were aghast and tried to quiet him from this unseemly outburst. Research studies on the grieving process indicate that it is not unusual for there to be some degree of anger

in reaction to the death of a loved one, but it is difficult for others and even for the griever himself to acknowledge this anger, which is a very natural emotion. Therese Rando writes, “. . . you must recognize that grief normally involves reactions that would signify mental illness in other circumstances, or that may be contrary to the way you usually are” (Rando, 1988, pp. 29, 244).

Haller and his wife Hazel attended Hedwig’s funeral but were upset when during the service the minister railed against anyone who would commit suicide. And then a bizarre request was made to Haller:

Then, still traumatized by the whole affair, I was given the job of getting a death mask made for her. Death mask? Never heard of such a thing. And where do you find people to make them? Well, Madison—and Wisconsin—is a pretty German town. I found someone who made it for her (Archie O. Haller, personal communication, 2014).

The suicide unhinged Gerth, and he began to lash out at those around him. When Gerth came to his office the next day he responded to his colleagues’ attempts to express their sympathy by attacking them in his anger and despair. Martindale heard that Gerth launched a “savage and accusatory tirade during which he rehashed all of his complaints against the department and attributed responsibility for his tragedy to them” (Martindale, 1982, p. 144). The next month, however, Gerth wrote a conciliatory note from Brandeis to his Wisconsin colleagues giving “many heartfelt thanks” for the flowers they sent and for their condolences. He still believed, however, that the economic and psychological affronts he had suffered in his own career had played a role in his wife’s suicide. Three months later he wrote to a friend, “Dean Ingraham gave proud H. I. Blows which I was helpless to ward off. ‘Noblesse oblige’ is unknown to this leather hearted brutal administration” (N. Gerth, 2002, p. 224).

We can never know what prompted Hedwig’s suicide. Did Gerth’s stunted career advancement have something to do with it? Did Hedwig think that Gerth was sending her away because he regarded her as a burden? Did she feel unfulfilled and disappointed with a life of mundane chores simply as a housewife? Was she unable to face the prospect of another miserable summer with her rejecting family? Gerth seems to have settled on this last interpretation after he found one of her notes in which she wrote, “How on earth can I face another summer ‘at home’—not be yourself, to share with others. . . .” (N. Gerth, 2002, p. 119).

One of Hedwig’s close German friends, a Mrs. Hopf, volunteered to accompany the two daughters to Germany, and Francis Becker drove Gerth, the girls, and Mrs. Hopf to New York City. She was afraid to trust the driving

to Gerth in his agitated state. The Wisconsin sociology faculty contributed money to pay Mrs. Becker's expenses (N. Gerth, 2002, pp. 118-119).

Gerth spent the spring semester at Brandeis and the summer at Columbia, but then went to Frankfurt, Germany, to begin a year's leave of absence. With the help of Theodore Adorno in Frankfurt, he applied for and received a Fulbright Fellowship for his support. His two daughters had been living with relatives of Hedwig, and Anne, the older daughter joined him in the fall. Julia, the younger daughter, however, preferred to remain with her aunt. Gerth had hoped to find a position at Frankfurt and remain in Germany, but when that did not materialize, he reclaimed Julia and returned to Madison with both daughters in August, 1955. Gerth found himself immersed for the first time in the domestic chores of cooking, cleaning, and shopping for the family, though he had some help from a German woman and from Anne and Julia (N. Gerth, 2002, pp. 123-124; N. Gerth, 2013, p. 175; Martindale, 1982, pp. 145-146).

In June, 1957, Gerth remarried to Nobuko Yabuno, a Japanese sociology graduate student in the department who was seventeen years younger. She was born in 1925 in Liaoyang, Manchuria, where her father was the Japanese Consul General. He moved the family back to Tokyo the following year and left the diplomatic service to practice law. Nobuko attended Tokyo Women's Christian College during World War II, but by her senior year the students were required to work in war industries nearly all the time, attending college classes only one day a month. She survived the fire bombings of Tokyo and after the Japanese surrender she did secretarial work for the American military government. She even qualified for a GARIOA (Government Relief in Occupied Areas) scholarship to study in the United States. Then a malicious anonymous letter was sent to her falsely implying that she was a member of a Communist cell, and after the army censors intercepted and read it, she lost the scholarship and her job with the military government. Eventually she was offered a tuition scholarship at Beaver College (now Arcadia University) in Glenside, Pennsylvania. She supported herself by working at secretarial jobs and graduated with a major in sociology. With an excellent academic record, she was granted a tuition scholarship to begin work on a master's degree in sociology at the University of Wisconsin-Madison in 1955 (N. Gerth, 2013).

Nobuko chose social theory as her area of concentration and became an advisee of Howard Becker, whom she regarded as "the foremost scholar of sociological theory in the United States at that time." She also served as a teaching assistant in his introductory sociology course during her second year. Under Becker's direction she wrote a 242-page thesis on, "Nationalism in Japan: A Sociological Analysis." Becker was pleased with the thesis, in part because it utilized his sacred-secular framework for analyzing changes

in the nature of Japanese nationalism. She received the degree in June, 1957.

Nobuko, like most students, found Becker generally cold and aloof, alternating inexplicably between icy and kind. He delivered meticulously organized lectures and never strayed from the lectern. She also took two courses with Gerth and found him to be the opposite in personality and presentation:

Gerth's lectures were rather disorganized but contained a wealth of knowledge that was fun to listen to. He roamed back and forth as he lectured, and most famously he could never wind up his lecture punctually, which annoyed many students who had to move on to the next class (N. Gerth, 2013, p. 159).

Gerth and Nobuko got to know each other better when they were both invited to Thanksgiving dinner at the Beckers, though she spent more time helping Gerth's two daughters with their embroidery than entering into conversations. I suspect that Gerth was charmed by this. An important step in their courtship came when they skipped an afternoon session of the American Sociological Society meetings in Chicago and went together to visit the Asian collection of the Art Institute of Chicago (N. Gerth, 2013, pp. 151, 161). Gerth had already begun to think about the possibility of marrying Nobuko, even though she was still a student in his class. He knew that there were still a dozen states, mostly in the West, that still had anti-miscegenation laws prohibiting marriages between whites and Asians, though Wisconsin was not among them. It was not until 1967 that the Supreme Court put an end to all anti-miscegenation laws in *Loving v. Virginia*. During a summer visit to the Martindales, Gerth asked what Martindale thought of his marrying a young Japanese woman:

I had offered my opinion that he and the girl were all that mattered though one would have to anticipate some prejudice from conventional middle-class Americans. Gerth had agreed with this and quickly added: "No matter. They think I'm marginal anyway" (Martindale, 1982, p. 150).

A Wisconsin economics professor who was married to a Japanese woman gave contrary advice, telling him, "If you marry a Japanese, it means you put a nail in your own coffin as far as your career in this university is concerned" (N. Gerth, 2013, p. 163).

Gerth did propose in October, 1956, and Nobuko accepted, but she did not want to get married until Gerth returned from spending the spring semester as a visiting professor at UC-Berkeley. Nobuko's father had already

died, but her mother vehemently opposed the marriage. It led to a break very much like Hedwig's with her family, though not as long lasting. Nobuko's mother quit using the familiar form of her name, burned all her old letters, and cut down the tree she had planted to commemorate her going abroad to study (N. Gerth, 2013, pp. 163-167). They married the next June in Wynnewood, Pennsylvania. She bonded closely with Gerth's two daughters, and they called her Nobie, just as Gerth's colleagues did. A son, Richard, was born to the Gerths two years later. All three children later graduated from the University of Wisconsin-Madison.

Nobuko was very bright and accomplished and complemented Gerth very well, for she was more practical-minded and far better organized. Though she had no business experience and her family in Japan tended to share the disdain of their samurai ancestors for the merchant class, in 1959 she decided to buy a small shop called Oriental Specialties at the corner of Gorham Street and University Avenue. It had sold mostly Asian groceries along with a few miscellaneous manufactured items of low quality, but she soon made contacts with importers so that she could stock attractive nonfood merchandise. Eventually she dropped the food items entirely. The shop prospered, and she moved it to a larger rented space on State Street in the student district. Finally, she was able to secure a loan to buy a larger building across the street. The business helped to stabilize the Gerth family finances, and it also provided her with an outlet and avenue for self-expression that Hedwig had lacked. When Gerth decided to leave Wisconsin for a professorship at Frankfurt University, she had to sell the business, but even though she did not speak German, she looked forward to new adventures in a warmer climate (N. Gerth, 2013, pp. 193-201, 243-245, 257-262, 278-279).

Gerth as a Teacher

Gerth's reputation as a teacher was decidedly mixed, depending largely on the maturity, cultural experience, and degree of sophistication of the student. To many graduate students he was a brilliant lecturer and teacher, and he attracted a small group of devoted followers who were fiercely loyal to him. Many undergraduate students, on the other hand, found him baffling. Some complained that they could not understand his heavily accented English. They often found it impossible to discern any semblance of organization or identifiable themes in his lectures, and they sat passively, as if handcuffed, unable to take notes. They also complained that he did not discuss the topics that he was supposed to be covering in the course.

Both of these types of reactions were evident when Don Martindale and C. Wright Mills sat in on Gerth's first lecture in a social stratification class soon after he arrived in Madison in the Fall of 1940. Martindale recalled that

it was an “act of freely associated fantasy” with the teacher racing from one idea to the next, acting out all the parts in his illustrations:

And so the lecture went from one item to the next, flying through the air on an imagination like a swinging trapeze in breathless, dizzying display. The bell rang. The lecturer gave no sign of having noticed it. The students grew restive, gathered their books together, shuffled their feet, still no sign. Some, finally, began to break for the door in order not to be late for their next classes. . . . During the lecture the majority of students had experienced a mixture of bewilderment and frustration. They sat with notebooks open and pens poised, realizing that something momentous was happening but unable to find a beginning or a stopping place—some had been unable to take a single note. During the lecture a powerfully built young man sitting near me, however, had no trouble. He watched the lecturer with bright, hard, appraising eyes and, though never missing a word or gesture, was taking quick careful notes. On the way out of class we found ourselves side by side. I observed, “That was the most extraordinary performance I have ever seen.” “Gerth,” he replied, “is the only man worth listening to in this department.” So it was that I made the acquaintance of Hans Gerth and a scholar who would one day call himself C. Wright Mills (Martindale, 1982, pp. 2-3).

No other sociology faculty member was the object of as many undergraduate complaints as Gerth throughout his career at Wisconsin. Sometimes students complained to the chair of the department, but others went straight to one of the deans. The complaints sometimes led to conferences with Gerth, with Gerth promising to try to do better, after which there would be “no discernible change of style” (Martindale, 1982, p. 51).

Sometimes Gerth’s unbridled free associations led him into taboo territory, as in the time when he was admonished by the Dean of Women. Gerth had been examining etiquette books from earlier centuries, and he delightfully told his students that an 18th century Emily Post protested against guests using chamber pots to relieve themselves within sight of the banquet table during a feast. Acting out the part, he proclaimed, “Don’t piss in here, piss in the other room.” When some of his women students complained to the dean about his indelicate language, she called him in and explained gently that he should have used some euphemisms. She had also received complaints from students about his heavy German accent and their inability to understand him. Becker was also pushing him to improve his speech. He promised to hire a tutor to work on his accent and actually went to regular sessions for several months. During the sessions, however, Martindale said that Gerth talked all the time without giving the tutor a chance to say

anything, and the tutor finally gave up and resigned from the assignment (Martindale, 1982, pp. 51-52).

Out of inexperience and a naive wish not to insult the integrity of some of his students, Gerth made some missteps in dealing with a case of flagrant cheating on an exam in 1944. In one of his social psychology classes five young women from the same sorority sat together in the class. They also sat together during the final examination and started brazenly whispering to one another, erasing, and rewriting answers. They were quite aware that he noticed what they were doing, but when he stared at them to show his displeasure, they defiantly stared back. After he received their papers he verified that there had been extensive changing of answers, and he gave them all a grade of D. (Martindale thought it was C, but he was probably mistaken). They were expecting good grades and demanded to know the reason for the grade assigned. He told them, "I saw you cheating." They retorted, "Prove it." Their parents hired an attorney who complained about Gerth to the university authorities. Nobuko Gerth says that one of the women was the daughter of a Regent, who wrote to Gerth saying, "This accusation has outraged and upset us greatly. . . . We do hope that you can rectify this wrong you have accused our daughter of by exonerating her and change the 'D' grade to the one she is justly entitled to."

T. C. McCormick, Gerth's chair, advised him to retreat, since he was vulnerable due to not separating the students in the beginning or reprimanding them during the exam and forcing them to move apart. Gerth had to undergo some humiliating confrontations before a committee appointed by President Clarence Dykstra to review the case, at the same time enduring criticism from other professors for being too soft-hearted and not giving the students F's. In the end Gerth was forced to raise all the grades and send hand written letters of apology to the young women (Martindale, 1982, pp. 53-55; N. Gerth, 2002, pp. 100-101). Gerth was shocked and deeply disturbed by this experience for many years afterward and was not able to put it behind him. More experienced professors knew that it was extremely difficult to sanction cheating students through official procedures, and accusations of cheating were as likely to cause grief to the accuser as to the accused. Honest students could be protected only by taking preventive measures and by nipping possible cheating in the bud at the first suspicion.

Martindale said that "Gerth was an easy grader and found it impossible to fail anyone who did him the courtesy of listening to him." He speculated that this probably saved him from getting an even greater number of complaints. Students who found themselves in over their heads in his courses were happy to get a better grade than they expected (Martindale, 1982, p. 53).

Gerth served as dissertation advisor to only fourteen students during his career. He routinely sent even those who admired him greatly to work

with other colleagues, since he believed that they might have their degree progress delayed and their career prospects hurt by too close association with him. Those who completed PhDs under his direction between 1945 and 1965 were Allan W. Eister, Patricke A. Johns, William McKinley Moore, Don A. Martindale, Harold L. Sheppard, Lowell E. Maechtle, Gilbert L. Geis, Elmer G. Luchterhand, James B. McKee, Robert B. Notestein, Samuel W. Bloom, Sidney M. Peck, David W. McKinney, and Lawrence H. Streicher (Martindale, 1982, pp. 75-77). Only the last four of these were completed during his last seventeen years at Wisconsin.

In 1959 Harold Bershadly, after getting a master's degree in philosophy at the University of Buffalo, entered the PhD program in sociology at Wisconsin, attracted by Gerth's reputation as a Max Weber and Mannheim scholar. He expected that Gerth would be his advisor, but at the reception for new graduate students he was taken aback when he asked what Gerth thought of the department—meaning how appropriate the department was for someone with his particular interests in theory. Gerth paused and then said, in his heavy German accent, “The more I think of it, the less I think of it.” Bershadly, who knew nothing about Gerth's general unhappiness in the department, looked started. Gerth just laughed and said, “*Ja*, I am a phrase monger.” In the following years Bershadly found Gerth too erratic and disorganized to serve as a reliable advisor, but he says he learned a great deal from him—not so much from his classes and his stream-of-consciousness lecturing as from informal conversations when they went swimming, ate lunch, played duets on the piano, or played chess together. He also spent a year collaborating with Gerth in translating one of Georg Lukács' books, but they completed only a third of it. Bershadly says that Gerth showed him essays he had written when he was in Germany, but it appeared to him that now in the United States “he seemed incapable of writing more than a couple of sequential sentences in German or in English” (Bershadly, 2014, pp. 122-124). Bershadly began to take an interest in Talcott Parsons' theoretical writings and wrote some essays about some of his ideas. Gerth gave them a very cool reception, but Joseph Elder, who had been an advisee of Parsons, was very positive and encouraged him to pursue the ideas further. In the end Elder, rather than Gerth, served as Bershadly's dissertation advisor. Bershadly received his PhD in 1966 and went on to a long career teaching sociological theory at the University of Pennsylvania.

Gerth had a number of notable students at Wisconsin, though, like Bershadly, they were generally not his formal advisees. Arthur J. Vidich and Joseph Bensman both studied with Gerth in the 1940s, but they went off to other universities to earn their PhDs in sociology. Yet they were so strongly influenced by Gerth that when they published their most famous book together, *Small Town in Mass Society*, they dedicated it to him, writing, “To

Hans H. Gerth—whose ideas and examples have made this book possible” (Vidich and Bensman, 1968). They also dedicated a second co-authored book to “Hans H. Gerth and the memory of C. Wright Mills.” Martindale and some of Gerth’s other students also dedicated books to him. Ned Polsky changed his major to sociology after attending Gerth’s lectures. Polsky wrote,

Hans Gerth . . . overcame my humanistic bias that sociology was not worth a serious man’s time. Hans Gerth’s brilliant lectures convinced me in myriad ways that although this is usually the case, it is not always so—convinced me so fully that I entered the graduate department of sociology at the University of Chicago (Polsky, 1967, p. 9).

The celebrated writer Susan Sontag was also greatly influenced by Gerth. She was never a student or colleague at Wisconsin, but even as a teen she began to come up from Chicago to visit with Gerth in Madison. She wrote to Vidich, “I don’t know what would have happened to me if I hadn’t met him. Without him I wouldn’t have been taken into Weimarian culture—I wouldn’t have read Walter Benjamin or known about Hannah Arendt” (Vidich, 1982, p. 11). In 2003 she said in her acceptance speech for the Peace Prize of the German Book Trade, “Let me name two I was privileged to count as friends when I was in my late teens and early twenties, Hans Gerth and Herbert Marcuse” (N. Gerth, 2013, p. 160).

Gerth left an indelible mark also on William Appleman Williams, who became a distinguished revisionist diplomatic historian in the 1950s and 1960s—the favorite historian of the New Left. He wrote that while he was struggling to find an intellectual strategy in his research he encountered Gerth. In a paper he presented in 1973 he said, “Hans Gerth took me by the hand . . . Guided by Gerth, I became deeply involved with Hegel, Dilthey, Adorno, Horkheimer, and Lukács” (N. Gerth, 2002, p. 236). In an earlier book, *The Contours of American History*, he also acknowledged his intellectual indebtedness to Gerth, writing “I am also deeply obligated to Professor Hans Gerth. . . . In this book, in particular, I have drawn many times on the ideas and insights gained from his lecture courses and his seminars, and from his own writings” (W. Williams, 1961, p. 490).

Though C. Wright Mills was never a formal student of Gerth, he audited many of Gerth’s classes and spent endless hours in individual discussions with him. They became collaborators in some translation and writing projects and exchanged letters regularly through the rest of Mills’ short but productive life. Of all Gerth’s students, Mills clearly owed him the greatest intellectual debt, but he never showed his gratitude publicly by dedicating any of his work to Gerth as many of the other students did (N. Gerth, 2002,

pp. 248-249). Russell Jacoby, who later got a PhD at another university and became a distinguished historian, and Evan Stark, who was an activist in the protests against the Vietnam War, were also gifted graduate students who were greatly influenced by Gerth in the 1960s.

Though Martindale was strongly attracted to Gerth, he was nevertheless quite critical of the small coterie of leftist and artistically inclined students who attached themselves to Gerth and formed a protective circle around him and fiercely defended him from criticism. Gerth could not resist their adulation and endless willingness to listen to his monologues:

A coterie of such hangers-on attended on Gerth after his lectures, followed him to the office, invited him to coffee. In this restricted circle the monologue continued without end. His followers quickly discovered that Gerth welcomed them to his home, ordered coffee, wine, and snacks from Mrs. Gerth, invited them to dinner. The more aggressive and inconsiderate hung on long into the night. . . . He found it irresistible to perform, pouring out his ideas, insights, and esoteric finding of fact. It was hardly surprising under the circumstances that his disciples formed a tight circle about Gerth, not only defending him against the mass, but resisting the penetration by outsiders of the circle of the elect. Gerth was treated as a secret source of ideas and insights which they could employ in their own presentations, papers, theses, and publications (Martindale, 1982, pp. 55-56).

Gerth often dazzled and sometimes befuddled students who were new to him with his erudition and seemingly endless knowledge of a vast number of subjects. He never taught the same course twice in the same way, as Becker and many other professors did. Over the years, though, he tended to cycle back through certain favorite subject areas in drawing examples. Gerth often tried to incorporate references to popular culture to show that he was hip and not just an ivory-tower intellectual, though these efforts no doubt appeared lame to those immersed in pop culture. Gerth was a voracious reader who read widely on many esoteric subjects, and most of his books were filled with pencil underlinings and marginal notes. Though he read widely, he did not always read deeply. When he ventured into areas that I knew well, I felt that his examples were sometimes oversimplified and marred by errors. No one can be an expert on everything.

In his early years at Wisconsin Gerth taught courses on a number of different subjects, and his lectures were more nearly coordinated with the ostensible topic of the course, but later in his career the topical boundaries tended to disappear. With his stream-of-consciousness style of lecturing, it hardly mattered what the opening topic was. He ranged widely into other

topics from there, so much so that it was often difficult to tell what course he was teaching—a sore point with many undergraduates. One cannot really get a sense of what Gerth's lectures were like from his published articles, for some discipline and organization were necessarily imposed through the writing process, and most were also subjected to an editor's ministrations.

Publications

Gerth's doctoral dissertation from Frankfurt dealing with German liberal theorists at the turn of the 18th century was published with a limited number of copies, as required by the university, but it attracted no attention in the United States and apparently was not considered in Wisconsin's evaluations of his scholarly merit. When he returned to Germany in 1971 he was told that his dissertation had been reprinted twice by students in pirated editions. In 1976 it was republished in Germany with Gerth's permission by Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht—apparently still with the names of Jewish theorists missing (Gerth, 1976; N. Gerth, 2002, p. 43). He also wrote many articles as a journalist in Germany that had more historical or sociological detail than was usual for stories appearing in newspapers, but he was often late in meeting press deadlines.

Gerth was widely acknowledged as an erudite scholar with a broad range of knowledge, and he was noted for the free flow of original ideas and insights from his fertile mind. However, he had difficulty in organizing his thoughts in a coherent way and producing a finished work. His wife Nobuko acknowledged that "it is as though his vast knowledge prevented him from organizing his thoughts on a topic within a book" (N. Gerth, 2002, p. 171). He had difficulty in completing shorter articles as well, unless he had a collaborator. Perhaps his writing suffered from the same problem as his lectures, with each idea sparking another idea in turn without ever reaching any closure. Even some of Gerth's staunch defenders, such as Guy Oakes and Arthur J. Vidich, acknowledged that "Gerth seemed unable to produce a finished piece of work" (Oakes and Vidich, 1999, p. 125). They also suggested that Gerth was too much committed to the elaboration of sociological typologies because of his adoption of Weber's ideal type methodology. Without some kind of internal grounding, they argued, there is no logical basis for choosing one typology over another. Typologies may be endlessly created without reaching theoretical closure, and the analysis leads everywhere and ultimately nowhere. There may be some truth to this argument, but Nielsen pointed out that Weber insisted that typologies depend on the historical questions that are being asked and the value sensibilities of the investigator. Basically, it is the ability of the investigator to clarify his cognitive interests and to pose answerable questions within that domain that lead to theoretical

closure. Weber himself using the typological method produced a wealth of coherent studies that became classics (Nielsen, 2000, pp. 653-654).

I am inclined to accept Martindale's more nuanced interpretation:

Gerth's whole mentality was baroque. He seized every theme in its variations. The one thing he lacked to make his genius productive was the discipline to establish the theme before exploring its variations. He loved nothing better than to shock, delight, startle, and amaze. He found it impossible to resist any audience (Martindale, 1982, p. 171).

Thus, the desire to impress by pursuing side issues tended to distract him away from focusing on the central problem and systematically exploring it. But Martindale thought that it might be more than this. He admitted that it was not exactly clear to him why Gerth had so much trouble producing finished works, but he thought it might be some "peculiar combination of fear of criticism, lack of discipline for the task of completing the objective verification and processing of his visions for publication, and reluctance to drain his rich material from his subjective sphere. . . ." (Martindale, 1982, p. xii).

There are really only a handful of original articles published by Gerth as sole author. The most important was probably a study of the social composition of the leadership of the Nazi Party based on some nonpublic data Gerth had acquired while he was still in Germany. Even for this he had an uncredited collaborator. He sent a draft of his article to Louis Wirth at the University of Chicago in 1939, who liked it very much but wanted substantial revisions. He passed it on to Edward Shils, who had befriended Gerth earlier, and Shils recommended to Burgess and Wirth that they publish it in the *American Journal of Sociology*. Shils wrote Gerth that it was "first rate and by far the very best thing on that subject in any language that I could read" (N. Gerth, 2002, p. 89). Shils wanted to help his friend establish his reputation in America and he set about doing a detailed editing job, trying to improve the English and make the article more presentable. He spent so many hours in revising it that Gerth offered him a co-authorship, but Shils declined, wishing to help Gerth establish his reputation. It was published as the lead article in the January, 1940, issue of the *American Journal of Sociology* (Gerth, 1940).

Gerth and Shils later had a falling out because both wanted to publish translations of some of the same essays of Max Weber, and almost 50 years later Shils gave a less charitable account of the history of the article in a letter to Nobuko Gerth. He said that the original draft was an unpublishable mess—without structure, analysis, or argument and with "very scrappy" empirical data. Shils worked hard editing the English and organizing the

material to advance the notion that the National Socialist Party employed a combination of the charismatic and bureaucratic forms of authority, a novel idea at the time (N. Gerth, 2002, p. 90; Oakes and Vidich, 1999, p. 159, n. 23). By this time Shils had a curmudgeonly reputation in the field, and his recollection may have been colored by the earlier acrimonious dispute with Gerth and Mills. In any case, the article received a great amount of attention and was widely praised. It brought Gerth to the attention of American sociologists and probably was responsible for Becker's recruitment of him to the Wisconsin faculty.

Another early research project that Gerth undertook in 1939-1940 was a community study of Morton, Illinois—a suburban town of 2300 near Peoria. Because he had been unsuccessful in finding a permanent university position, he probably felt that he needed to demonstrate that he could do the same kind of empirical research that was commonly done by American sociologists. The population of the town was composed largely of Mennonites and Apostolic Christians of German ancestry, which enabled Gerth to utilize some of Weber's ideas about the routinization of charisma in his analysis of the sects. He prepared a 200-page manuscript, but it was apparently unfinished and it is not clear whether he ever tried to publish it as a monograph (Oakes and Vidich, 1999, p. 179, n. 20). The manuscript was read, however, in 1942 by his colleague George W. Hill in the Wisconsin Department of Rural Sociology. Hill, who had himself done studies of rural communities in Wisconsin, was enthusiastic: "You have done a job in thoroughness and detail such as I could never hope to do, nor have I seen it done better by anyone else" (N. Gerth, 2002, p. 173). Everett Hughes at the University of Chicago also gave him favorable comments and urged the publication of the study. Unfortunately, it was never published, and only a brief summary appeared in *Social Research* in 1944 (Gerth, 1944). It is impossible to see the basis for Hill's and Hughes' enthusiasm from the summary, for the rich analysis has apparently been dropped.

There were a few other solo-authored works by Gerth, including an abridgement of a content analysis of values in mass periodical fiction, but a large number of manuscripts remained unpublished in his files. On Gerth's death Don Martindale urged Nobuko Gerth to search through his mountainous, disorganized files to recover the manuscripts, which were interspersed with hundreds of letters, newspaper clippings, and other documents. She found some 2000 pages of manuscripts, dating from 1930 to a short time before his death. She selected, typed, and edited many of them. Then she worked with Joseph Bensman and Arthur J. Vidich, two of Gerth's former students, to edit a volume including some of the manuscripts, including the full version of the values content analysis, essays on Weber, Marx, and Hegel, and on social psychology and the sociology of knowledge (Gerth, 1982).

If they had been published when they were written, Gerth's reputation would no doubt have been enhanced and he would have been more generously rewarded in the academic environment.

Gerth's principal contribution to American sociology came through his translations of European scholars. During his life he translated works of Georg Simmel, George Lukács, Célestin Bouglé, Karl Jaspers, Karl Bücher, Rosa Luxemburg, and Max Scheler, but most of all, Max Weber. Initially Gerth usually worked alone or enlisted the help of a number of graduate students to edit his English to prepare translations that he mimeographed and distributed to his classes. Among those who assisted him were Patricke Johns-Heine, J. Ben Gillingham, Joseph Bensman, Bernard Greenblatt, and Ned Polsky. C. Wright Mills did not become a translation helper until after leaving Wisconsin (N. Gerth, 2002, p. 175). However, a collaboration between Gerth and Mills began while Mills was still a graduate student in Madison. They coauthored "A Marx for the Managers" published in *Ethics*, attempting to refute the argument of James Burnham that the world was moving not toward socialism but toward a managerial society. Using historical examples, Gerth and Mills maintained that even in a bureaucratized society, managers would not be able to amass the political power to rule (Gerth and Mills, 1942).

Gerth did not introduce Weber to American sociologists—Frank Knight in 1927 and Talcott Parsons in 1930 and 1937 had already done that—but Gerth and Mills' volume of Weber's essays, *From Max Weber*, published in 1946, was probably the most influential presentation of Weber. Edward Shils and several other scholars were working on translations of some of Weber's most important essays at about the same time, but Gerth and Mills beat them into print.

The collaboration in translating Weber's essays began after Mills moved to the University of Maryland in 1942. Gerth sent him his translation of Weber's "Class, Status, and Party" and asked him if he would like to read it and check his English. Mills had very little knowledge of German, but he was happy to edit the English, and he and Gerth both used mimeographed copies of the resulting translation in their classes. It was later published in *Politics*, with Mills receiving credit as a "co-translator," setting an ominous precedent for a later dispute. Gerth then sent Mills translations of thirteen key essays by Weber, and though Gerth originally had no intention of publishing them, Mills immediately saw the possibility of publication—and also of attaching himself to the project to try to build his own reputation and enhance his meager salary. Mills was also aware that others were working on translations of Weber, and he realized the need to move as quickly as possible. Gerth was temperamentally unsuited to deal with publishers and seized on the rationalization that as a registered "enemy alien," he could

not be involved in negotiations. He was happy to leave this to Mills, who bragged about his ability to influence and manipulate people. Mills soon was able to secure a contract with Oxford University Press. All of the publisher's communications and negotiations were directly with Mills, which led the press executives to overestimate Mills' role in the project.

Gerth did the initial translation into English, Mills improved the English, and then Gerth rechecked the translation to see if it still correctly expressed the original German. It is clear that Mills played no role in translating from German to English and worked only on Gerth's English text. Mills had only a rudimentary reading knowledge of German, and Howard Becker, who administered his German reading exam for the PhD, said that Mills passed only because Becker gave him the least demanding text he could find to read. Becker commented that it would have been impossible for Mills to comprehend the difficult German of Max Weber (Oakes and Vidich, 1999, p. 103).

Even as an "enemy alien," Gerth easily secured permission to travel to Maryland in August, 1944, to work with Mills in preparing a long introductory essay about Weber's life and ideas. According to Gerth's account, he dictated the essay as Mills typed (Oakes and Vidich, 1999, p. 143). Gerth afterwards maintained that Mills' only contribution to the essay was transcription, but he must have used his writing skill to produce a fluid text. There is little reason to doubt that the substance of the essay was due almost entirely to Gerth, since Mills had not read Weber's works in German, nor had he read any of the biographical or secondary literature on Weber in German. There were no original Weber works in German available in the Maryland library at that time, and Mills had none in his personal library. Mills' work on the translations and the introductory essay was clearly done without access to the German texts. The biographical details in the essay were based mostly on the work of Weber's widow, Marianne Weber, which was then available only in German and almost certainly unknown to Mills.

Gerth regarded himself as the translator of the essays and the author of the introductory essay, but Mills demanded that he be listed as a co-translator and co-author on the title page. Gerth was taken aback by what he regarded as an outrageous claim and resisted, but Mills, again using his skill in manipulating people, threatened to withdraw from the project entirely if Gerth did not consent. He did not offer to accept credit with the phrase "assisted by C. Wright Mills" on the title page. None of Gerth's other graduate student helpers had ever asked for even "assisted" credit on the title page. Faced with an "all-or-none" ultimatum, Gerth failed to call his bluff and capitulated, to his everlasting regret (N. Gerth, 2002, pp. 188-194). Gerth was not used to hardball tactics from someone he regarded as socially and intellectually inferior, and he was no match for the aggressive Mills. The

result was that as Mills' fame grew, Mills received far too much credit for the book and Gerth too little. It enraged Gerth when publishers or fellow sociologists gave Mills primary credit.

The other principal collaboration between Gerth and Mills was a textbook on social psychology, *Character and Social Structure* (1953). It had its origins in 1941 while Mills was still a student at Wisconsin and was based initially on Gerth's notes from a social psychology course that he taught with a Weberian slant. In the chapter on Becker I have already detailed some of the thirteen-year checkered history of the production of the book and Mills' insistence on signing a secret new contract with Harcourt Brace even though they had not been released from the D. C. Heath contract. The book was delayed not only by the souring of the relationship between Mills and Becker and Mills' preference to work on his own writing projects, but also by Gerth's failure to produce drafts of the 16 chapters he agreed to prepare. Mills, who was to prepare drafts of 18 chapters, had already written some 300 pages by 1944, but he came to realize that Gerth was unlikely to fulfill his obligation and decided he would probably need to prepare a first draft of all chapters. Then Gerth could review, edit, and modify them.

Heath finally released Gerth and Mills from their contract in February, 1950, and later that spring Mills was promoted to Associate Professor with tenure at Columbia. Mills and Gerth finally got back to intensive writing sessions together in the summers of 1950 and 1952. According to Nobuko Gerth, there were often heated discussions, particularly regarding a section on Jews. Gerth believed that Mills had developed views "that might cause others to accuse him of anti-Semitism" because of negative experiences in New York City and his dislike for some of his Jewish colleagues at Columbia. When they needed a break from their intensive work, Mills rode his motorcycle around the area and Gerth played the piano (N. Gerth, 2002, p. 198). The book was finally completed and published, with an introduction by Robert K. Merton, by Harcourt Brace in 1953, thirteen years after its beginning.

There have been some fierce arguments between the partisans of Gerth and the partisans of Mills over the relative contributions of each to *Character and Social Structure* and to some of Mills' other books. Oakes and Vidich suggested that most of the original ideas came from Gerth, and Mills' role was basically to elaborate on those ideas (Oakes and Vidich, 1999, pp. 57-90). Nobuko Gerth had been persuaded to give them access to some 300 letters between Gerth and Mills to use in their book about the collaboration of Gerth and Mills. She was very unhappy with their book, however, and insisted that they remove much of the derogatory language in the text before it was published. She was also upset that they did not use direct quotes from Gerth's letters, paraphrasing him and introducing their own slant. The

Mills estate, on the other hand, required that his words be quoted exactly (N. Gerth, 2013, pp. 394-395).

Dennis Wrong took a course from Mills at Columbia in 1947 with the title *Character and Social Structure*, and he disputed the contention that the later book was essentially a rewrite of Gerth's lecture notes: "If *Character and Social Structure* was indeed based primarily on Gerth's notes as Oakes and Vidich allege, Mills must have memorized them, for he lectured without notes and was a commanding and responsive classroom presence" (Wrong, 2001, p. 62). I believe Oakes and Vidich undervalued Mills' contribution, and obviously the book never would have seen the light of day without Mills. In any case, the textbook was essentially a failure with a meager sale of only 1554 copies in its first six years. The publisher lost money on the hard cover version, but sales increased after a paperback edition was published in 1964. According to Horowitz, even Mills spoke of it as his least favorite book (Horowitz, 1983, p. 184). Perhaps the appraisal of Russell Jacoby, another former student of Gerth, is most apt: "Actually, of course, as a glance at it shows, *Character and Social Structure* is no way a major or innovative work: it is a fairly uninteresting textbook of social psychology. How exactly it was composed hardly matters, in any wider intellectual sense" (Jacoby, 2000, p. 155).

Gerth had started translating Weber's volume on Confucianism and Taoism in China during World War II, but he apparently did not attempt to secure a publisher until after *From Max Weber* had come out. This time he did not ask Mills to edit his English and reverted to his earlier practice of relying on his less demanding graduate students for help. The assistance of Joseph Bensman, Bernard Greenblatt, and Patricke Johns-Heine, as well as his wife Hedwig, was acknowledged only in a Prefatory Note, and only his own name appeared on the title page with Weber's. Martindale wrote that when he asked Gerth who had helped him with his English, he admitted that Patricke Johns-Heine (Martindale used the pseudonym Pat Williams) had done so in exchange for \$400 and 2 percent of the royalties, with the provision that she would not claim credit as a co-translator (Martindale, 1982, pp. 121-122). This would not be surprising after Gerth's bitter experience with Mills, but Nobuko Gerth rejected this claim as absurd, considering that Gerth's salary in 1951 was only \$3,900 (N. Gerth, 2002, p. 176).

The manuscript still needed the assistance of a sinologist to deal with the proper transliteration of Chinese names. Weber was inconsistent in this regard and used whatever transliterations into various languages that he ran across. Fortunately, the anthropologist Milton L. Barnett, who had Chinese language skills, joined the Department of Sociology and Anthropology in 1951 and gave his assistance to the project, and Y. T. Wang also helped on some fine points. Gerth first offered the book to Oxford University Press, but

after dithering for more than a year, they declined. They thought it would not be sufficiently profitable, even though they were about to do a second printing of *From Max Weber*, which was selling well. Alfred A. Knopf turned it down too, believing there was little interest in Asian religions, but Jeremiah Kaplan at the Free Press accepted it and finally brought it out in 1951 (Max Weber, 1951; N. Gerth, 2002, pp. 175-177). It sold sufficiently well to justify a second printing in 1959.

Gerth published three translations of European scholars in collaboration with his student Don Martindale. Martindale was more adept at foreign languages than Mills, but after having his graduate studies interrupted by four years of service in the army during World War II, he felt his language skills had eroded. When he returned to the campus in 1946 he started spending an hour a day reading French and German texts and, for discipline, writing out translations in English. One of the texts he translated was an essay by Walter Benjamin on "The Work of Art in the Epoch of Mechanical Reproduction," which had been written originally in German but published only in French. Martindale thought its style was very much like Gerth's, so he showed Gerth a copy of his translation. Gerth was excited about the essay and knew that Benjamin had been a part of the original "Frankfurt School" in Germany. He thought that Theodor Adorno, Benjamin's literary executor, probably had a copy of the German original, and he was able to secure a copy of the original from Adorno. He found that it differed substantially from the French version, so Gerth and Martindale collaborated to rework the translation in 1951, checking Martindale's translation from the French with the German original. This was before there was much interest in Benjamin in the United States, and they had trouble finding a journal willing to publish it. Martindale suspected that the *Partisan Review* rejected it because Hannah Arendt and Gunther Stern, who had become influential members of the intellectual scene in New York City after fleeing Germany, regarded Gerth as a Nazi collaborator because of his work for the *Berliner Tageblatt* after the Nazi takeover. Gerth had once been a guest in their house in Germany, but they shunned him when he first arrived in the United States (Martindale, 1982, p. 112). In the end Gerth and Martindale were only able to publish it in *Studies on the Left*, a new and short-lived journal started by New Left students at the University of Wisconsin (Benjamin, 1960).

Unknown to Gerth, Martindale had also started translating Weber's volumes on *The Religion of India* and *Ancient Judaism*, doing three or four pages a day to sharpen his language skills. By the time he submitted his dissertation to his committee he had completed the India volume and done about one-fourth of the Judaism volume. Gerth stopped by his apartment one day, and while they were standing by a bookcase where a pile of the translated manuscript was stacked, it suddenly occurred to Martindale to

ask Gerth to take a look at his translation and let him know how accurate it was. Martindale recalled,

He thumbed through the manuscript. "My God," he said "It's Max Weber. Why are you translating it?" "If I'm going to practice," I explained, "I might just as well do so on things I want to read anyway. . . . Gerth flipped through the entire stack of manuscript and discovered that I had gone through the whole of the India volume and had made a fair start on the Judaism volume. "Let's joint translate them," Gerth said. "I'll write to Jerry Kaplan of the Free Press tonight." Within a week Gerth had obtained joint contracts for our translation of the two volumes. He mentioned incidentally that he intended to do the third book of the trilogy on the *Religion of China* alone (Martindale, 1982, pp. 113-114)

Martindale believed that Gerth was eager to tie him up in a joint venture with himself for fear that Martindale might publish the two volumes on his own or with another collaborator. Though they agreed to work together, Martindale was unsuccessful in getting Gerth to discuss a division of labor for the project and Gerth simply told him, "Let me see the stuff when you get it ready." Finally, Martindale realized that Gerth expected him to do all of the initial translation into English. Gerth would check it against the original German to make sure the translation was properly rendered, and then Martindale would do the final polishing of the English text. This unequal division of responsibilities caused some resentment on the part of Martindale:

Gerth evidently thought we would make a fine team of furniture movers: I was to carry the piano; he was to carry the piano bench. I eventually realized that Gerth was treating me in the same manner that C. Wright Mills had treated him. However, since I had started translation to polish up my skills in the first place without any intention of publishing, I still was coming out ahead (Martindale, 1982, pp. 114-115).

Martindale had already completed a rough translation of Weber's India volume, but he was dismayed when Gerth refused to touch a line of it and insisted that they work on the unfinished Judaism volume first. Gerth had translated a portion of the volume with the assistance of Ned Polsky earlier, but Gerth did no further work on it during the next few years while Martindale finished the rough translation. Martindale suspected that Gerth was deliberately delaying until his translation of *The Religion of China* was out, attempting "to establish himself as the translator and reduce me to the role of an assistant who did little more than polish up the style a bit on Gerth's translation of Weber's series of volumes on the sociology of the

world religions” (Martindale, 1982, p. 122). Serious work on the Judaism volume finally began, but Martindale discovered that it was Hedwig, Gerth’s wife and an accomplished academic in her own right, who was actually doing the work of checking the accuracy of the translation against the original German. Though her marks are on most of his manuscripts before 1954, she generally received no credit or acknowledgement. Gerth had reduced his own role to doing a final quality check of the edited translation, though he claimed primacy on the title page. *Ancient Judaism* was finally published in 1952 and received very favorable reviews (Max Weber, 1952).

Martindale expected that work would then proceed quickly on *The Religion of India*, but it was not to be. Gerth was instead working again on the social psychology textbook with Mills, and Gerth had apparently pressured his wife to quit working on verifying the translation of the India volume and work instead on a translation of the minutes of the First International Conference in the Hague in 1872 that had been discovered by the archivist at the University of Wisconsin Library. At the Hague Conference Marx arranged for the expulsion of Bakunin and the anarchists and the movement of the organization out of London. Hedwig committed suicide in 1954, however, and the translation was not finished and published by Gerth until 1958 (*First International*, 1958).

Gerth was distraught after his wife’s suicide, and after teaching for a period at Brandeis, he went off to Germany for a year. He finally returned to Madison and resumed work on the India translation, but the work was interrupted again when Gerth accepted a visiting professorship at the University of California-Berkeley in the spring of 1957, followed by his marriage to Nobuko Gerth in June, 1957. He also suffered serious injuries in a car accident in the summer of 1957. It was now ten years since Martindale had given Gerth the initial translation of the India volume, and he was increasingly bitter that Gerth had not worked on it earlier. Finally, “in complete despair of ever getting my work out of the project” he went over the translation several times himself, typed it up, and sent it off to the publisher without waiting for Gerth’s further input (Martindale, 1982, pp. 123-124).

Gerth did not learn of Martindale’s action until the book was already in the hands of the printer, and he was furious. Gerth then insisted that his own 19-page introduction be added, but Jeremiah Kaplan at the Free Press dismissed it as a political tract and refused to include it. Gerth retorted that Kaplan should not feel “squeamish” about including Gerth’s essay, since he had not hesitated to publish Werner Sombart’s anti-Semitic tract, *The Jews and Modern Capitalism*. Kaplan, a Jew, was outraged at this comment and accused Gerth of suggesting he was anti-Semitic and fascist, and refused to have anything more to do with Gerth. The India volume was finally published in 1958 without any introduction (Max Weber, 1958). Because not all

of the translation had been checked by Gerth or by Hedwig, there were some textual and translation errors that brought criticisms from some readers. Martindale blamed Gerth, arguing that if Gerth had worked on the rough translation immediately instead of procrastinating for ten years, the translation errors could have been avoided and the book could have been published as early as 1948. The errors were not corrected when a paperback edition was published in 1967, presumably because neither Gerth nor Martindale had any inclination to do further work on the translation (N. Gerth, 2002, pp. 206-207).

One other noteworthy contribution of Gerth was editing a posthumous volume on social planning by Karl Mannheim, his old teacher at Heidelberg and Frankfurt. At his death in 1947 Mannheim had left a more or less complete draft manuscript, and Mannheim's widow, Julia, wanted to see it edited and published. Adolfe Lowe, another of Gerth's professors at Frankfurt, secured Gerth's consent to undertake the editing job, but Julia Mannheim in London had at the same time asked Ernest K. Bramstedt, another former student of Mannheim to edit the work, assisted by Agnes Schwarzchild. The London editors wanted to preserve as much of the original as possible, whereas Gerth wished to make substantial changes, because, as he wrote to Mills, "I struggle around rewriting a lousy posthumous book of Mannheim on 'the third way' and all that, and I can't make it a good book no matter how hard I try to" (N. Gerth, 2002, p. 180). Gerth found it extremely frustrating to work with the London editors and was sorry that he ever agreed to undertake the job, which occupied him for more than a year. He did not want to be accused of distorting Mannheim's intentions, so he gave way to the London editors' wishes for the most part. Lowe himself rewrote one chapter completely, but acknowledged Gerth as primarily responsible for the final text of the book. Gerth wrote a ten-page introduction, but was asked by Lowe to remove his own criticisms of the work as being out of place. A seven-page "Note on the Work of Karl Mannheim" jointly authored by Gerth and Bramstedt remained, and they were also listed as the joint editors of the book on the title page. There was considerable disagreement about a proper title for the book, but it was finally published as *Freedom, Power, and Democratic Planning* by Routledge and Kegan Paul in 1950 (Mannheim, 1950).

Gerth's Relationship with C. Wright Mills

Mills began his PhD work in sociology at Wisconsin in 1939 as a Becker student, but Mills gravitated to Gerth as soon as Gerth joined the faculty in the fall of 1940, while his relationship with Becker deteriorated. He never took a course with Gerth, but he sat in on some of his classes and spent as much time as possible in private conferences with him. Mills and Gerth even

began collaborating on writing articles together and made plans to coauthor a textbook in social psychology while Gerth was still a graduate student on campus. They began a relationship that was marked by substantial conflict but mutual respect that lasted for twenty-two years until Mills' early death in 1962 at the age of 45. Their names became closely linked in the memories of the sociological community.

In a sense, they were an odd couple. Gerth was an aesthete, broadly cultured, and with a very broad knowledge of European philosophy and social thought and a love of music and art. He was imbued with old world ideas about social status and proper deportment, reinforced by his marriage with a German countess, though she had been disinherited for marrying Gerth. Mills, on the other hand, was lacking in all these areas, but Gerth found him fascinating in spite of—or perhaps because of—his “bad manners,” brashness, crudeness, aggressiveness, toughness, daring, and bravado. His outsize personality seemed to dominate Gerth, and he could rarely resist when Mills sought to mold him to his will. Gerth came to see him as a kind of prototype of the “success striving” and “status-ridden” American intellectual who would use every means possible to be successful (N. Gerth, 2002, p. 153). He felt victimized by some of Mills' actions, but he seems to have taken the lessons to heart and employed some of the same tactics against Martindale and possibly others.

When Mills was a student at the University of Texas his friends and teachers generally called him Charles or Charlie. He began using the formulation C. Wright Mills soon after he came to Wisconsin. Martindale says that this was shortly after Mills heard Gerth lecture about how the *nouveau riche* in America sought to enhance their status by taking the names of their mothers, who were often from higher status families, as middle names and then using either the full name (e.g., Henry Cabot Lodge) or an initial plus the middle name (e.g., G. Mennen Williams) (Martindale, 1982, p. 154). It is hard to say whether the lecture influenced Mills, but it is very clear that he was impatient to “make a name” for himself.

As I reported in the previous section, Gerth felt great remorse that he had given in to Mills in granting him a place on the title page of *From Max Weber* as co-translator and co-editor, as well as coauthor of the long introductory essay. Gerth's regret was intensified when Oxford University Press listed the authors in their catalog as Mills and Gerth, with Mills first. Gerth was incensed and wrote to the publisher about their mistake and told them of Mills' lack of knowledge of German—something that Mills had kept hidden from Oxford. The publisher passed it off as an innocent mistake by Oxford and not due to any manipulations by Mills, and he demanded that Gerth apologize to Mills, on threat of refusing to publish the book. Resentfully, Gerth did so, but he wrote to Mills, “I fail to see what possible ‘thoughts’ on

Max Weber, German politics, or methodological problems of Weber's work I owe to you. . . . I owe no knowledge of Max Weber and no thoughts about Max Weber to you" (N. Gerth, 2002, p. 192). His anger would be aroused again and again whenever anyone implied that Mills was primarily responsible for the Weber volume.

After a period of intense conflict in 1945-46, the animosity subsided enough for them to resume work on *Character and Social Structure*, and Gerth, his wife, and two daughters even joined Mills at his island home on a Canadian lake for a period in the summer of 1952. The writing went well, but the relations became tense because of Mills' "bossy" behavior in setting up rules on the use of the house, the telephone, and the work schedule. When Mills falsely accused them of causing a malfunction of the toilet, Hedwig felt humiliated, and the Gerths abruptly departed the next day (N. Gerth, 2002, p. 153). Nevertheless, the collaboration continued, and the book was completed.

This was the end of formal collaboration between Gerth and Mills on writing projects, but they still maintained close ties. Nobuko Gerth has almost 300 letters that the two friends sent to each other over the years. Mills often asked Gerth to give his reactions to things he was writing, and Gerth was always pleased to do so, flattered to be asked. He often replied with long, detailed, point-by-point discussions. Gerth sometimes spoke deprecatingly of his role as "cultural fertilizer" for the bright mind of Mills, who was able to seize on the ideas and develop them in his own writing. Gerth always had trouble organizing his thoughts and presenting them in a coherent fashion. Mills had no such difficulty.

Some of Gerth's former students and partisans took a strong negative view of Mills, regarding him as an opportunistic careerist who appropriated much of Gerth's intellectual property and worked them into his own publications without giving sufficient credit to Gerth. Oakes and Vidich, for example, suggested that even some of Mills' singly authored works, such as *White Collar*, were based on Gerth's ideas (Oakes and Vidich, 1999). It is true that Gerth was generous in sending his suggestions and criticisms to Mills in the course of its composition, but he never expressed any resentment that Mills had appropriated his ideas for the book. In fact, he was lavish in his praise of the book. In spite of this, Oakes and Vidich emphasized Gerth's sharp criticisms of certain features of the book that he made in an article that was apparently intended to be an introduction to the German edition of *White Collar* but ended up instead in the *International Journal of Culture, Politics, and Society* (Gerth, 1994). If Gerth disagreed in some fundamental ways with the argument of *White Collar*, that would seem to undercut the view that the book was merely an elaboration of Gerth's ideas.

Gerth's wife Hedwig and his other close confidant, Don Martindale,



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both had a decidedly negative view of Mills. Hedwig was particularly resentful of Mills' appropriating equal credit for *From Max Weber*, and afterward said, "I am glad we are done with him" (Martindale, 1982, pp. 138). Actually, they were not, and Hedwig and Mills later clashed during their stay at Mills' Canadian island home.

Martindale saw Mills as a rival, and, like most of the graduate students at Wisconsin, took a dislike for Mills. Martindale also felt resentment that Mills was able to avoid military service while he had his own graduate study interrupted for four years by service in the Army. When he was finally discharged, he still had to pass his prelims and write a dissertation, whereas Mills already had a position at Columbia University. Martindale

began to have misgivings about Mills during their single year together at Wisconsin when they both took a seminar with Becker. Becker had a limited knowledge of philosophy and on philosophical questions tended to defer to Mills and Martindale, both of whom had master's degrees in philosophy. Martindale discovered, however, that Mills' knowledge of philosophy was largely limited to the pragmatists, and he had little acquaintance with or understanding of classical philosophy or major 18th and 19th century philosophers such as Kant, Hegel, Schopenhauer, and Nietzsche. One evening Martindale and Mills had a long argument about a problem in philosophy, during which Martindale pointed out the fallacies in each of the arguments advanced by Mills. According to Martindale, "The next day in Becker's seminar Mills presented my entire argument as his own, quite brazenly, without ever admitting that he was repeating my points word for word" (Martindale, 1982, p. 159). He concluded that Mills was insecure in his own judgments, and "his basic style was to take over the judgments of the best of his teachers and colleagues and reformulate them as his own." He believed Gerth was for Mills an inexhaustible source of original ideas.

Martindale repeated this assessment of Mills in an interview with Raj P. Mohan in 1983:

Mills did not contribute much in the way of new theories or the analysis of old theories. He did, however, develop provocative slogans in which the ideas of the left-wing pragmatists were given a social-critical edge. . . . In all of this Mills was saying very little that was new, but he

was phrasing it with considerable force. . . . Without question, Mills was a brilliant student, but his interest in the intellectual life was primarily oriented to the success to be achieved by means of it. He was a young man in a hurry, without the time or patience for the time-consuming task of working up original ideas in the first place (Mohan, 1983, p. 36).

Gerth became increasingly critical of Mills' later work, as Mills became more and more political—especially in his last writings on Marxism and the Cuban Revolution. He felt that Mills had too little understanding of Marxism to undertake a general review—especially since Mills knew too little German to read important texts by Rudolf Hilferding, Otto Bauer, Karl Renner, Max Adler, and Georg Lukács. He dismissed Mills' popular book on Castro and the Cuban revolution as nothing more than a political tract of no sociological interest (N. Gerth, 2002, p. 155).

There was also a flare-up of Gerth's earlier resentment concerning credit when the dust jacket of Mills' *Causes of World War Three* described Mills as "translator and editor (with H. H. Gerth) of *From Max Weber*." Curiously, Gerth wrote to his old friend Robert K. Merton complaining about the latest slight, though it is not clear what he expected Merton to do:

I wonder whether I could not try at long last to "stand up" rather than "lie low". . . . I don't like to be treated as an "informer" or "dirty little German refugee" or some such exploitable creature in the eyes of my betters and other operators indefinitely As I say, I can't take it any longer indefinitely to be walked over by "my betters." And I am fed up to be "culture fertilizer" and nothing else (Horowitz, 1983, p. 73).

Merton gave him no comfort, reminding him that he himself had agreed to the joint allocation of credit when the book was first published.

In spite of all the conflicts and misunderstandings over the years, Gerth and Mills retained a deep affection and respect for each other. There was a flood of letters between the two friends over the years, and Mills often poured out his feelings in an intimate way. He asked for advice about new job offers, he complained about his colleagues and former friends, and sought sympathy. He wrote, "you are the only person to whom I can bleed" and "I admit it only to you . . . This has really unnerved me in a fearful way" (N. Gerth, 1993, p. 150).

When Gerth learned of Mills' death from a heart attack at the age of 45, he stayed up all night composing a eulogy. A few weeks later he flew to New York to deliver the eulogy at a memorial service for Mills at Columbia University on April 16, 1962. Many of Mills' colleagues, most of whom were disenchanted with Mills, did not attend, including Merton and Lazarsfeld.

Robert Lynd, who was known for his bluntness and tactlessness, spoke of how difficult Mills had been in bargaining for merit raises, which caused Gerth to explode in anger. Nobuko Gerth wrote that he yelled, “Yes, he was a sterling character.” Dennis Wrong, who was in attendance, said that “Gerth uttered a loud protesting roar and barely restrained himself, or was restrained, from rushing to the podium” (Wrong, 2001, p. 62). Gerth delivered his own lengthy speech, praising Mills and suppressing any mention of the conflicts that had bedeviled their relationship. He could not refrain, though, from remarking that Mills could not read Weber or Marx in German and that he never cared to learn the language. Nor could he discuss Hilferding and Otto Bauer in his book on *The Marxists*, since their work was untranslated (Gerth, 1962b, p. 3). He went on to speak of Mills as his “oldest and, in spite of all, dearest friend I had ever won in the United States.” He concluded his eulogy, “I have lost my friend, as the Romans used to say, my ‘alter ego’. *Requiescat in Pace*” (N. Gerth, 2002, p. 157).

The eulogy was published in a relatively unedited rambling version in the *Berkeley Journal of Sociology*; a more edited version was published in *Studies on the Left* (Gerth, 1962a and 1962b).

Gerth’s Relationship with Don Martindale

Don Martindale had started out as a Becker advisee, but when Becker did not respond to his letters seeking guidance while he was in Germany serving as Chief of Higher Education in Hesse, he shifted to Gerth as his advisor. His willingness to teach Gerth’s classes while Gerth spent two months in a mission to Germany also caused Gerth to feel indebted to Martindale. From this point on the friendship between Gerth and Martindale blossomed. They began to call each other by their first names. Gerth’s other students in the 1940s and 1950s called him simply “Gerth” without a title, but his colleagues called him Hans (N. Gerth, 2002, p. 159). The Gerths invited the Martin-dales to their apartment, and they began to spend much time together. In an interview in later years, Martindale said “Gerth was always more of a senior colleague who shared a similar point of view than a mentor. We were more comrades-in-arms than teacher-student” (Martindale, 1986, p. 33).

In spite of teaching a full load in the summer of 1947, with Gerth’s more benign direction, he was able to complete his dissertation by August. Martindale claimed that he wrote the whole 529-page dissertation in only a little more than two weeks, but he was able to work from detailed field notes and he was supremely organized and hard working. Gerth required the final chapter to be rewritten, and then the dissertation was submitted to his committee, but the committee took the entire fall semester to read it. His final oral defense did not take place until January, 1948. (Martindale,

1982, p. 79). He continued during the 1947-1948 academic year as an acting instructor in the department.

One day Gerth discovered that Martindale was going to plant a “victory garden” in the community garden that had been started by the city during the war. He grew very excited and wanted to plant one too. Martindale helped him to purchase seeds and tools and tried to instruct him on how to proceed:

He was ecstatic, but I believe a wilder gardener has never been seen. He was spading, hoeing, raking, it seemed, all at once. He was working all over the entire garden. . . . Before he completed one task he thought of something else and, somewhere else in the plot, started another operation. I never saw a more shocking looking garden patch in my life with partial rows, mounds, and unspaded portions all over the place. . . . Gerth’s garden had been planted so carelessly that some, at least, of his seeds were close to the surface. . . . To his complete delight, he had a bumper crop of vegetables. . . . For many years thereafter Gerth put in a home garden (Martindale, 1982, pp. 74-75).

To Martindale, it seemed as if Gerth was approaching gardening in the same manner as he lectured—unorganized and chaotic but fruitful.

The ultimate bonding experience for Gerth and Martindale, however, was building adjacent houses together. Because of the severe postwar housing shortage in Madison, when the Martindales returned from the circuit in northern Wisconsin, the only apartment they could find was an appalling dank, largely unfinished, basement apartment on the east side. Martindale discovered that the father of his fellow graduate student, Richard A. Hornseth, was a retired Lutheran minister who was also a carpenter and had built several houses. To secure better housing they began considering the possibility of having him build them prefab houses, to reduce costs and bypass the problem of the shortage of building materials. He agreed to supervise the project but expected them to provide much of the labor. While they were laying out plans and discussing the project in Becker’s office, Gerth dropped by and immediately showed interest in what they were planning. He spent an hour questioning them about the project and growing more excited. Until then the Gerths had always lived in apartments in Madison, but their apartment at 1232 Bowen Court was becoming too small with their two daughters growing up and with Gerth’s rapidly expanding personal library. Finally, Martindale and Hornseth invited him to join the project. He protested at first that it was too expensive, but they showed him that he could have three times as much living space for a lower monthly cost than the rent on his apartment. Gerth was convinced, but it was Hedwig who gave

the final approval. Gerth kept the family finances depleted buying books, and they did not have sufficient money for a down payment, but Hedwig was finally able to use her own jewelry as security to borrow sufficient funds for the down payment. During the next few months Gerth and Martindale found attractive adjacent lots at the end of South Blackhawk Avenue below a sandstone bluff on the north side of Hoyt Park (Martindale, 1982, pp. 93-94, 137). Gerth's lot was at number 10 and Martindale's next door at number 6.

Construction of the houses was an enjoyable shared experience that brought Gerth and Martindale into an increasingly intimate friendship. To Gerth it seemed that there was nothing about house building that Martindale did not know, for he had learned a great deal about carpentry, plumbing, and wiring in his labors as a youth. To Gerth, however, exposure to working men and the world of physical labor was a revelation, and it caused him to broaden his intellectual horizons considerably. Gerth himself learned to do a substantial amount of the physical labor, and Hedwig, who had also never before done any physical labor, pitched in, even pushing a wheelbarrow overloaded with concrete blocks (N. Gerth, 2002, p. 160-161; Martindale, 1982, pp. 94-95).

In March, 1948, Martindale was considered for a position teaching sociological theory at the University of Minnesota. McCormick had written a reference letter, but F. Stuart Chapin, the chair at Minnesota, sought an additional letter of support. Even though he had not been Martindale's teacher, George W. Hill responded with a glowing recommendation and described how effective Martindale had been in taking over and teaching all the theory courses when Becker and Gerth simultaneously went on leave (US Archives 9/21/3-3 Box 5, Folder: M, 1948-50). The senior faculty at Minnesota were favorably impressed and offered Martindale an assistant professorship at \$200 more than he was making at Wisconsin. He informed McCormick of the offer, and McCormick said he would call a faculty meeting to discuss it. The department had really taken unmerciful advantage of Martindale to meet the theory crisis, and their actions bordered on exploitation. Nevertheless, two days after the meeting McCormick finally told him that they could not meet the Minnesota offer, because it would upset their rank and salary structure, but he did not say that he was fired. When Martindale asked Gerth what really happened in the meeting, he was told that the department felt he would be better off leaving, since Becker would make his life miserable at Wisconsin, and giving him a raise would wreak havoc with their salary schedule. When he asked what Gerth thought, Gerth said that he thought the department was right. Martindale interpreted this to mean that even Gerth had made no argument to retain him. He did not accept the explanation about Becker, for he was still on good terms with him and did not break with him until later. Martindale was deeply hurt and resentful at

the inconsiderate treatment he received in spite of his sacrifices in teaching an overload to fill in for Becker and Gerth while trying to complete his dissertation. He wrote bitterly,

Was this the way the sociology department of Wisconsin rewarded service? . . . The Wisconsin department suddenly seemed to me to be sick and I felt I had to get out of it and get some fresh air. . . . I told Dick Hornseth, "It is true that I can stay, but if I do I will have given them notice as to just how much indignity I am prepared to take. The price one has to pay to stay at the University of Wisconsin is to crawl. I'll see them in hell first" (Martindale, 1982, pp. 115-120).

The same scenario was repeated almost exactly two years later with Hornseth, who was also an instructor. He received an offer from the Bureau of the Census at a slightly higher salary, and the Wisconsin department refused to match the offer. He reacted in the very same way and later told Martindale, ". . . McCormick and the other senior members of the department had come to the conclusion that the best way to obtain good cheap labor was to hire young men before they completed their dissertations and to pile the work on them, dropping them as soon as they earned their degrees" (Martindale, 1982, pp. 120-121).

When Martindale decided to accept the Minnesota offer, he faced the problem of disposing of his not yet completed house. With the housing shortage, he probably could have sold it for a considerable profit, but he decided he would seek only to recover the money he had put into the project, and he told Gerth that if there was someone he would like to have as a neighbor, he would be glad to sell it to him. Gerth promptly recruited his best friend, Rudolph Kolisch, the Viennese violinist who was leader of the Pro Arte Quartet at the university between 1944 and 1961. Kolisch had never had a house or even a home base apartment and had spent most of his life traveling with a very busy concert schedule in Europe and America. Being a home owner was a new idea for him. After Martindale explained to him the economic advantages, he agreed, though he expressed the fear that it would turn him into a bourgeois and he would lose his creativity. Gerth retorted, "You weren't corrupted by living in an apartment, were you? If I thought I would turn into a capitalist I wouldn't build a house either" (Martindale, 1982, pp. 96-97). The bank insisted that Martindale see the house through to completion before turning it over, so he had to contribute another summer of free labor to finish it before moving to St. Paul. Kolisch was even more innocent about construction than Gerth, but Martindale had the pleasure of getting to know him as well as deepening his ties with Gerth.

Later, in 1961-1962, just before Hans and Nobuko moved back to Madison from Roxbury, they added a new living room to the house with the help of the architect Herbert Fritz, a disciple of Frank Lloyd Wright. The old living room became Hans' study and was lined with books from his growing library. Four years later they also added a wooden deck opening out from a sliding glass door in the living room (N. Gerth, 2013, p. 202).



HOUSE OF HANS H. GERTH—10 SOUTH BLACKHAWK AVENUE
(R. MIDDLETON, 2013)

Martindale was deeply hurt by what he saw as Gerth's failure to speak up for him at the time of the Minnesota offer. As I discussed in an earlier section, he also became extremely frustrated in trying to collaborate with Gerth in translating the Weber volumes on Indian Religion and Judaism. He believed that Gerth had been infected with Mills' self-aggrandizing tendencies, taking primary credit as the translator while pushing almost all of the translation work off on Martindale and Hedwig. He wrote with some resentment that Gerth ". . . did not really view students as equals. At bottom he was a traditional German professor who—as someone sagely observed—believes that humanity only begins with the rank of associate professor" (Martindale, 1982, p. 124). He resolved not to become involved in any further collaborations with Gerth in either translation or joint writing projects but never informed Gerth of this decision. He did undertake two other Weber translations with collaborators at the University of Minnesota—*The City* (with Gertrude Neuwirth) and *The Rational and Social Foundations of Music* (with Johannes Riedel and Gertrud Neuwirth). These came out in 1958, the same year as the long delayed *The Religion of India*. Gerth was hurt and could not understand why Martindale had not invited him to collaborate on these projects (Martindale, 1982, pp. 124-125).

In spite of the difficulties in their relationship, Martindale continued to

have a deep affection for Gerth and regarded him with the utmost respect. Unlike Mills, who alternated between gentle persuasion and outright bullying in dealing with Gerth, Martindale stuck with the soft approach, never raising his voice or showing anger and avoiding open confrontation. This probably facilitated their maintaining a close and steady friendship, and after the Martindales moved to St. Paul the two families continued to get together often, exchanging family visits. One summer while the Kolishes were away the Martindales lived in the house they had built next door to the Gerths. In the summer of 1962 Martindale arranged for Gerth to teach at the University of Minnesota and introduced him to a wide range of people there. After his wife's suicide, Gerth in loneliness turned to Martindale for comfort, writing from Germany in 1955, "Dear Don, if need be, could I turn to you with my worries. . . . I know you for a friend and hope you will not throw a stone upon me." When he returned from Germany with his two daughters later that year, he gladly accepted an invitation to stay with the Martindales for a period (N. Gerth, 2002, p. 162-3, 169).



DON ALBERT MARTINDALE
(DEPT. OF SOCIOLOGY, UNIV. OF MINNESOTA TWIN CITIES)

Martindale was unhappy at first at the University of Minnesota and feared that his senior colleagues did not respect him. He wrote to Gerth around 1950 that he was being treated the same way as Gerth was at Wisconsin: "My own guess is that there has to be one of *us* in every department. The goat. The black sheep" (N. Gerth, 2002, p. 162). His fortunes soon improved at Minnesota, and when I was a beginning graduate student at Minnesota a year later in 1951, most of the graduate students regarded him

as the most impressive and exciting professor in the department. Graduate students flocked to his very large theory class. He continued his habits of hard work and was extremely productive. In addition to the four collaborative Weber translations, he published some 30 books and 71 essays in his career. He never solicited advisees, but he never turned away a student who came to him for help. Astonishingly, he guided 78 students through to PhDs and about 200 to master's degrees. His wife Edith also published a number of books, some in collaboration with Don, some with others, and some solo. In 1952 Don and Edith again designed and participated in building a house—this time on Lake Owasso north of St. Paul. They also planted several thousand seedlings, which grew up to be a forest, providing refuge for an abundance of wildlife and water fowl (Bardis, 1986, p. 66; Martindale, 1986; “Don A. Martindale, 1915-1985,” 2008; Martindale, 1986).

Nobuko Gerth wrote that Mills was aggressive and welcomed a good fight and argument, but Martindale's personality led him to try to avoid conflict, preferring to withdraw rather than argue, maintaining his outward composure even when angry. I think she misread his character based on his special relationship with Gerth. Because of his affection and respect for Gerth, he tried his utmost to get along with him and avoid open confrontation. Avoiding further collaborative work with Gerth helped in this respect. At Minnesota, however, he became known as a “passionate defender of undergraduate and graduate students who got in trouble with everyone else and who began to seek him out for guidance, for they could always rely on his independent judgment. . . . At times [he] turned his pen into a sword against all kinds of bureaucratic injustices” (Bardis *et al.*, 1986, pp. 66-67). In particular, he railed against the exploitation and arbitrary and unfair treatment of graduate students (for example, Martindale, 1977; Martindale, 1979; Martindale and Mohan, 1979). He also wrote satiric verses to entertain his friends on social occasions and express his frustrations with certain aspects of academic culture and bureaucracy. They were edited by his wife Edith and published in two volumes, the second posthumously (Martindale, 1979 and 1986). Martindale could be quite prickly and waspish, as is shown in his memos and letters published in the posthumous volume. He clearly saw himself as waging a guerrilla war against the professionalizing and anti-humanistic tendencies in the discipline, in the tradition of Everett Hughes, Pitirim Sorokin, Alfred McClung Lee, C. Wright Mills, Gideon Sjoberg, and, of course, Hans Gerth. His outspokenness in attacking the academic establishment sometimes got him into trouble with some of his colleagues and university authorities. He regarded himself as an “outsider” in his own department, much like Gerth, but a great many students and colleagues cherished and revered him. When Martindale died in 1985 five of his sociologist friends joined together to write,

Martindale was a great humanist, a brilliant scholar with a keen wit, an ideal mentor and teacher who treated his students as peers. He was always encouraging and considerate; he served as an intellectual model for them (Bardis *et al.*, 1986, pp. 66-67).

In memory of her husband, Edith endowed the Don A. Martindale-Bascom Professorship at the University of Wisconsin-Madison in April, 1997, and the Don A. Martindale Endowed Chair in Sociology at the University of Minnesota in February, 2008.

Martindale remained devoted to Gerth to the end—and beyond. He kept encouraging Gerth to publish more of his work and write his own book about Max Weber. According to Nobuko, on several occasions he tried to find a publisher for Gerth. When he learned that Gerth was considering bringing out a volume of his own essays, he tried to push the project and wrote to three publishers urging them to sign him to a contract. He also sought to find a publisher for an English translation of Gerth's doctoral dissertation. Gerth, however, failed to respond to any of these opportunities, frustrating Martindale repeatedly. Martindale kept after him, though, urging him to write his autobiography after he retired from Frankfurt University, but Gerth abandoned the project after writing only a few pages (N. Gerth, 2002, pp. 163-164). After Gerth's death he encouraged Nobuko to search out his unpublished manuscripts in the deep pile of his papers, make a selection, and edit a volume of his essays. She did, with the assistance of Joseph Bensman and Arthur J. Vidich, who were former students of Gerth. It was published by Greenwood Press, where Martindale served as editor of its sociology monograph series for seventeen years (Gerth, 1982).

With Gerth's failure to produce an autobiography, Martindale undertook to write his own memoir about Gerth and his own experiences in the Wisconsin department in the 1940s based simply on his own recollections. He did not tell Nobuko that he was working on the memoir until after it was published and thus did not have access to her collection of Gerth's letters and other papers. Twenty years later Nobuko published her own outstanding biography of Gerth based largely on the letters and documents he left behind in a jumbled state. Both books were frank in acknowledging Gerth's shortcomings, but the love and respect they felt for him shines through. Martindale wrote, "Only if one were able to take Gerth in his full human reality and see his talents and genius in the context of his all-too-human frailties could one love him" (Martindale, 1982, p. iv). In 2003 Nobuko published her own autobiography, which gives further details about Gerth and tells of her life in Japan during World War II before coming to America, as well as in Germany after Gerth's death (N. Gerth, 2003).

Gerth's Relationship with Howard Becker

Howard Becker was Gerth's original sponsor and a sometime defender, but he also managed to keep Gerth in a subordinate position, dominating him and manipulating him for his own ends. Because Becker was a senior professor, Gerth tended to defer to him and rarely defended himself against Becker's bullying. In 1999, shortly before his death, the fair-minded William H. Sewell, told Nobuko Gerth that Gerth should have stood up for himself against Becker's domination. He said that even after Gerth became a senior tenured professor himself, he continued to maintain a collegial and deferential attitude toward Becker. Sewell thought it was because of his "old-fashioned German tradition" of courtesy to senior colleagues (N. Gerth, 2002, p. 149).

Becker's efforts to make Gerth dependent on him started even before Gerth arrived on campus to begin teaching in 1940. Becker wrote to him trying to change Gillin's promise of his initial semester's teaching assignments. Gillin had proposed that he teach the course in social psychology (Sociology 139), which entailed two lectures a week and handling six discussion sections, plus Sociology 237 on propaganda and public opinion (Gillin to Gerth, UW Archives 7/33/4 Box 2, Feb. 8-Sept. 17, 1940, G-M). Instead, Becker wanted to teach the social psychology course himself, but with Gerth handling the discussion sections like a teaching assistant. He also proposed that his own name be added to Gerth's seminar on Public Opinion and Leadership in the catalog, since students "have the unfortunate habit of shying away from any new men" (N. Gerth, 2002, p. 146).

Becker had an outstanding intellect and a considerable reputation in the area of sociological theory. He was fluent in German and had studied and done research in Germany, so he was probably better able to recognize Gerth's brilliance than other members of the department. According to Martindale, the department in the mid-1960s was an armed camp with a strong rivalry between those on the theory side, led by Becker, and those with a more quantitative orientation, led by McCormick. In such a situation one would have expected Gerth to be an ally of Becker, but he was not. Martindale said that he did not confront Becker directly, but "Gerth complained constantly of major and minor harassment by Becker and, in the circle of his disciples, continually denounced him" (Martindale, 1982, p. 39). Becker inevitably got wind of Gerth's complaints but passed them off with the comment, "Gerth's paranoia is a pain in the ass" (Martindale, 1982, p. 41). Gerth was not an ally of McCormick either and had his difficulties with him as well.

There is some evidence that Becker was perfectly aware of Gerth's erudition, critical judgment, and superior knowledge of European social thought

and consequently feared him as a competitor and rival. He never proposed to Gerth that they coauthor a book or article, which would have been a natural development for colleagues with such similar interests. Could the usually arrogant Becker have been afraid that he would be overshadowed by Gerth in a collaboration? He did, however, ask Gerth to supervise the thesis of his son Christopher (N. Gerth, 2002, p. 147).

Becker seemed to go out of his way to make life difficult for Gerth. Patricke Johns-Heine was one of the very few women graduate students in 1941, an intelligent and attractive young woman who was regarded as somewhat mysterious because she repelled all advances from the unmarried male students. She had followed Gerth from Illinois so she could do graduate work with him. One day Becker called Hedwig Gerth and asked her to come to his office in Sterling Hall to discuss something personal. When she arrived Becker, with some awkwardness, pretended that it was difficult for him to reveal his information, but he said he felt she had a right to know. Gerth, he announced while averting his eyes from Hedwig, was having an affair with Patricke, who was an advisee of Gerth. Not batting an eye, Hedwig thanked Becker politely and left. She went down to the car where Gerth and Patricke were waiting to take Patricke to pick up her husband. She had kept her marriage secret because McCormick and his more conservative colleagues did not want to educate married women, believing that money spent on their education would be wasted, since they would be unlikely to continue in an academic career. Gerth and Hedwig were good friends of the couple, however, and were in on the secret. When Hedwig got back to the car, she broke into laughter and told them, "I am going to take everyone to lunch. I have a marvelous story to tell you." While they dined she described every detail of the Becker interview, to everyone's merriment and delight at thwarting Becker's scheme (Martindale, 1982, pp. 40-41).

Becker posed as a friend and adviser to Gerth, but his advice was sometimes disingenuous, manipulative, and not necessarily in Gerth's best interest. When World War II ended Gerth was interested in the possibility of taking a position in a German university. Becker had just accepted the post of Chief of Higher Education for the American Military Government in Hesse, so in 1947 Gerth wrote to him asking for advice. Becker poured cold water on the possibility, stressing many problems that he would face and telling him that the University of Wisconsin would be happy to get rid of him and would not likely give him a leave of absence to try out a German position. He also told Gerth that if he wished to stay at Wisconsin, he should improve his speech and publish more, concluding with the jab, ". . . I've often felt conscience-stricken at not having made myself more unpleasant by telling you my real opinions." He followed with a second letter warning him once more against making any hasty decisions about offers from German universities

(N. Gerth, 2002, p. 147). In hindsight, I believe that Gerth's career probably would have flourished more if he had returned to Germany in the 1940s, and Becker's discouragement did him a disservice. Becker continued to offer Gerth "brotherly advice" about his shortcomings, but Gerth interpreted it as Becker saying, "It hurts me more than you to kill you" (N. Gerth, 2002, p.149).

Gerth was aware that Becker sought to secure most nonquantitative graduate students as his own advisees, and Gerth thought it politic not to oppose him. He sometimes served on the committees of Becker's students, however, and this could lead to clashes with Becker, as in the case described in the previous chapter when Gerth and Selig Perlman tried to dissuade one of Becker's students from pursuing a topic for which he was linguistically unqualified. Gerth was also asked by McCormick to be present to witness the degradation ceremony at which McCormick savaged Becker for seducing the wife of his own former student. Having his junior colleague present during the half hour tongue-lashing must have been doubly humiliating for Becker (Martindale, 1982, p. 45).

Becker finally achieved one of his fondest ambitions when he was elected President of the American Sociological Society in 1959, outpolling Paul Lazarsfeld. Gerth met Becker on the stairway in Sterling Hall and said, "Congratulations, Howard!" Becker replied, "I am not Howard to you any more." Gerth was startled but quickly corrected himself: "Yes, Mr. President." They parted without any further words. Apparently Becker was not joking. At least Gerth thought he was dead serious, and later Becker approached him and declared that henceforth "our relationship is to be nothing but polite." He then walked away without any explanation. Gerth felt insulted by what he thought was a gratuitous attack and wrote to Martindale, "I did not do anything against him, 'leaned over backward' as [I had done] for twenty years." Martindale told him not to be dismayed, because support or trust by Becker was "on a foundation with the properties of quicksand" (N. Gerth, pp. 149-150).

When Becker was hospitalized with serious heart trouble, Gerth came to visit him in the hospital. This time Becker gave him some genuinely friendly advice: "Gerth, there's no credit in translation. Better write your own book." Becker died a short time later on June 8, 1960. Nobuko Gerth commented that possibly Hans Gerth was the closest to being a friend that Becker ever had, but Becker's complicated character made a true friendship impossible (N. Gerth, 2002, p. 150).

Gerth's Relationship with Other Colleagues

Gerth was originally hired when John Gillin was chair, but two years later Gillin was succeeded by Thomas McCormick, who served for the next

ten years. He respected Gerth's knowledge and scholarship, and he once expressed the opinion to his graduate assistant that he thought that Gerth was a sounder intellectual than Becker. He also found Gerth exasperating and said on more than one occasion that Gerth was his own worst enemy, inadvertently making it impossible to help him. He tried to reward Gerth, but the dean blocked most of his efforts in this direction. At one point he himself supported discontinuing Gerth's appointment, but changed his mind when it proved difficult to find an adequate replacement in social psychology (Martindale, 1982, pp. 42, 92). Because of the many undergraduate complaints about Gerth's teaching, McCormick concluded that, although his teaching was excellent in small classes and seminars, he could not handle large classes well. McCormick started taking over the large classes in social psychology, and Gerth was further marginalized (Martindale, 1982, p. 102).

During the McCormick era faculty meetings were very formal affairs held over lunch in a small dining room at the University Club. There seemed to be a rigid protocol—probably a holdover of practices from the Gillin and Ross periods. According to Martindale, who was invited to attend even as an acting instructor, McCormick sat at the head of the table with the department secretary at his side. Emeritus Professor John Gillin sat in the first seat on the right side, but he rarely spoke unless he became exasperated with his colleagues. Gillin was followed on the right by the pro-McCormick professors, roughly according to rank. Becker and the anti-McCormick professors sat on the left side, also generally in order of rank. Gerth sat near the end of the table in a neutral area outside the battle zone, along with Martindale and Hornseth, the two instructors. The instructors understood that they were not expected to speak or take part in the discussions, but during the meetings Gerth was almost as silent as they were. Martindale recounted,

Staff meeting was the one place where the monologue stopped. Once in a while some outrage would provoke Gerth into speech. But the result invariably followed the same course. Gerth started with a burst of eloquence, formulating his points with incisiveness and force. But once having started, he could not stop. He talked on and on, strayed from his points, lost his case, and was eventually dismissed by the staff, and ignored as if he had not spoken at all (Martindale, 1982, p. 92).

A notable exception occurred in November, 1958, when the Executive Committee was discussing whom to invite as a guest speaker. Gerth suggested C. Wright Mills, and a younger colleague referred to Mills as "that oddity." Gerth interpreted this as in part an attack upon himself and exploded in anger. Sewell, the chair, did not intervene to stop the tirade, but afterward Becker drafted a letter of censure stating that such emotional behavior was

“not acceptable for orderly proceedings of future meetings.” Gerth was suspended from Executive Committee meetings for the rest of the academic year (N. Gerth, 2002, p. 128).

By the 1960s when I knew him Gerth had largely given up speaking entirely in Department or Executive Committee meetings. Because of his low salary and real and imaginary snubs, he believed that his colleagues did not respect him and had no desire to hear his views. After Dean Ingraham retired, the department was able to give Gerth greater raises, but his salary still lagged behind other full professors and even some associate professors. It was difficult to bring his salary up to an appropriate level for a full professor, because raise money was distributed largely on the basis of recommended allocations by colleagues on the basis of publications and other contributions detailed in annual reports. Since Gerth published little original work, the average allocations to him were usually small. The Budget Committee, however, would sometimes give him an extra boost on equity grounds.

Gerth felt that he had been treated very unfairly by department chairs and by the Dean of Letters and Science in the 1940s and 1950s, and he was probably still wary of them when a new era began in the department with Sewell assuming the chair in 1958. Sewell was known for his fairness in dealing with colleagues, and I know that he had no ill will toward Gerth. He was, however, probably responsible for Gerth’s losing an invitation to be a visiting Fulbright Professor at International Christian University in Tokyo. They wrote to Sewell asking for a letter of recommendation for Gerth, and in his reply he perhaps was too frank about Gerth’s limitations and did not emphasize his special gifts and virtues sufficiently. Sewell was a straight-shooter and would not lie about a candidate, but most American professors usually signaled their cautions more by what they did not say than by any explicit remarks—“damning with faint praise.” Sewell may have thought that Gerth had too little sense of organization himself to assume the task of helping a university organize a new social science division (N. Gerth, 2013, pp. 204-205).

None of the chairs who followed Sewell in the 1960s had any ill will toward Gerth either—Fisher, Borgatta, myself, Mechanic, and Taeuber. Gerth was, however, for the most part a social isolate. He had little social interaction with other sociology faculty away from the Social Sciences Building, though he did attend the annual parties of the department chair. He spent a great deal of time having coffee and talking with graduate students in his office, the Memorial Union Rathskeller, local coffee houses, and in his apartment or home, but he never joined the informal lunches of the faculty at Tripp Commons in Memorial Union or at nearby restaurants. His social friends were mostly musicians and artists—not social scientists.

A flood of young faculty members came into the department in the 1960s, but Gerth had few interactions with them and for the most part did not become well acquainted with them. When I was chair I was startled when I was told one day that Gerth was up in arms, complaining that one of our young faculty members had become an enemy and was threatening to do him harm in some way. I was incredulous, because the young man he suspected was one of our brightest and most personable assistant professors—a man whose friendliness and charm made him popular with everyone. I investigated and quickly found that there was not the slightest basis for Gerth's suspicion. We managed to calm Gerth down and allay his fears, but I never did discover how the notion got into his head.

Gerth was well known by his colleagues for his eccentricities. His absent-mindedness, undependability in keeping appointments or meeting deadlines, and his single-minded intensity that led him to become oblivious to various other obligations were legendary. During class lectures he would become so caught up in his ideas that he would sometimes fail to notice that the bell signaling the end of the class period had rung until a number of impatient students got up to leave while he was still talking. During his early years in Madison he showed a cavalier disregard for parking regulations, parking by fire hydrants and in other no parking zones. Hedwig made most of the appearances in traffic court to pay the fines for the constant stream of tickets, but she became exasperated at this additional drain on their family finances due to Gerth's obliviousness to parking regulations. After Gerth returned to Germany he drove his car to Kassel to attend his *Gymnasium* class reunion. He parked along a river bank where he used to swim as a boy and then continued walking along the bank into town. After attending the party, he was unable to remember where he parked, and neither he nor his friends were able to locate the car. He reported to the police that his car had been "stolen" and took the train home. The police soon found his car where he had parked it and towed it to the police station, levying a hefty fine in the process (N. Gerth, 2002, p. 251).

Gerth also had no skill in managing the family's meager finances, often spending money on things that they could ill afford. One of the greatest drains on their resources was Gerth's passion for buying used books. Martindale commented that whenever Gerth visited a used book store, he became so absorbed that he was "oblivious to all else" (Martindale, 1982, p. 101). Nobuko had to take over all bill-paying and overseeing all financial matters for the family (N. Gerth, 2013, pp. 183, 207).

Gerth's graduate students and, particularly, his second wife Nobuko, knew of Gerth's foggiess or lack of awareness and often helped to shepherd him to his appointments and to meet his obligations, but they were not always successful. Once Gerth and Nobuko showed up at my house a

day early for the annual chairman's department party. My wife and I would have been happy to have them sit down and visit for a while, but Nobuko was embarrassed and hurried them off. They did return the next evening, though I think Gerth did not enjoy parties of this sort. Gerth could also be a loose cannon, sometimes erupting even in formal situations when he heard someone say something he disagreed with. When David Mechanic was interviewing for a job at Wisconsin, Gerth disrupted his job talk with such an outcry. Some of the senior professors were afraid that Mechanic would never accept the job after that experience, but he did. Gerth apparently tried to make amends when Mechanic and his wife moved to Madison and invited them to his house on a Saturday afternoon. Mechanic recalled,

He forgot about it and went off, leaving Nobuko with the chore. Actually, it turned out OK. Since Gerth had an office near mine, I tried to be friendly and respectful, but he was a lonely man and once in his office it was difficult to escape. But I still think of him warmly (David Mechanic, personal communication, April 30, 2013).

If Gerth hardly knew the young faculty members, they certainly were aware of him and had far more respect for him as an erudite scholar than he realized. In a way he was regarded like a beloved but eccentric uncle. His foibles were greeted more with amusement than with criticism from his young colleagues, and they generally had warm feelings toward him even though he kept his distance. When they did venture into his office to ask him something, he would launch into one of his unintermittible monologues, and, like Mechanic, they had difficulty in extricating themselves.

The young faculty member who was probably closest to Gerth was Joseph Elder, who shared a strong interest in sociological theory. On one occasion they needed to meet to put together a prelim exam in theory. Gerth invited Elder to come to his house to work on the exam, but when he arrived Gerth discovered that Elder could play the piano. He induced Elder to sit down with him at his grand piano and sight-read duets before they worked on the exam. There was nothing that Gerth loved more than playing the piano. He had started out in college studying musicology, and he often spent six or seven hours at a stretch sitting at his piano and playing the piano scores of the whole range of classical piano music (Martindale, 1982, p. x). He insisted that they keep on playing duets, going through stacks of music books. The afternoon drained away, and when Elder was finally able to extricate himself, the exam was still untouched (Joseph Elder, personal communication).

On another occasion eight or ten of the faculty, mostly assistant professors, were eating together at one of the daily informal lunches at Tripp

Commons in Memorial Union. The conversation turned to the increasing efforts of Hollywood and the European film industry to produce a few films that tried to deal with pressing social problems in a serious way. Someone suggested that it might be a good idea to offer a course on “Sociology Through Film” that would examine a few social problems and illustrate certain aspects of the problems through the showing of films. There was general agreement that this might capture the imagination of students and give them a deeper or more visceral understanding of the problems. Who should teach such a course? There was immediate and unanimous agreement that it had to be Gerth.

We thought Gerth would be ideal because of his broad cultural knowledge, his interest in the arts, and his experience as a journalist in Germany reviewing films. I asked some of the group to prepare a course proposal and asked Gerth if he would be willing to teach such a course. He was delighted and was quite excited about the opportunity. I knew that Gerth would need help with the complex logistics of scheduling and ordering the films and running the projector, so I asked Evan Stark, an avid admirer of Gerth, to be his teaching assistant in the course. The course had a large enrollment, and thanks to Stark’s diligent efforts, it did run smoothly. It turned out not to be quite what the original lunch group had in mind, though. Gerth taught it more as “The Sociology of Film” rather than “Sociology Through Film,” with a greater focus on analyzing the films rather than the background social problems. I counted the course a success, though there were the usual complaints from some students that the course was not what they expected.

Gerth was primarily a relational thinker, and this tendency was very much in evidence in Gerth’s lectures and writing, with one thought triggering a related thought, and then another and another. Good students who quit trying to force his lectures into their own framework and just went with the flow of his lectures were often treated to many creative and dazzling insights. This was surely more effective teaching than the common practice of mediocre professors who rigidly follow their old lecture notes, while students dutifully copy as many phrases as they can into their notebooks without engaging the ideas in their brains.

Gerth was quite generally respected as a kind of senior sociological statesman by the



HANS HEINRICH GERTH, OCT. 30, 1964, WITH JACK-O'-LANTERN CARVED BY ROBERT R. EVANS (UW ARCHIVES, DUANE HOPP)

faculty in the department and by the graduate students in the 1960s, even beyond the circle of his devotees. Robert Evans, one of our advanced graduate students who was doing quantitative work with Edgar Borgatta, took upon himself the task of carving a pumpkin into a jack-o'-lantern likeness of a beloved senior professor each Halloween. I remember he carved Sewell one year and Gerth the next. Gerth was delighted with this tribute and token of affection and happily posed for pictures with his likeness.

Return to Germany

In the spring semester of 1967 Gerth taught at Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main, where his friend, Walter Rüeegg, was now President. Rüeegg was an admirer of Gerth and had used one of the pirated editions of Gerth's dissertation as a text in one of his seminars. He invited Gerth to stay on for another semester, but Nobuko wanted to get back to Madison and look after her business, and Gerth thought it was probably too late to apply for an additional leave of absence. Rüeegg set about trying to arrange for the university to offer Gerth a permanent professorship. The Cultural Ministry of Hesse favored the idea but told Rüeegg that there would not be sufficient revenue during the next two years to make it possible. Rüeegg wrote to Gerth that he thought they would be able to arrange for an offer after that, but surprisingly Gerth did not respond to this initiative. Gerth had really wanted to return to Germany shortly after the war, but Nobuko thought that he was now ambivalent after spending the last thirty years of his life in America and becoming an American citizen. Finally, in August, 1970, he was notified that the Faculty of Economics and Social Sciences at Frankfurt had unanimously accepted the decision of the government of Hesse to create a professorship for Gerth (N. Gerth, 2002, p. 141). Gerth was still undecided, but when he was reassured by the Cultural Minister that he would be a regular Professor of Sociology and would receive his professor's salary until his death and that his widow would receive a proper pension, he agreed to accept (N. Gerth, 2013, p. 275). In May, 1971, Gerth notified Karl Taeuber, the chair at that time, of his decision to accept the Frankfurt offer. Taeuber responded in writing,

. . . A number of faculty, from new assistant professors on up, and indeed students too, have expressed to me their regrets at your leaving us. I personally share their feeling. . . . The current staff holds you in great respect and affection (N. Gerth, 2002, p. 142).

These sentiments were genuine, but at the same time, knowing that a professorship at Frankfurt had been his lifelong ambition, we were happy

for him. He was still three years short of retirement age at Wisconsin, so we voted him a three-year leave of absence to enable him to retire with full pension benefits. Emeritus status was conferred in June, 1974, after his official retirement from Wisconsin.

Just prior to the Gerths' departure the Department of Sociology and the Department of Rural Sociology organized a festive banquet to honor them at Tripp Commons in the Memorial Union. It was a very large gathering, surpassing the largest retirement parties up to that time. Speakers expressed their admiration and warm feelings toward Gerth, and, of course, Gerth took the opportunity to address the group. I cannot now remember the substance of his remarks, but I do not believe that he repeated any of the complaints or recriminations that we had heard so often in the past. Nobuko had apparently cautioned him beforehand about speaking too long, but his talk went on and on. She recalled, "When Hans' speech did not seem to come to an end, I called out loud, "The bell just rang!" There was laughter, and Hans wound up his talk" (Nobuko Gerth, personal communication). It was his last monologue at Wisconsin.

When Gerth started teaching at Frankfurt in October, 1971, he found the university much changed, even from his previous visit in 1967. The social science building was the newest but visually the dirtiest on campus, with outside walls, hallways, and elevators smeared with black and red anti-American slogans and graffiti. Frankfurt was the most radical university in West Germany, and student protests and communist agitations and disruptions on the campus were at a peak. There were three very active communist student groups on campus—Maoists, a radical group known as Spartakus, and the *roten Zellen* or Red Cells. Students paid no tuition, and the radical students seemed not to be interested in learning but only in political agitation. They tried to disrupt large lecture classes in particular for maximum impact. The 120-student lecture of one of Gerth's colleagues was invaded by one radical student group that insisted on substituting a lecture based on "socialist education." When they could not get the professor to stop, they brought in a dog that barked continuously until the professor walked out. It was a scandal that received wide coverage in the German press (N. Gerth, 2013, pp. 289-290).

Soon after, Gerth was targeted by the Red Cells. Nobuko was alarmed and sat in on the lecture, which had an enrollment of 150 students. She reported that many of the students paid no attention to the lecture, talking among themselves, reading other material, or combing their hair. Then an older man, probably in his late 30s, sitting several rows behind Nobuko started talking in a loud voice, trying to drown out Gerth. Gerth raised his voice, and the man raised his voice further until they were shouting at each other. Gerth demanded that he leave the room, but the man refused. The

same thing happened in subsequent lectures. Gerth tried to deal with the agitator the same way he had dealt with radical student disruptors at Wisconsin by giving him a chance to present his views to the class. He refused, saying, “You are paid to give a lecture, not I.” Gerth suspected that he was not a student at all but an East German agitator sent by the State Security Agency (*Stasi*). When he tried to open a dialogue with him by inviting him to lunch, he again refused. Unlike the radical students at Wisconsin, the Frankfurt University communists were not interested in having a dialogue or exchange of ideas. Nobuko reported,

The following week, the Communist Students’ Group distributed a mimeographed sheet in class, accusing Hans of “trying to take away the democratic rights of freedom of opinion from students by shouting and feet stamping.” It further accused him of “trying to integrate politically active students through bribery and intimidation.” They branded him as “a slightly senile professor from a bourgeois capitalist country who mounts a reactionary attack against students” and called for a boycott of his lectures (N. Gerth, 2013, pp. 290-291).

To make matters worse, all three of the teaching assistants assigned to Gerth’s course were communists of various sorts. One was a Maoist who assigned Mao Zedong’s writings instead of what Gerth had chosen for the discussion sessions. None of the teaching assistants attended his lectures, and they all taught their own course in the discussion sections. Not only did they fail to carry out the assignments he gave them, but they actively worked to undermine him. At the end of the semester he fired all three—an act that caused consternation since it had never been done before (N. Gerth, 2013, p. 291).

Gerth was bitterly disappointed by his experience in trying to teach under impossible circumstances. It was a relief when the red students boycotted his classes. He continued to give seminars and lecture to small groups of students on such subjects as “East and West,” “Karl Marx and Max Weber,” “Language and Culture,” “Sociology of Knowledge,” and “Propaganda and Its Techniques.”

Gerth was also bitter about his colleagues, whom he regarded as spineless out of fear of the radical students. They failed to confront them and restore a proper learning environment. In a letter to Burt Fisher, Gerth said he told the faculty at Frankfurt, “You think this is a University. It’s just a big shithouse” (David Mechanic, personal communication, April 30, 2013). He had no friends in the university and felt terribly isolated. He began to organize his schedule so all his teaching was on one day a week so he could stay away from the university as much as possible. The situation took a toll on

his physical and mental health as well. He spent hours brooding about his situation and typing letters to his friends complaining about his life. Nobuko became a scapegoat for his frustration and anger, and she said in her autobiography that the next two years were the unhappiest period of her life:

He was tense and easily irritated. He was drinking a lot and yelling at me all the time, only to apologize with flowers the next day. . . . He was like a bomb ready to explode at the slightest provocation. Because I was the closest person to him, I got the brunt of his anger. In reading my diary from those days, I do not know how I survived such abuse for many a month, although he never used physical violence (N. Gerth, 2013, p. 292).

With the help of Gerth's daughter Julia, they got Gerth some help from a psychiatrist at Heidelberg University, who prescribed some medications to reduce his anxiety. In the spring of 1974 he was absent from the university for a few months because of health problems and an operation, and when he returned, he found his office vandalized, with books and trash strewn across the floor. Even worse, colleagues and students had stolen about one-fourth of the books from his large personal library—his most prized possession. A common key opened his and many other offices in the building. In spite of diligent efforts, Gerth was able to reclaim only a few volumes. Nobuko reported, "After the book theft incident, he could no longer find meaning in teaching. He complained, "They stole my professional work tools—why should I teach these bastards?" (N. Gerth, 2002, pp. 258-260; N. Gerth, 2013, p. 317).

Gerth did not really return to his good-natured self until he retired from Frankfurt University in September, 1975, and distanced himself from the university. He had taught there less than four years, and in retirement he felt lonely and alienated. He remained in Germany, even though he was increasingly disillusioned with the German people also. He was victimized by some sharp dealings and felt that there had been a substantial decline in the morals of the German people since he departed in 1937. He was also repelled by some of the ugly comments made by ordinary citizens in the community around him. Nobuko reported that in a letter to Burt Fisher in 1973, Gerth wrote,

He was surprised to hear their maliciously anti-American remarks. He felt that now that they had become rich, they wanted to forget what the Marshall Plan had done for them. He could not stand their arrogance. He would agree that the Germans suffered greatly after the defeat in World War II. But he felt that suffering and grief did not make them

nor their society “better.” On the contrary, he felt that “they had become sharper and less tolerant and lost the last shred of humor” (N. Gerth, 2002, pp. 261-262).

When Mathias Greffrath interviewed him about a year before his death, he said that he was deeply disappointed with German university students, the situation at Frankfurt University, and the German people in general. When Greffrath asked about his “German soul,” he said that he had lost it. He had been unhappy much of the time in Madison, but he found life in Frankfurt far worse. He wrote to a friend, “I feel nostalgic about Madison and Madison days, just as I sometimes felt ‘homesick’ and nostalgic for things German while in Madison.” He thought of himself as a marginal man between two continents, not completely at home in either (N. Gerth, 2002, p. 266). Nobuko entitled her biography of Gerth *Between Two Worlds*.

After such an impossible first term at Frankfurt, I wondered why Gerth and Nobuko did not return immediately to Madison. He was still on leave from Wisconsin, and I am sure that he would have been welcomed back by his Wisconsin colleagues. In late 2013 I asked Nobuko about this. She replied,

Frankly, it never occurred to me, and I’m sure not to Hans either. We were totally consumed with how best to deal with these unruly, impossible “students.” You know when you are in that kind of situation (somewhat like a real warfare), other thoughts don’t come in and all you can think is how to survive the day and the next. And also I feel there is a cultural difference between your way of thinking and Hans or I. Both Hans and I come from the countries with old feudal tradition of “your word = your honor”—once you commit yourself, you keep your word. Hans’ invitation was as a result of a long process. He was invited in 1967 as a guest professor before the permanent invitation came in 1970. It was a big decision on both sides, only we did not know the Frankfurt University’s situation had changed so drastically in those short few years due to the escalating cold war between the US and USSR (a proxy war between E. & W. Germany) and the escalating Vietnam War. Besides, Hans was not exactly happy at the University of Wisconsin. For many years, Dean Ingraham was very unfair to him. For instance, when the Dept. voted to make him a full professor, the Dean did not allow a pay raise (N. Gerth to Middleton, Dec. 29, 2013, Jan. 2, 2014).

Gerth had become isolated during his last years in the Wisconsin department, and I do not think that he realized fully how much the department had changed in the 1960s. Dean Ingraham retired in 1961, and subsequent deans

did not show the same hostility to Gerth. In addition, the department had taken on an entirely different character with the influx of a large number of young faculty and its growing democratization. I realize now that I should have taken the initiative to try to get Hans reintegrated in the department. Maybe if I could have induced him to go with me to Tripp Commons every noon to join the informal faculty lunch group, he would have begun to develop some friendships with the younger faculty and realize that they valued him as a colleague. Perhaps he would then have been more inclined to return to Madison, where he could have resumed his teaching career as an honored member of the sociology community. He would have avoided the stress that undermined his health and happiness at Frankfurt. To my way of thinking, it was officials at Frankfurt University who acted in a dishonorable way by failing to restore order and maintain a proper teaching and learning environment.

Gerth suffered a heart attack and died on December 29, 1978, at the age of 70 in the hospital at Bad Soden, about 10 miles north of Frankfurt. He was buried in his family grave site in the Kassel-Wehlheiden cemetery in Kassel a few days later. A year later on December 8, 1979, his former colleagues at the University of Wisconsin performed in a "Hans Gerth Memorial Musicale" in Union South. Bill Sewell spoke, relating some of his memories of Gerth. A number of Gerth's former colleagues and their family members performed musical selections by Schubert and Mozart, including Joe Elder, Ed Elder, Joann Elder, Jane Piliavin, Diane Adams, Bert Adams, and Beverly Middleton.

Arthur Vidich summed up Gerth's career well in these words:

For more than thirty years . . . he presented himself as he was: spontaneous, learned, chivalrous, totally without restraint in tossing out and giving away his ideas, at times morose and self-pitying and with age increasingly bitter about the narrow-mindedness and unnecessary anti-intellectualism of the academic bureaucrats. . . . American students, apart from those who for whatever reasons were parochial in outlook, were bedazzled by this intellectual missionary of cosmopolitan world culture. The best and the brightest of them had never seen anything like him. . . . (Vidich, 1982, pp. 10-11)

Nobuko remained in Germany until 2007 working in publishing, as a tour guide, and translator. She finally sold Gerth's remaining library of 40,000 books in 1994. During her last years in Germany she wavered over whether to remain in Germany or move to Japan, Berkeley, or Hawaii. Finally, she decided to move to the Glacier Hills retirement home in Ann Arbor, Michigan, between her son Richard in Warren and her stepdaughter Anne in Grand Rapids (N. Gerth, 2013, pp. 265, 337, 417, 421).

PART 2

The Decline of Wisconsin Sociology, 1930s-1957

Wisconsin Sociology's Decline

Decline in the 1930s to 1950s

When Raymond Hughes carried out the first study of prestige rankings of graduate sociology departments in 1924, he found that Chicago was ranked first, Columbia second, Wisconsin third, Minnesota fourth, and Michigan fifth (Hughes, 1925). When he repeated the study in 1934 for the American Council on Education, he found the same universities in the top five, which he labeled “most distinguished,” with the exception that North Carolina had replaced Michigan (Hughes, 1934, p. 33).

Sociology was only one of the social science fields at Wisconsin with a high reputation during the first three or four decades of the twentieth century. This was in large part due to the university's coup in luring the distinguished political economist Richard T. Ely from Johns Hopkins to Wisconsin and giving him the resources to begin building strength in economics, sociology, and political science. It became very early a noted center for research and graduate education in these disciplines. Its reputation was also enhanced by the activities of its social scientists in giving aid to the state and Federal governments in the solution of social problems. As late as 1935 the Roosevelt Administration called on the Wisconsin labor economist Edwin Witte to head the commission that drafted Social Security legislation, one of the crowning domestic achievements of the New Deal. Many other Wisconsin social scientists or Wisconsin-trained social scientists also served in other Federal and state agencies in helping to design solutions to pressing social problems. This was what came to be called “The Wisconsin Idea”—professors using their expertise to help solve social problems outside the walls of academe.

Wisconsin sociology's reputation in particular owed much to the personal reputation of Edward Alsworth Ross, the dominating personality in the department. Ross was not only one of the most distinguished pioneers of the field, but he was also one of the most influential leaders of the American Sociological Society and of the national fight for academic freedom. Because he wrote so much for the general public, he was one of the most important public intellectuals of his day and a friend of Presidents and other high

officials. He was no doubt the world's most famous sociologist for the first three decades of the twentieth century.

The Wisconsin historian Merle Curti referred to this period as the "Golden Age" for social studies at Wisconsin in an unpublished paper in 1950 and lamented that Wisconsin's reputation had fallen since that time.

Fifty years ago Wisconsin was one of the two or three leading centers in the social studies in this country; quite possibly it was the first. In the world at large our reputation rested more on what was being done here in the social sciences than it did on what had been accomplished in natural science Certainly we do not have the pre-eminence of fifty years ago. Our work, however competent, seems to be diffuse, fragmented, to lack coherence. At least from the perspective of the past and present it does not appear to be breaking really new ground (Curti, 1950, unpublished paper quoted in Solovey, 1990, pp. 37, 39).

Sociology's reputation had declined along with those of some of the other social sciences at Wisconsin. The Keniston survey found that between 1924 and 1957 Wisconsin sociology had dropped in reputational ranking from 3rd to 12th. Economics dropped from 4th to 13th and political science from 4th to 8th. The social sciences in general declined from 4th to 10th (Keniston, 1959). A reputational survey conducted by the American Council on Education in 1964 showed that sociology at Wisconsin was beginning to make a comeback. The survey ranked Wisconsin sociology 6th, after Harvard, Columbia, Berkeley, Chicago, and Michigan (Cartter, 1966, p. 42). The first five were designated as "distinguished." Wisconsin was not.

Why did the reputation of the social sciences at Wisconsin decline in the 1940s and 1950s? The reasons are probably complex. Social sciences at the University of Wisconsin had a head start over most other universities, but by the 1940s other universities began to catch up. Most of the giants of the early period at Wisconsin—Richard T. Ely, John R. Commons, Edward Alsworth Ross, John Lewis Gillin, Charles J. Galpin, Kimball Young, and Ralph Linton—had left the department, retired, or died. The 1930s and early 1940s was a time of financial austerity for the university, and President Clarence A. Dykstra and Dean George C. Sellery sought to reduce salary costs by replacing eminent professors who retired or left the university with beginning instructors or assistant professors who had not yet built reputations. During his chairmanship John L. Gillin protested against this policy vigorously, warning that it would cost the reputation of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology dearly. It did (UW Archives 24/2/3 Box 70, Sociology, 1927-1941).

On Oct. 18, 1938, Gillin wrote to President Dykstra protesting the

failure of the teaching budget to keep pace with the department's growing enrollment. He quoted extensively from a statistical report prepared by T. C. McCormick. Between 1929-1930 and 1937-38, course registrations in sociology, anthropology, and rural sociology increased 68 percent, undergraduate majors by 94 percent, and graduate majors by 94 percent. In contrast, course registrations in the College of Letters and Science had declined by 8 percent. The number of full-time equivalent (FTE) faculty in Sociology & Anthropology and Rural Sociology increased by only 25 percent, whereas there was a 41 percent increase in FTE faculty in the university as a whole. The teaching budget per course registration actually declined from \$17.13 to \$12.76, a reduction of 26 percent (UW Archives 7/33-5 Box 1, Folder G, 1936-1940). It was a strong case showing that sociology was not being treated fairly relative to the rest of the university, but it had little effect on the department's fortunes.

In the early years of the century academic prestige in the social sciences was based more on the publication of books based on library or archival research or discursive thought rather than on empirical field research, and financial support of research was not so important. As the social science fields matured, however, financial support of research became much more important, even before the revolution brought about by the development of computer technology and large-scale data processing. I believe that the general decline in the reputation of the social sciences at Wisconsin in the 1940s and 1950s may be attributed in large part to the paucity of financial support for research in these disciplines at Wisconsin. In pursuing this subject I am particularly indebted to a remarkable master's thesis in history by Mark Solovey, a graduate student of Colleen Dunlavy at the University of Wisconsin and currently a historian at the University of Toronto (Solovey, 1990). Solovey interviewed many of the administrators and leaders of the social sciences at the university and explored the university archives regarding the establishment and later decline of the Social Systems Research Institute. I have also examined the same sources and archival records that he utilized. I shall return to the subject of SSRI's founding and its failure to achieve its original goals in Chapter 6, vol. 2.

Little Support from Private Foundations

The effect of the lack of financial support for social science research at Wisconsin began to show itself ominously in the 1920s. At that time there was essentially no support for social science research from state or federal agencies, except for grants from the US Department of Agriculture for narrow applied research in agricultural economics and rural sociology. There was also little internal support from university resources. In the 1920s, however,

private foundations created by wealthy industrialists began to play an active role in financing social science research. The Carnegie Institution, founded in 1900, established a division of economics and sociology in 1902, but after its study of the effects of social legislation by states ended in total failure, the division was closed. By 1917 it renounced further interest in social science and limited its support to natural science. The Russell Sage Foundation was founded in 1907 and supported the social survey movement, but the resulting reformist research had little influence on sociology apart from the work of Robert E. Park until after 1948, when Donald Young, a sociologist from the University of Pennsylvania, became the foundation President.

The Rockefeller Foundation was established in 1913, and it formed a division of economic research in 1914. The Foundation, however, soon found itself subject to widespread fierce criticism as a result of John D. Rockefeller Jr.'s support for the management of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company during a militant strike that ended in the "Ludlow Massacre." An attack by the National Guard and company guards on the tent colony of the strikers resulted in the deaths of 19 to 25 men, women, and children. The Foundation tried to avoid further criticism that it was simply a mouthpiece for Rockefeller business interests by withdrawing after 1920 from most support of research in the social sciences (Bulmer & Bulmer, 1981, pp. 349-351; Bulmer, 1982, p. 185).

By far the most important private foundation supporting social science research in the 1920s was the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial (known as "the Memorial"), founded by John D. Rockefeller, Sr. in 1918 in memory of his wife, who died in 1915. It had an undistinguished record during its first four years, supporting mostly social welfare and religious organizations, such as the YMCA, YWCA, Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, and Baptist churches. In 1921, however, Beardsley Rumml, a brilliant young psychologist with a PhD from the University of Chicago, was appointed Director of the Memorial, and he immediately altered the direction of its philanthropy, supporting large grants for the social sciences for the first time. Before his arrival the Memorial had dispensed only \$51,000 for scientific research out of a total of \$9.3 million. From 1923 to 1928 it granted a total of \$20.6 million out of a total of \$45.3 million for social science research—46 percent of its total grants. These were mostly block grants to universities, not to specific individual projects, and the universities were expected to administer the distribution of the grant money. It also made substantial grants totaling \$2.7 million to the Social Science Research Council (SSRC), founded in 1923 by Charles E. Merriam, a political scientist at the University of Chicago, with the strong encouragement and financial assistance of Rumml. In fact, 92 percent of its funds were received from the Memorial during its first ten years, though there were also small contributions from the Carnegie Corporation,

the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, the Commonwealth Fund, the Rosenwald Fund, the General Education Board, the Falk Foundation, and the Russell Sage Foundation (Geiger, 1986, p. 152). The Memorial also granted \$1.4 million for graduate fellowships in the social sciences. The flow of money had a profound impact on research in the social sciences in the 1920s—nowhere more than at the University of Chicago. Ruml, as an alumnus, had a strong personal connection with the University of Chicago, but as Geiger has remarked, the Memorial's strong support of that university was not just a matter of favoritism:

Chicago probably possessed more capable, research-oriented social scientists than any other university at the beginning of the 1920s. Moreover, they shared a strong belief in the importance of making social science research empirical, cooperative, cross-disciplinary, and rooted in local communities. There can be no doubt that Beardsley Ruml's aspirations for social science were significantly shaped by the outlook prevailing in the Chicago departments. Chicago was consequently the university most prepared and most eager to undertake the memorial's program (Geiger, 1986, p. 154).

The University of Chicago received the largest grants from the Memorial, totaling \$3.4 million, which enabled it to consolidate its already leading position as the dominant center for sociology in the United States. It boasted a collection of distinguished scholars, including Albion W. Small, Robert E. Park, Ernest Burgess, Louis Wirth, William F. Ogburn, Ellsworth Faris, Ruth S. Cavan, Robert Redfield, and George Herbert Mead. Nineteen other universities also received grants—in order of size of grant, Columbia University, London School of Economics, Harvard University, University of Minnesota, Vanderbilt University, Iowa State University, Yale University, University of North Carolina, University of California, Stanford University, University of Texas, Fisk University, Cornell University, University of Pennsylvania, University of Cambridge, Yenching University, University of Virginia, and Northwestern University. Earlier Ruml and Lawrence K. Frank had identified the University of Wisconsin as one of the five strongest centers of research and graduate training in the social sciences, along with Chicago, Columbia, Harvard, and Pennsylvania. The latter four received substantial grants, but Wisconsin received nothing (Bulmer & Bulmer, 1981, pp. 354-368, 385-392; Bulmer, 1982, p. 187-188; Geiger, 1986, p. 152-154). Why? It was largely Wisconsin's own doing.

Progressive politics was still strong in Wisconsin in the 1920s and Senator Robert M. La Follette, who had opposed U.S. participation in World War I, carried the state as the Progressive Party candidate for President in

1924. The Board of Regents of the University of Wisconsin had a progressive majority, and many of the members were uneasy about accepting “tainted money” from foundations established from the ill-gotten gains of the “robber barons” of the past. Senator La Follette himself, writing in *La Follette's Magazine* in February, 1925, warned against this source of support for universities:

The time is at hand when the American people must meet this issue of Monopoly control over higher education. More particularly, the University of Wisconsin . . . must take the lead in restoring that fearless “winnowing and sifting of truth” which is paralyzed by the subsidies, direct and indirect, of the Monopoly System (*La Follette's Magazine*, vol. 17, Feb., 1925, pp. 19-20; Cronon and Jenkins, 1994, vol. 3, p. 124; Gordon, 1965, p. 9).

Soon after this Glenn Frank was appointed President of the university, reportedly contrary to Senator La Follette's wishes, and the senator's death followed in June. In an effort to memorialize La Follette, Regent Daniel H. Grady, a long-time La Follette progressive, offered a resolution at the board's August meeting, which, in its final form, had the following wording: “Resolved, that no gifts, donations, or subsidies shall in the future be accepted by or on behalf of the university of Wisconsin from any incorporated educational endowments or organizations of like character.” Outgoing President Edward A. Birge and several of the Regents argued strongly against the Grady resolution, but after a rancorous five-hour debate it was passed by a vote of 9 to 6. This was done even though the Regents knew that Charles Russell Bardeen, Dean of the Medical School, had persuaded the General Education Board, another Rockefeller philanthropy, to grant the university \$600,000 for a medical research building that was critically needed (Cronon and Jenkins, 1994, vol. 3, pp. 124-126; Gordon, 1965).

The action was also very damaging to the social sciences at Wisconsin, since the ban made it impossible for social scientists to apply for grants from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial from 1925 to 1928—money that they would otherwise almost certainly have received. They did not even receive grants from the Memorial in 1924 before the prohibition was in place, perhaps because Ruml was already aware of the negative sentiments in Wisconsin and wished to avoid being embroiled in controversy. The Regents' action quite probably cost the university one of its most famous professors—Richard T. Ely. Ely was particularly aggrieved for he knew that his Institute for Land Economics was viewed favorably by the Memorial, and he was expecting to receive grants from it. Ely promptly moved, along with his institute, to Northwestern University, where his Institute did indeed receive

a steady flow of grants from the Memorial totaling more than \$100,000 (Geiger, 1986, p. 154).

The Wisconsin Alumni Association mounted a vigorous campaign to rescind the Grady resolution, and numerous faculty members and administrators testified against it at hearings that it organized. There was near unanimous agreement that legislative funding of research was inadequate, and that it needed to be supplemented by private foundation grants. William T. Evjue, the progressive editor of the *Capital Times*, was the only person who appeared in support of the ban. By the following May the Regents were aware of the damaging effects of the policy. When they accepted a \$30,000 grant for research on furnace slag from the Engineering Foundation, an organization that was founded by engineers obviously free of the taint of monopoly capitalism, it was clear that they were prepared to be flexible. Subsequently the Regents maintained a rigid ban only on grants from foundations created with Rockefeller or Carnegie money—the “twin symbols of evil monopoly capitalism” in the eyes of the progressives.

In 1929 Walter J. Kohler, a “stalwart” Republican, became governor and appointed conservatives to the Board of Regents, giving them a majority. They voted to rescind the Grady resolution in 1930 (Cronon and Jenkins, 1994, vol. 3, pp. 126-132; Gordon, 1965). President Frank then persuaded the Regents to approve the creation of an All-University Research Council to consider all prospective grants “in terms of the scientific needs of the university and the social needs of the public, and to make appropriate recommendation to the regents respecting the acceptance or rejection of such gift and the manner of administering it.” He believed that the council would reassure skeptics that academic integrity and the public interest would be protected (Cronon and Jenkins, 1994, vol. 3, pp. 132-133).

Though the Wisconsin regents’ restriction was removed after five years, it created lasting ill will among the private foundations, and this was difficult to overcome (Geiger, 1986, pp. 153-154; Ingraham, 1975, p. 67). By 1930 the largesse flowing to the social sciences from the Memorial was greatly diminished, since it was absorbed by the Rockefeller Foundation in 1928, and Ruml also left the organization. The Rockefeller Foundation had earlier withdrawn from supporting most work in the social sciences and thereafter focused mainly on medical and allied fields, which it regarded as less controversial (Bulmer, 1982, p. 185).

From 1925 to the early 1950s there was substantial support from the U.S. Department of Agriculture, plus some additional appropriations from the state, for research of the Agricultural Experiment Station. The Graduate School also received about \$25,000 a year from the state in support of research. Nearly all of the research within the College of Letters and Science, however, was carried out by professors paid from instructional funds.

According to L&S Dean Mark Ingraham, “This important but nebulous area was listed as ‘research related to instruction’ or, sometimes misguidedly called, ‘incidental research’” (Ingraham, 1975, p. 46). This was usually in the form of released time from teaching, but the amount was miniscule. Social scientists generally had to conduct their research while carrying a full teaching load. They had to do their writing during their spare time and during vacations, using their own resources. During the entire period between 1906 and 1946 the university granted from internal funds a total of only \$67,280 for research of the twenty-one members of the department, and most of it went to only three people—Gillin, Young, and McCormick (Gillin, n.d.).

Exclusion of Social Sciences and Humanities from WARF Grants

From the 1920s through the 1950s internal university funds for research at Wisconsin were limited almost exclusively to the natural sciences. The major source of research money was the Wisconsin Alumni Research Foundation (WARF), a private organization founded by the biochemist Harry Steenbock and several alumni in 1925 to patent and commercialize Steenbock’s discovery of a method to add vitamin D to cereal, milk, and other foods through irradiation with ultraviolet light. Forty years earlier in 1890 another Wisconsin biochemist, Stephen M. Babcock, had given away his test for the butterfat content of milk to the public without patenting it, and was deemed “Wisconsin’s saint of science.” Babcock found, however, that he was not able to set and maintain standards or prevent inappropriate use of his invention without a patent. Another Wisconsin engineering professor, Charles F. Burgess, in 1913 patented a dry cell battery that he had perfected, whereupon he resigned and started a private company in Madison that became the Research Products and Ray-O-Vac companies, so there was a precedent for a professor profiting from an invention made while employed by the university.

Quaker Oats offered Steenbock almost a million dollars for exclusive rights to the use of his patent. Steenbock, however, thought that any economic benefits from his discovery should accrue to the university, and he wanted the process to be patented so that he could prevent its inappropriate use. Above all, he wished to prevent its being used to add vitamin D to oleomargarine, an increasingly competitive alternative to butter, since he wanted to protect the state’s dairy industry. Such a policy was obviously an illegal restraint on trade. WARF was facing prosecution for violation of the Antitrust Act at the time when the patent expired, but the charges were dropped when WARF agreed to release its remaining subservient Vitamin D patents to the public domain (Schoenfeld, 1986, pp. 2-7, 42-43, 53-54).

The university regents were not prepared to accept Steenbock’s gift of

the patent application, so he hit upon the idea of creating a private foundation whose purpose would be to commercialize the process and fund research at the University of Wisconsin with the proceeds. Officers at Quaker Oats helped him work out details of his plan, but it was Charles Sumner Slichter, Dean of the Graduate School, who took the initiative in selling the idea to the Regents. The Regents wanted to keep their distance, so it was decided that none of the trustees or officers of the foundation could be from the University of Wisconsin, and the board would be self-perpetuating. The proposal was not without opposition, however. A month before the foundation was incorporated, Alfred J. Glover, the influential editor of Hoard's Dairyman, sent a letter to Harry L. Russell, the Dean of the College of Agriculture, questioning the propriety of turning over public property to a private corporation. He was afraid that it might undermine Wisconsin's dairy industry. He believed that no research carried out at the university should be privately patented, and he no doubt had in mind Babcock's example of releasing his invention to the public domain. Russell was away at the time on a trip to Asia, but when he learned of Glover's letter he tried to reassure him that the patent-holder would be a quasi-public foundation dedicated to furthering scientific research at the university and protecting Wisconsin's dairy and other industries. The Assistant Dean of Agriculture, F. B. Morrison, tended to agree with Glover, and soon President Glenn Frank and Graduate Dean Charles Sumner Slichter were drawn into the argument. Steenbock's legendary temper was aroused by the controversy, and at one point he threatened to patent the invention in his own name if the foundation was not created (Walters, 2015).

With Dean Slichter's support and prodding, the Wisconsin Alumni Research Foundation was legally incorporated on November 23, 1925. The controversy continued, however, and at its first board meeting the following May the foundation trustees invited Steenbock, Morrison, Slichter, and President Frank to attend and express their views. Over the course of the next few years the trustees developed policies that took into account the various concerns that had been expressed and in the end won the support of the university and the business interests in the state (Walters, 2015).

Steenbock disclaimed any desire to share in the income from his invention, but the trustees decided that the donor should receive a 15 percent share of the royalties as an inducement for other researchers to donate their inventions to the foundation. Later when Steenbock was criticized for receiving too much money under this arrangement, he accepted only \$12,000 a year, with the rest going into a special fund to support research at the university, primarily in biochemistry. Nevertheless, Steenbock and WARF were subjected to constant strong criticism in the early years. Many argued that it was improper to patent anything discovered in a publicly financed

institution, that patenting discoveries in the field of public health would be harmful to the health of the nation, and that it was improper for a board of wealthy alumni to influence university affairs without being accountable to anyone but themselves. The criticisms came from many directions, including William T. Evjue, the progressive editor of the *Capital Times*, E. B. Hart, the chair of Steenbock's own Department of Agricultural Chemistry, as well as Frank B. Morrison, Associate Director of the Agricultural Experiment Station (Schoenfeld, 1986, p. 23).

Harry L. Russell, the aggressive and outspoken Dean of the College of Agriculture from 1907 to 1931, had made so many enemies in the legislature and elsewhere that in 1931 President Glenn Frank persuaded him to resign from the university and take a position as Director of WARF. He proved to be just as aggressive in defending WARF and its policies, and the foundation forged ahead in the face of criticism. The trustees wished to build up the endowment of the foundation, so they dispensed little money to researchers at first. They intended to support research only from the interest on their investments without depleting the capital base, but for the years 1933 to 1935 during the budget crisis caused by the Great Depression they were forced to expend part of their base to support natural scientists who might otherwise have left for other universities. To their good fortune, substantial money from patent licenses did not arrive until after the stock market crash of 1929, so the foundation was able to purchase a portfolio of common stocks when the market was near its bottom. One of the trustees, Thomas E. Brittingham, Jr., managed the portfolio, and he proved to be a financial wizard, increasing the value of the investments rapidly through very aggressive investing (Schoenfeld, 1986, pp.7-9, 14-17, 23-25).

During its first ten years WARF was made the assignee of 21 patent applications, and 16 had already resulted in patents. Researchers who made inventions realized it was extremely difficult to commercialize their inventions themselves without the professional help of WARF, and the designation of a 15 percent share of the royalties provided a sufficient incentive for many to turn over their inventions. However, some researchers with discoveries in the public health field chose not to seek patents at all, including Conrad Elvehjem, who made discoveries concerning the role of nicotinic acid in the control of pellagra and of folic acid in the treatment of anemia, and John P. Stauffer and Myron P. Backus, who developed a strain of penicillin mold that doubled the output of the antibiotic. There is no public record of how many inventions were patented by researchers for their own profit (Schoenfeld, 1986, pp. 35-36). Over the years the pace of invention greatly intensified, and in the year 2011 the University of Wisconsin and WARF received 157 patents ("Milwaukee, Madison in Top 50 for Patents," 2013).

In time WARF became very prosperous and was making large grants of

research funds to the university—virtually all to the natural sciences. After seventeen years the Vitamin D patents expired, but a lucrative new invention, Karl Paul Link and Mark Stahmann's synthesis of dicumarol and the development of warfarin and warfarin sodium, came along. These soon became both the leading rat poisons and the leading human anticoagulants in medical practice. The inventions of Link and his collaborators yielded \$16.4 million or \$144 million when adjusted for inflation—not far below the \$14 million (\$232 million in today's dollars) that Steenbock's patents on irradiated vitamin D had earned (Walters, 2015).

In its early days WARF officials tried to control the distribution and administration of funds, but the university resisted the encroachment on university authority, and in the end WARF adopted a policy of making grants to the Graduate School's Research Committee, which had been in existence since 1917. The Research Committee then considered research proposals from individual researchers and distributed the funds (Schoenfeld, 1986, pp. 33-37, 69-70). Today money from inventions controlled by WARF is divided with 20 percent going to the inventor, 15 percent to the inventor's home department, and the remainder to the Graduate School Research Committee.

Harry Steenbock wanted all grants from WARF to be limited to supporting research in the natural sciences, and though he failed to get an explicit provision to this effect written into the foundation charter, Director Russell ruled that "by inference" the charter limited support to "the material and exact sciences" (Schoenfeld, 1986, pp. 81-82). This became the operating policy of the foundation for the next 37 years and hardened over time. Karl Paul Link, Steenbock's departmental colleague and hostile rival, on the other hand, had no objection to WARF giving support to disciplines outside the natural sciences. The university's social scientists were very unhappy with the official policy of discrimination against the social sciences in research support, for it led to a growing imbalance between the natural sciences and the social sciences and humanities. In the first decades of the twentieth century the social sciences had outshone the natural sciences in national reputation at Wisconsin, but the situation was reversed by the 1940s and 1950s.

As early as 1930 UW Sociology Professor Kimball Young, who was then head of the nation's Social Science Research Council, wrote open letters to President Glenn Frank, to the Regents, and to the WARF Trustees asking for a review of the restriction on social science support, arguing that a four-to-one ratio in favor of the natural sciences was unfair. The appeal had no effect. In 1931 and 1932 Graduate Dean Charles Sumner Slichter, who was himself a mathematician with broad interests, proposed support for projects in history, Spanish, and sociology, but they were not funded. In 1932, however, with new PhDs facing unemployment due to the depression, WARF

did fund 23 postdoctoral fellowships in the natural sciences and five in the social sciences and humanities (Schoenfeld, 1986, pp. 80-83, 87). In a 1935 report, however, Director Russell stated that WARF did not have sufficient funds to cover fields other than in the natural sciences:

The single objective which the Research Foundation has had since its inception has been to further the research work of the University in the field of the natural sciences. If its funds were sufficient there would be no reason why its activity should be confined to any special field, unless it was considered unwise to attempt to enter the more controversial fields of the political and social sciences where opinion exerts a stronger influence than in the field of science. For the present, it would seem inadvisable to attempt to scatter our limited resources over the entire domain of scientific thought (Schoenfeld, 1986, pp. 81-83).

Especially during the years following World War II the frustrated social scientists felt that the deck was stacked against them, because the top administration of the university was dominated by natural scientists who had little interest in the social sciences or humanities and no understanding of their research needs. Between 1934 and 1943 Edwin B. Fred, a bacteriologist, had been both Dean of the College of Agriculture and Chair of the Graduate School Research Committee. He became President in 1945 and served until 1958. Conrad A. Elvehjem, a biochemist, also served as Dean of the College of Agriculture and Chair of the Research Committee between 1946 and 1958. He succeeded Fred as President in 1958 and served until 1962.

When Mark Solovey interviewed many professors and administrators in 1989 about this period, they repeatedly mentioned the lack of understanding by administration officials of the research needs of those in the social sciences and humanities. Even some natural scientists thought that the social sciences and humanities had been treated unfairly, though they were less likely to see the policy as one of "willful neglect" (Solovey, 1990, pp. 48, 127). Mark Ingraham, a mathematician who served as a forceful Dean of the College of Letters and Science between 1942 and 1961, was perhaps an exception, for in an essay on the history of the university he expressed some mild misgivings about the imbalance in research support:

It must be admitted that all these sources of support gave funds more readily for the natural sciences than for the social studies or for the humanities, which fact, although it took nothing away from the latter two and even made possible the diverting of some funds for their use, did lead to a certain imbalance (Ingraham, 1975, p. 47).

Dean Ingraham, however, had little control over the dispensation of research funds. Willard Hurst, the distinguished law professor who had a historical and sociological orientation, told Solovey an anecdote about Thomas C. McCormick, the Chair of Sociology and Anthropology between 1941 and 1952. He said McCormick's dealings with President Fred epitomized the plight of the Wisconsin social scientists in trying to make the administration understand the research needs of social scientists. As Hurst told it,

. . . McCormick approached President Fred one day about obtaining more research funds for the social sciences. Fred responded in his usual manner when confronted with this subject. He did not understand what social scientists were fussing about. After all, Fred observed, a social scientist needed only a pencil, paper, and desk to carry on with his studies. This story may be apocryphal, but the point would remain: social scientists who wanted better research conditions on campus had to fight an uphill battle with an administration that had little understanding of the changes underway in social research (Solovey, 1990, p. 49).

The lack of Federal financing, and very limited support from private foundations and from internal university funds meant that there was very little money available for research in the social sciences or the humanities during the 1940s and 1950s. For example, the Department of Sociology and Anthropology had a research budget of \$13,900 in 1951-52 and was even lower at \$10,033 in 1955. (See Table 2) Research accounted for only 10 percent of the departmental budget in 1951-52 and 7 percent in 1955-56. There was essentially no Federal or foundation funding of research in 1951-52, and only a little more than \$5000 from the Federal government in 1955-56. Support from both the Federal government and foundations began to pick up in 1960-1961 and became substantial in 1964-65. By the latter date expenditures for research were equal to expenditures for instruction in the department.

Fiscal Year	Research Expenditures (\$)	Federal Funding of Research (\$)	Foundation Funding of Research (\$)	Research as a Percent of Total Expenditures
1951-1952	13,900	0	21	10
1955-1956	10,033	5,159	32	7

1960-1961	138,294	68,336	39,787	36
1964-1965	508,771	222,784	179,169	50

SOURCE: HARRINGTON, YOUNG, AND TAYLOR, 1966, P. 100, UW ARCHIVES, 4/16/4 BOX 33.

The imbalance between support for the social sciences and humanities and support for most of the natural science fields is illustrated by the figures in Table 3 showing research expenditures as a percent of total expenditures within departments. In 1951-52 only Psychology among the social sciences had substantial research support. Sociology was extremely low at 10 percent and Economics, Political Science, and Geography were even lower. In many of the natural science fields the research expenditures exceeded the instructional expenditures, reaching as high as 86 percent of total expenditures in Plant Pathology and 83 percent in Biochemistry. The Humanities were lowest of all with only 5 percent research support. By 1964-65 increased government and foundation support for research, in combination with changes in the distribution of WARF funds, enabled the social sciences to secure a more equitable position within the university, but the humanities were still left behind.

Departments	1951-1952	1964-1965
Economics	6	58
Geography	9	35
History	18	30
Political Science	8	33
Psychology	54	76
Sociology & Anthropology	10	50
Bacteriology	59	75
Biochemistry	83	88
Chemistry	44	52
Physics	44	80
Mathematics	29	75
Plant Pathology	86	92
Letters & Science Natural Sciences	39	67

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Letters & Science Social Sciences	17	50
Letters & Science Humanities	5	13
Engineering	23	37
Medicine	31	61
Law	6	23
Commerce	11	25

SOURCE: HARRINGTON, YOUNG, & TAYLOR, 1966, PP. X. XII, 73-74. 90-100, UW ARCHIVES, 4/16/4, BOX 33.

Cultural Context: The Movement Toward Interdisciplinary Research

Before discussing some of the frustrations and positive developments in efforts to secure greater funding for the social sciences at Wisconsin—the subject of Chapter 17, vol. 1—I wish to make a digression to examine the phenomenon of the growth of enthusiasm for interdisciplinary research and training in many academic and most foundation circles in the United States in the 1940s to the early 1960s. Wisconsin’s social scientists were unsuccessful in their efforts to promote interdisciplinary work during this period until the very end, and this made it difficult for them to secure grants from the private foundations, most of which were strongly committed to an interdisciplinary approach. This background story is essential to an understanding of how the interdisciplinary Social Systems Research Institute came to be established at Wisconsin in 1959-1960 and why it ultimately failed to fulfill its original objectives. SSRI itself will be examined in Chapter 6, vol. 2.

The Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial

The primary promoter of interdisciplinary research and training in the social sciences in the 1920s was Beardsley Rummler while he was head of the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial. This was a key position, since the Memorial was the prime dispenser of research funds to the social sciences during that period. Rummler regarded the disciplinary categories of history, economics, sociology, psychology, and political science as anachronistic, and he believed that the social sciences would make greater progress if they had a unified and integrated approach. In pursuing this agenda, however, he was tilting against powerful opposition forces—the professional and cognitive linkages between national academic disciplines and individual university departments. As Geiger comments, “. . . in attempting to transcend academic disciplines, the memorial and other foundations met with little success” (Geiger, 1986, p. 158). With Rummler’s encouragement, the University of Chicago established the Local Community Research Committee (LCRC), which undertook both disciplinary and interdisciplinary projects and which in 1929 led to the building of a Social Science Research Building intended to bring the research and

Graduate School activities of the social sciences together (White, 1929). Geiger quotes Ruml's own rueful assessment of his general failure to advance interdisciplinary studies after many years of effort:

We tried everything to encourage . . . unity in the social sciences. . . . We tried joint studies, numerous organizational devices, encyclopedias and publications, fellowships and . . . [the] social science building at the University of Chicago (Geiger, 1986, p. 158).

According to Martin Bulmer, even the flagship program at the University of Chicago “. . . had more reality in its form of organization than in the research carried out. Relatively few projects were truly interdisciplinary and efforts to promote them did not meet with success” (Bulmer, 1980, p. 67). Because Ruml's foundation made block grants to the University of Chicago and left it up to the faculty to allocate the money to the projects they favored, the effect was less to support interdisciplinary research than to strengthen certain disciplinary departments—notably Sociology and Political Science. After the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial was folded into the Rockefeller Foundation in 1929, the practice of giving block grants was abandoned, and subsequently grants were made to specific projects and fields of research, usually to deal with specific social problems. The LCRC was reorganized and renamed the Social Science Research Committee to make it more compatible with the Rockefeller Foundation's policies (Geiger, 1986, pp. 158-159).

Interdisciplinary Social Research in World War II Agencies

It was not until after World War II that enthusiasm for interdisciplinary approaches again became prominent in academia. It was again promoted by the private foundations but also by many prominent social scientists who had worked in interdisciplinary research units for wartime agencies during World War II. A large number of social scientists volunteered or were drafted to serve in research units of the armed services or related wartime agencies. Among the most notable were the following:

- The Research Branch of the Information and Education Division of the War Department, was headed by sociologist Samuel Stouffer, and employed a staff of 134 analysts and consultants, including such notables as John Dollard, Frank Stanton, Robert Merton, Shirley A. Star, Robin M. Williams, Jr., Arnold M. Rose, Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., Burton Fisher, Edward Suchman, Leland C. Devinney, and Carl I. Hovland (Ryan, 2009).

- The assessment staff of the Office of Strategic Services, was directed by social psychologist Henry Murray, and evaluated candidates for the OSS.
- The Office of War Information employed Paul Sheatsley, Paul Lazarsfeld, Clyde W. Hart, Elmo Roper, and Frank Stanton—some through the New York office of NORC. The Foreign Morale Analysis Division of the OWI, was co-directed by psychiatrist/anthropologist Alexander Leighton and anthropologist Clyde Kluckhohn and included Ruth Benedict, Dorothea Leighton, and Morris Opler (Buck, 1985, pp. 206-212)
- The Bureau of Overseas Intelligence, employed Theodore M. Newcomb and Otto Klineberg (Johnson and Nichols, 1998, p. 60).
- The Research Division of the National Headquarters of Selective Service, which did research on civilian and military manpower, included William H. Sewell, Raymond Bowers, and C. Arnold Anderson (Sewell, 1989, p. 89).
- The Bureau of Sociological Research of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, assigned anthropologists, including Alexander Leighton, Elizabeth Colson, and Edward Spicer, to provide advice on the administration of the War Relocation Authority's Japanese concentration camps—not only at Poston but at each of the ten internment sites (*Densho Encyclopedia*, n.d.)
- The Division of Program Surveys in the Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the US Dept. of Agriculture, was directed by psychologist Rensis Likert, and conducted surveys not only for the USDA but also for the Office of War Information, the Office of Price Administration, and the Treasury Department during the war. Prominent members included social psychologists Herbert Hyman, Daniel Katz, Burton Fisher, Angus Campbell, Charles Cannell, Dorwin Cartwright, Dwight Chapman, Jerome Bruner, Kenneth B. Clark, Richard Crutchfield, Douglas Ellson, Ernest Hilgard, Eleanor Maccoby, Rosalind Gould, Daniel Katz, David Krech, Robert MacLeod, Sidney Roslow, Jane Shepherd, Charles Herbert Stember, and Ruth Tolman; the psychologist-economist George Katona; sociologists Nicholas Demerath, Nelson Foote, John Riley, and Julian Woodward; anthropologists John W. Bennett, Jules Henry, and Herbert Passin; and sampling statisticians J. Stevens Stock and Leslie Kish (Hyman, 1991, p. 20).
- The Analysis Division of the Foreign Broadcast Intelligence Service within the Federal Communications Commission, was headed by Goodwin Watson (Eisenstadt, 1986; Cartwright, 1948, p. 340).
- The postwar United States Strategic Bombing Survey, was also directed by Rensis Likert. There were some 1000 members on the

team, including for Japan anthropologists Ruth Benedict, Clyde Kluckhohn, David Aberle, Conrad Arensberg, Jules Henry, and Frederick Hulse; social psychologists Burton Fisher, Herbert Hyman, Donald Adams, Edgerton Ballachey, and Horace English; sociologists William H. Sewell and Raymond Bowers; statisticians Morris Hansen and Harold Nisselson; political scientist David Truman; and psychiatrist-anthropologist Alexander Leighton (Sewell, 1989, p. 89; Hyman, 1991, p. 122). For the German study Herbert Hyman, Richard Crutchfield, David Krech, Daniel Katz, Helen Peak, Howard Longstaff, and William G. Cochran were participants (Hyman, 1991, pp. 93-95).

These wartime experiences of prominent social scientists not only helped to change the public image of social science, but it also brought about changes in the way social scientists viewed themselves and their disciplines. The public began to see social science as having possibly a positive role in formulating public policy to promote the general welfare. The private foundations in particular came to believe that social science could best play a significant social role if it were organized in special research institutes or centers that could set priorities for research on specific social problems, as was done in the wartime government social science units. This would free social scientists from the traditional academic and disciplinary constraints that emphasized theoretical advances through autonomous research. This tended to set up an opposition between the private foundations, which were primarily oriented toward solving social problems, and universities where the highest priority was placed on the theoretical advancement of the scientific disciplines.

Many of the social scientists who participated in the wartime agencies, however, drew a different conclusion from their experience. In almost every case they found that they had no autonomy in selecting the questions for research, and they were obligated to do research only on those topics selected by non-social scientist bureaucrats higher in the hierarchy. They saw this as engaging in "social engineering" rather than doing social science, and though they willingly shouldered this burden to further the war effort, they had low expectations that their work would have much significance for the advancement of social science, except perhaps in the realm of methodology. Because their bureaucratic superiors were generally less astute than were the social scientists, even the social engineering research had little payoff in affecting policy. The research was usually heterogeneous, poorly focused, diffuse, and trivial in significance.

A case in point was the most famous of the wartime research groups—Stouffer's Research Branch. Stouffer was quite explicit that his group was

engaged in social engineering rather than social science, and he did not believe that the social sciences provided adequate theory to apply to the questions that they were investigating. They made full use of some of the research tools that had been developed or refined by social scientists, however (Stouffer, 1948, pp. 336-338). The unit was very industrious, in a relentlessly routine way, and administered over 200 questionnaires to more than a half million soldiers. In the estimation of historian of science Peter Buck, there was only one major contribution to military policy—the famous “point system” to solve the contentious issue of the order of demobilization after the war. This provided the army with a system that the public accepted as objective and fair (Buck, 1985, pp. 217-218). I believe Buck’s judgment is overly harsh, for the Research Branch’s research was of considerable value to the army in dealing with many personnel and management problems (“Studies in Social Psychology in World War II,” 1949).

By and large the policy recommendations of the Research Branch owed less to the application of social science theory than to the use of common sense by some uncommonly bright researchers. In general, the social scientists in the Research Branch could not even convince themselves that their research and policy recommendations concerning courses of action had any scientific grounding. Stouffer’s papers from 1944 contain statements that the group was not able to design their studies “so that the basis for inference as to corrective action rests more securely in the data themselves.” Stouffer admitted in a 1944 unpublished paper,

If the war were to end today and if the Army should ask us what single practice [our] million-dollar research operation has proved to be helpful to morale, we honestly could not cite a scrap of scientific evidence. The curtain would go up on the stage and there we would stand—stark naked (Stouffer, “Some Notes on Research Methods,” 13 October, 1944, *Stouffer Papers*, quoted by Buck, 1985, p. 220).

When Stouffer later published *The American Soldier* in 1949, however, he did make some post hoc interpretations of seemingly puzzling data that contributed to the development of reference group theory and the concept of relative deprivation.

One point that the private foundations and many of the leading social scientists from the wartime agencies agreed upon was the usefulness of an interdisciplinary approach to research questions. The wartime agencies brought together social scientists from different social science disciplines and set them to work on common problems, on the assumption that the cross fertilization of ideas would have a real payoff. William H. Sewell became convinced of the fruitfulness of interdisciplinary research through his

own experience with the United States Strategic Bombing Survey in Japan. He was part of an interdisciplinary team including psychologists, sociologists, anthropologists, political scientists, sampling statisticians, and a psychiatrist who were assembled in Tokyo shortly after the Japanese surrender to study the effect of strategic bombing on Japanese civilian morale.

Throughout this endeavor I was very much impressed with the fruitfulness of interdisciplinary collaboration among bright and willing social scientists. In general, the most innovative and insightful ideas were generated as a result of group discussions, in which little attention was paid to the disciplinary origin of the idea. I was also greatly impressed with the ability of an interdisciplinary team to mount a study of this complexity and to complete it so expeditiously. My colleagues on the Bombing Survey, as well as those who had participated in other wartime interdisciplinary social psychology research projects, were equally impressed with their experiences and were determined to promote interdisciplinary training and research programs in social psychology on return to academic life (Sewell, 1989, pp. 89-90).

Actually, this type of interactive face-to-face interdisciplinary research group was quite rare and never became common in university circles, even though there was a related development emphasizing the use of interactive teams in work groups. This became very popular in business settings but was not necessarily interdisciplinary. One of the most important promoters of the use of interactive work teams was Alex F. Osborn, an advertising executive with the famous Batten, Barton, Durstine & Osborn (BBDO) agency. Seeking ways to make his employees more creative and productive, he invented "brainstorming" as a technique. He believed that if individuals could be freed from the fear of negative judgments by their colleagues, they would produce more and better ideas working as a group than as individuals. He suggested that small face-to-face work groups, ideally numbering around twelve, should be governed by four principles: (1) produce as many ideas as possible, (2) do not criticize other people's ideas, (3) welcome unusual ideas, no matter how crazy they may seem, and (4) combine and build on each other's ideas (Osborn, 1948; Osborn, 1954).

The idea of interactive work teams took the business world by storm, even though organizational psychologists began to raise doubts about face-to-face "brainstorming" as early as 1958 (D. W. Taylor, Berry, and Block, 1958). Since then numerous studies over the past forty years have shown that "brainstorming" is less effective than individuals working separately and that the performance of the face-to-face interactive groups becomes worse as group size increases (Mongeau and Morr, 1999). This led Adrian

Furnham to comment, “The evidence from science suggests that business people must be insane to use brainstorming groups. . . . If you have talented and motivated people, they should be encouraged to work alone when creativity or efficiency is the highest priority” (Furnham, 2000, pp. 23, 28). In addition to the usual explanations for the poor performance of face-to-face teams, some research suggests that groups tend to be overly influenced by the loudmouthed extroverts in the group, while superior ideas from quieter members are ignored (Cain, 2012, pp. 51-58). Other research shows that collaboration at a distance, such as the electronic collaboration by isolated and anonymous computer nerds building Linux and Wikipedia, or academic collaboration by scholars working apart, can be highly creative and productive (Cain, 2012, p. 89).

Cain, in her insightful book *Quiet*, sees the popularity of interactive teams in the workplace and schools as a part of the rise of the extroversion cultural ideal in twentieth century America. There was a shift beginning in the early years of the century from what cultural historian Warren Susman called a “Culture of Character” to a “Culture of Personality” or, in David Riesman’s formulation, from an inner-directed to an other-directed personality type. Under the influence of the self-help movement and Dale Carnegie’s teachings, people began to place great importance on “having a good personality” and on personal presentation. By 1920 “. . . the popular self-help guides changed their focus from inner virtue to outer charm” (Cain, 2012, pp. 19-24). By the 1990s the emphasis on collaborative teamwork in face-to-face groups had become pervasive in our workplaces and elementary schools:

. . . If solitude is an important key to creativity—then we might all want to develop a taste for it. We’d want to give employees plenty of privacy and autonomy. Yet increasingly we do just the opposite. . . . But the way we organize many of our most important institutions—our schools and our workplaces—tells a very different story. It’s the story of a contemporary phenomenon that I call the New Groupthink—a phenomenon that has the potential to stifle productivity at work and to deprive schoolchildren of the skills they’ll need to achieve excellence in an increasingly competitive world. The New Groupthink elevates teamwork above all else. It insists that creativity and intellectual achievement come from a gregarious place (Cain, 2012, p. 75).

Today almost all business corporations use teams and over 70 percent of their employees work in open office floor plans, with no walls to give them privacy or freedom from interruptions and distractions. There is also a constantly diminishing amount of work space per individual. If businesses

questioned their workers instead of management consultants when designing their facilities, they would likely find that most of them would prefer a quiet place where they could work alone free of interruptions when they needed to get important work done. No doubt virtually all university professors would want private offices. Like businesses, though, elementary schools are increasingly using cooperative learning groups, with traditional rows of desks replaced by small pods of desks, and with group projects more and more replacing individual assignments (Cain, 2012, pp. 76-77).

Of course, interdisciplinary research does not have to be carried out by face-to-face interactive teams, and by and large it has not been at the university level. It can consist of two individuals from different disciplines getting together and collaborating on a project of interest to both. It can even be carried out by one individual who has expertise in two or more different disciplines. Several of the major social science scholars from Wisconsin examined in Part I had extensive knowledge of more than one discipline, and their work profited from the broader viewpoint this afforded them. This was particularly true of Bascom, Ely, Commons, Ross, Galpin, Young, and Linton. There are also interdisciplinary fields, such as my own field of Development Studies, which by their very nature require research to be interdisciplinary, whether performed by one person or a number.

The private foundations from the 1920s to the 1960s, however, favored a particular form of organization to carry out interdisciplinary research—a more or less autonomous research institute or center independent of disciplinary departments, but with members from more than one discipline. They generally believed this was necessary to provide some control over the topics to be investigated, since they usually wanted to focus on solutions to social problems rather than on theoretical advancement of a discipline. They also wished to insulate the members from disciplinary and organizational pressures from their home departments. This type of interdisciplinary social science research organization was lacking at the University of Wisconsin, but many universities did experiment with this type of unit. Let us examine some of the major initiatives, which experienced varying degrees of success in promoting interdisciplinary research.

The Yale Experiment: The Institute of Human Relations

Even though the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial had been largely unsuccessful in promoting interdisciplinary university research units, the Rockefeller Foundation, which subsumed it, tried again. Robert M. Hutchins, Dean of the Yale Law School (before he left in 1929 to become President of the University of Chicago) and Milton C. Winternitz, the former Dean of the Yale Medical School, founded the Institute of Human Relations

at Yale in 1929. It was intended to be an interdisciplinary institute that brought “. . . the further development and integration of all the teaching and research at Yale that pertained to the study of man” (May, 1971, p. 141). With such a broad mandate, it included a wide variety of researchers from the Schools of Medicine, Law, and Nursing, the biological and social science departments of the Graduate School, and the New Haven Hospital. According to May, its longtime director, “Its main tasks were to promote cooperative research on problems of human welfare and to develop a unified science of individual and social behavior as a foundation for the more effective training of physicians, lawyers, ministers, nurses, teachers, and research workers” (May, 1971, pp. 141-142). The founders believed it was necessary to transcend disciplinary boundaries and to emphasize unification rather than specialization:

The IHR would strike down the superficial disciplinary boundaries and show how man is “a composite made up of three elements—mind, body, and environment—in constant interaction and impossible of separation. Not one of these elements has in itself any reality,” for they exist only in relation to one another (Morawski, 1986, p. 228).

The *New York Times* rhapsodized that it was an experiment in dismantling the disciplinary “Great Wall of China,” and compared it to the transformation of knowledge during the Renaissance (Morawski, 1986, p. 219). It turned out to be just as ineffective as the Great Wall had been in keeping the “barbarians” out.

The various sections of the Rockefeller Foundation were delighted to fund the IHR generously with over \$4.5 million dollars over its first ten years—about \$72 million in 2016 dollars. It built a handsome 5-story Georgian building to house its collection of researchers, the primates of Robert Yerkes, and a ward of psychiatric patients at a cost of almost \$2 million dollars (Morawski, 1986, pp. 228-229). The Foundation’s hope was that bringing the divergent groups together under one roof would lead to fruitful interdisciplinary cooperation. It did not. Each group pursued its own interests, and the primary effect of the Rockefeller money was to strengthen the discipline of psychology at Yale—particularly behaviorist stimulus-response psychology. In 1939 the IHR suffered the indignity of having an article in *Time* lampoon it and compare it with the “imaginary and phony temple of science called McGurk Institute on Manhattan’s Cedar Street” in Sinclair Lewis’ 1925 novel *Arrowsmith* (“For Freud, for Society, for Yale,” 1939). By unhappy coincidence, the IHR building was also on Cedar Street—in New Haven. [See a clip from the 1931 film in which Dr. Arrowsmith—Ronald Colman—is awed by the palatial facilities of the McGurk Institute.

<http://www.tcm.com/mediaroom/video/280166/Arrowsmith-Movie-Clip-McGurk-Institute.html>.]

At one point the Rockefeller Foundation threatened to cut off its support, which prompted some interdisciplinary efforts organized around a Freudian frustration-aggression theoretical framework. Later the Foundation, still dissatisfied, reduced its funding and eventually ended it in 1949 (Weil, 1963). The IHR was dissolved after the death of its most prominent member, psychologist Clark Hull, in 1952. A remnant of the IHR still exists today in the Human Relations Area Files Collection of Ethnography. This originated in 1937 at the IHR under the direction of Mark May and anthropologist George Peter Murdock. A small group of researchers devised a universal topical classification scheme and began collecting ethnographic materials, filing or indexing them according to the classification categories. Over the years the collection was transferred from paper records to microfiche to electronic files. By 2008 there were over one million pages of indexed information on some 400 different cultural, ethnic, religious, or national groups, and hundreds of colleges, universities, libraries, museums, and research institutions had full or partial access (Ember and Ember, n.d.). The collection facilitated the research of scholars in many different disciplines—including myself in the early years of my career—but the research was not necessarily interdisciplinary. Also, breaking information about societies into small snippets violated a cardinal principle of the functionalist approach to anthropology that individual features must be seen in relation to other features or to the society as a whole.

The Harvard Experiment: The Department of Social Relations

The social scientists who participated in wartime research units were dissatisfied primarily because they were given little or no autonomy in determining which questions they would research, and most of what they did had little theoretical significance. Many of the prominent social scientists did emerge from the experience with an enthusiasm for interdisciplinary research, but their motives were quite different from those of the private foundations. There was a common belief that the separate social science disciplines had not been very successful in their development, and that a more unified theoretical approach among the disciplines might lead to breakthroughs.

A prime example of this trend was at Harvard University, where a new Department of Social Relations for Interdisciplinary Studies in Social Science—usually abbreviated as the Department of Social Relations or more informally as Soc Rel—was founded in 1946, bringing together sociologists, anthropologists, and psychologists. Three of its leading figures had played important roles in the wartime research agencies—Samuel Stouffer, Henry

Murray, and Clyde Kluckhohn (Buck, 1985, p. 206; Bainbridge, 2012, p. 499). The guiding spirit of the new department, however, was Talcott Parsons, who served as the first chair. Parsons was a general social theorist who had received a PhD from the University of Heidelberg in sociology and economics and whose initial appointment at Harvard was in Economics.

In 1937 John Gillin was seeking a reputable scholar as a replacement for E. A. Ross at the University of Wisconsin, and he considered Everett Hughes, Everett Stonequist (who had just published *The Marginal Man*), and Stuart C. Dodd, but finally settled on Talcott Parsons as his choice. He wrote to Parsons with a general description of the terms, and Parsons replied that he was very much interested: “[I] am strongly attracted by the generosity of the terms which you have asked me to consider. It is so attractive that I feel that I must give it the most careful consideration.” I think it unlikely that he was truly interested in a Wisconsin offer, since his ambition was to build a new kind of department at Harvard. He asked for more time to consider it and then went to talk to Harvard’s President Conant about the offer and his situation at Harvard. He decided against pursuing the Wisconsin offer, but was able to use it as leverage to consolidate his position in the Department of Sociology at Harvard (UW Archives, 7/33/1-1 Box 1, 1930-1946). It was the first step in his efforts to depose Pitirim Sorokin as the chair of Sociology and gain a dominant role for himself.

Parsons did not serve in a military unit during World War II, but in 1943 he became deputy director of the Harvard School of Overseas Administration, which was responsible for training administrators to govern the liberated territories in Europe and the Pacific, and in 1945 he did some work for the Foreign Economic Administration Enemy Branch (Gerhardt, 2002, p. 132).

Parsons’ main goal was to develop a unified theory of human social action that would tie together the three realms of personality, social systems, and cultural systems. In 1949-1950 he recruited other social scientists, mostly from Soc Rel, to examine the “theoretical foundations underlying the synthesis which had been worked out on the organizational level through the foundation of the Department of Social Relations two years before. . . .” That economics was left out of the attempt at synthesis, whereas a large part of Parsons’ early work, *The Structure of Social Action* (1937), was devoted to economic theory, is indicative of the fact that the selection of disciplines was due more to expedience in organizational politics at Harvard than to theoretical logic. There was never any possibility that Economics would join in a unified social science department. The Social Relations group produced the volume *Toward a General Theory of Action*, which Parsons thought might have great “significance to the future of social science” (T. Parsons, 1951, pp. V-viii). It did not. Though he never attempted to work at the level of “grand

theory,” Stouffer was also an active participant in this group, because he believed that it was necessary to work out a redefinition of the social sciences and to abandon the old compartmentalizations. In an unpublished paper Stouffer wrote, “I would argue that it is a process which should be the main object of study, and the process should be studied in whatever setting it is most easily available for examination” (Stouffer to Lazarsfeld, quoted in Buck, 1985, pp. 221-222).

There were, to be sure, also more mundane reasons for the founding of Soc Rel. In the late 1930s the Harvard Psychology Department became bitterly divided between two factions, the “biotropes” consisting of the four physiological and animal experimentation researchers and the “sociotropes,” the three social psychologists interested in personality and its relation to the environment. Representing a more humanistic social psychological and psychoanalytic tradition, Gordon W. Allport, Robert W. White, and Henry A. Murray were outvoted 4 to 3 on almost every issue, including the selection of graduate students, the nature of examinations in the field, and general policies. The disgruntled minority considered seceding from the Psychology Department and met with Talcott Parsons and anthropologist Clyde Kluckhohn to form a group to consider a course of action. Kluckhohn was uncomfortable in Anthropology, where he was the only social anthropologist in a department dominated by archeologists and physical anthropologists. He had undergone analysis during his studies in Germany and wished to apply psychoanalytic theory in his studies of the Navajo, but his departmental colleagues did not welcome these interests.

Parsons was also unhappy in Sociology, since he had always been at odds with his chair, Pitirim Sorokin. Sorokin had opposed his promotion in the first place but had been outvoted by the “outside members” who had voting rights in the department. The “Conspirators,” as they came to call themselves, proposed that a new interdisciplinary department combining Sociology, Social Psychology, Clinical Psychology, and Social Anthropology be formed. President James B. Conant, who loathed psychoanalysis and thought the personality psychologists were not sufficiently scientific, did not support the proposal at first, but Paul Buck, a historian who became Dean in 1942, was sympathetic—not so much because he subscribed to Parsons’ vision of a unified social science theoretical framework, but because he wanted to bolster the newer social science disciplines so that they would not be overshadowed so much at Harvard by the older established disciplines of economics, government, and history (L. Nichols, 1998, p. 87). In April, 1944, after receiving another inquiry from Wisconsin about whether he would be interested in a position there, Parsons wrote to Buck about his unhappiness with Sorokin and his vision of the possibility of building an integrated new approach to social science theory:

The sociology experiment was made and very badly bungled In the meantime a very big scientific development has been rapidly gathering force I will stake my whole professional reputation on the statement that it is one of the really great movements of modern scientific thought. . . . Like all such movements it lacks an adequate institutional framework for developing its potentialities, and the development of such a framework is hindered by the vested interest of those already in the field (Letter, Parsons to Buck, April 3, 1944, quoted in Johnston, 1998, p. 31).

Parsons also told Buck that he had discussed the unacceptable situation in Sociology with President Conant and that Conant favored the new approach. Buck immediately notified Sorokin that he was removing him as chair, and he announced Parsons as the new chair later that month. Sorokin moved in 1949 to a new Harvard Research Center in Creative Altruism with support from the Lilly Endowment, though he continued to teach courses and seminars half-time until 1955. He retired from Harvard in 1959 and died in 1968, five years after being elected President of the American Sociological Association by the largest margin up to that time (Sorokin, 1963, pp. 292-293).

After Buck became Provost, the proposal for a new department gained support, especially since there was a large influx of veterans at Harvard who were interested in studying social and clinical psychology. In January, 1946, the faculty of Arts and Sciences voted to establish the Social Relations Department, with the biological experimental psychologists remaining in the Psychology Department and the archeologists and physical anthropologists remaining in the Anthropology Department at the Peabody Museum. George Homans, who was Parsons' chief rival in the department, characterized the new department of Social Relations as "a department built on hatreds" (Interview with Homans in 1986, Johnson, 1998, p. 30).

The new department was very successful in attracting undergraduate majors, becoming the second largest department in the college by 1950, though this was partly due to a reputation that it was an easy major and partly due to an influx of students wanting to study clinical psychology (Johnston, 1998, p. 36). It also attracted an exceptionally talented group of graduate students, and the faculty grew rapidly with the appointment of many eminent scholars. Parsonian theory in the more general form of structural functionalism became highly influential in the discipline of sociology nationally during the two decades after World War II. Parsons considered himself a political liberal and ardent defender of democracy and humane values (Gerhardt, 2002), but I was disturbed by his theoretical scheme,

which I believed was profoundly conservative in its basic assumptions. One of my mentors, Elgin Williams, turned me into a skeptic toward all varieties of functionalism with the article he wrote with Dorothy Gregg on “The Dismal Science of Functionalism” while I was still an undergraduate in 1950 (Gregg and Williams, 1948). C. Wright Mills, in his 1959 book, *The Sociological Imagination*, mocked the pretentiousness and unintelligibility of Parsonian “grand theory,” and he complained that in constructing a universal model he fetishized his concepts: “What is ‘systematic’ about this particular grand theory is the way it outruns any specific and empirical problem. It is not used to state more precisely or more adequately any new problem of recognizable significance” (Mills, 1959, p. 48).

Structural functionalism’s support for the existing inequalities in society was laid bare most glaringly in a controversial article by Kingsley Davis and Wilbert Moore, who had studied with Parsons when he was an instructor at Harvard in the 1930s. They argued that sharply different rewards for jobs of varying difficulty and importance to society were functionally necessary to motivate the ablest individuals to fill them and guarantee the efficient functioning of society (K. Davis and Moore, 1945). Interestingly, Sorokin, who was decidedly not a structural functionalist, complained that he had published similar ideas in *Social Mobility* in 1927, but

. . . Davis and Moore . . . fail to mention my *Social Mobility* although they were formerly graduate students in my courses and well knew the volume. When, however, their “original” generalizations and “systematic treatment” of social stratification are compared with the discussion offered in my volume, it will be found that *Social Mobility* includes those generalizations and treats them in a much more developed form, buttressed by abundant historical, empirical, and statistical collaboration (Sorokin, 1956, p. 16).

David M. Heer, Davis’ biographer, speculates that the omission of credit to Sorokin was deliberate, given Davis’ extreme dislike for his former teacher. Sorokin and Moore, however, continued to have amicable relations (Heer, 2005, p. 43).

During the 1960s, the decade of popular protests, structural functionalism grew increasingly out of touch with deeper currents in American society favoring social change and began to lose its influence. Enthusiasm for psychoanalytic theory, which had been one of the pillars on which the Department of Social Relations had been built, also waned. By the 1990s detractors were waggishly recalling Parsons’ quotation from Crane Brinton in the first line of his *The Structure of Social Action*—“Who now reads Spencer?”—and were echoing, “Who now reads Talcott Parsons?” There is currently some

revival of interest in Parsonian theory, but the hegemony of structural functionalism is gone.

Actually, Parsons' vision of a unified theory binding together the different disciplines within Social Relations began to unravel from the very beginning, even within his own department. Sorokin and Carl Zimmerman were openly defiant but were disregarded as representatives of the "old guard." George Homans and Jerome Bruner were also opposed. In his autobiography Homans told of the department faculty meeting at which Parsons introduced the newly published *Toward a General Theory of Action*:

Parsons himself laid the Yellow Book before a meeting of the whole department . . . urging us all to read it and implying . . . that it ought to be adopted as the official doctrine of the department to guide future teaching and research. I was going to have none of that . . . I spoke up and said in effect: There must be no implication that this document is to be taken as representing the official doctrine of the department, and no member shall be put under any pressure to read it A dreadful silence followed my attack, and I thought no one was going to support me. But finally Sam Stouffer . . . spoke up (and) somewhat reluctantly . . . declared that the Yellow Book ought not be treated as departmental doctrine. There the matter dropped. No further official effort was made to integrate theory for the Department of Social Relations (Homans, 1984, pp. 302-303).

In a 1951 letter to Allport, Bruner wrote that he had heard from Murray and Homans that Parsons was "in a very auto-intoxicative phase and that he is acting somewhat megalomaniac about a 'social relations point of view' which represents the point of view that comes out of his joint enterprise on theory. . . . I have seen this coming and it scares the daylights out of me" (L. Nichols, 1998, p. 92).

Though the unified theory project was supposed to generate more interdisciplinary research, bringing different disciplines into one organization did not stimulate very much interdisciplinary cooperation. The 500 or more publications of Soc Rel staff members during the next decade showed relatively few that were co-authored by persons from different disciplines, and many of these involved Frederick Mosteller, a statistician whose main role was probably to serve as a consultant on design and analysis. Most publications were single-authored or involved collaborations among persons from the same discipline (Johnston, 1998, pp. 35-36). New faculty were selected mostly on the basis of their disciplinary reputations, not on their interdisciplinary scholarship, and new faculty tended to be less committed to the original vision of the department (Johnston, 1998, p. 36).

The Social Relations Department never dared to offer a PhD in Social Relations, but only in each of the four disciplines included in the department—apparently for fear that there would be difficulty in placing its graduates in other universities where social relations was not a recognized field. Dissertations were thus ordinarily confined to disciplinary topics (Johnston, 1998, p. 92). Originally Social Relations PhD students were required to take prelims in each of the four degree fields, but as each of the component disciplines expanded and acquired many subfields of their own, the volume of material became too great for students to assimilate. After 1957 the department substituted a distribution requirement that required only taking four courses outside the degree field—a requirement similar to the minor requirement of most social science PhD programs in other universities (L. Nichols, 1998, pp. 97, 100-101).

Staff changes in the late 1950s and 1960s also began to sap the vitality of the Soc Rel department. Parsons' term as chair ended in 1956, Stouffer and Kluckhohn died in 1960, Henry Murray retired in 1962, Bruner left the department, and many younger scholars also left. The whole field of clinical psychology was dropped from the department after 1967. Finally, alarmed by the move of a disaffected Alex Inkeles to Stanford in 1970, the sociologists in the department voted to withdraw from Soc Rel and form an independent Department of Sociology. The new department was approved in July, 1970, with Homans serving as chair. Parsons retired from Harvard in 1973. Most of the remnants of Soc Rel were consolidated as the Department of Psychology and Social Relations, and it continued with this designation until 1986, when the name was changed to the Department of Psychology (L. Nichols, 1998, pp. 94, 103-104). Social and cultural anthropologists rejoined the Department of Anthropology. Thus ended the Harvard experiment—unable to breach the walls of disciplinary boundaries. The experiment had started well, and Harvard sociology's reputational ranking was 1st in 1957 and 2nd in 1964 during the heyday of Social Relations. Afterwards, it was unable to recapture the excitement of the experimental years, and its reputational ranking fell—tied for 5th or 6th in 1980. In 1984 Harvard brought in Aage B. Sørensen, a quantitative sociologist from the University of Wisconsin, to serve as chair and help the department catch up with disciplinary trends, but by 1995 its reputational ranking had fallen again to 7th (Marwell, 2012, p. 296). In 2013 it was 6th again, tied with Chicago and North Carolina, but by 2017 it had climbed back to 1st, tied with Princeton, Michigan, and Berkeley.

The Columbia Experiment: The Bureau of Applied Social Research

Paul Lazarsfeld was a young socialist intellectual and activist in Vienna in the 1920s with a doctorate in applied mathematics but a growing interest in

social psychology. He had once lived in the household of Rudolf Hilferding, the Austrian Marxist economist who was the chief theoretician for the Social Democratic Party in Germany, and he and his associates were influenced above all by the socialist party of that day. Lazarsfeld came to believe that social research could provide the key to bringing about the kinds of social reforms that his party advocated, but there was no organized institution to conduct surveys and carry out applied social science research in Austria, or almost anywhere else at that time.

Lazarsfeld was 25 years old and had little or no money, but in 1926 he conceived the idea of founding his own research organization and supporting its operations through contracts to do market research for commercial companies. He believed that his undertaking predated all such social research institutes in the United States except for the one founded by Howard Odum at the University of North Carolina (Lazarsfeld, 1962, p. 758). He established an independent Research Center (*Wirtschafts-psychologische Forschungsstelle*) that was informally affiliated with the Psychological Institute at the University of Vienna in that he and Karl Bühler, the titular head of the center, were members of both. There was no formal connection, however, and the university provided no financial support, even though a number of university students wrote dissertations based on data collected at the Research Center. Lazarsfeld continued to lecture on psychology at the university but spent most of his time running the Center. He secured many small contracts to do market research on such products as butter, coffee, milk, beer, vinegar, coat hangers, soup, shoes, laundries, etc., which were of limited interest to the staff, but the studies were very useful in advancing their methodological skills. The market research led to the invention and improvement of new techniques and methods of gathering data. They did a few studies for noncommercial clients—e.g., a study of the radio listening preferences of different social strata in Vienna, and the Austrian portion of Erich Fromm's study of authoritarianism.

The most important project of the Center was a study of the social and psychological effects of the prolonged general unemployment in the small industrial town of Marienthal carried out by Marie Jahoda, Lazarsfeld, and Hans Zeisel in 1933. It utilized a range of methods—field observation, questionnaires, interviews, and the collection of essays, diaries, and organizational records—and it was published to widespread acclaim. The Marienthal study led to Lazarsfeld's being awarded a Rockefeller fellowship to come to the United States to visit a number of universities and research centers. In February, 1934, while he was still in the United States, the parliamentary democracy of Austria was overthrown by clerical fascist forces in a brief civil war. There was also a strong anti-Semitic element in Austro-fascism, strengthened by the rise of Hitler next door in Germany. Many of

Lazarsfeld's family and associates were jailed, his university position was abolished, and the future of the Research Center, which had many Jewish and socialist staff members, was placed in doubt. Lazarsfeld decided he should remain in the United States (Lazarsfeld, 1968, pp. 274-275; Hyman, 1991, pp. 180-185; Barton, 1979, pp. 4-10).

Through the good offices of Robert Lynd at Columbia University, whom he had met during his travels, Lazarsfeld was offered a research job at the University of Newark analyzing some questionnaires and teaching research methods. With the support of the university's president, he transformed this marginal position into a new Research Center in 1936. The university paid half of Lazarsfeld's salary, but he was required to support the other half of his salary and the expenses of the center by securing research contracts. After a year of furious activity on a shoestring, the Newark Center was facing a questionable future, but just in time Lazarsfeld was offered a job in 1937 as the full-time research director of the Princeton Radio Research Project funded by the Rockefeller Foundation. He soon converted it into the Office of Radio Research, and though it nominally appeared to be located in Princeton, Lazarsfeld and his staff actually carried out their research activities in Newark.

In 1938 the University of Newark went bankrupt and Lazarsfeld's Newark Research Center was shut down. Lazarsfeld moved the Office of Radio Research to Union Square in Manhattan over the objections of Hadley Cantril, the chief figure in the Princeton end of the operation. In the end, however, the Rockefeller Foundation sided with Lazarsfeld and in 1940 the Office of Radio Research was transferred from Princeton to Columbia University. Lazarsfeld was given a visiting lecturer appointment in the Department of Social Science, but Columbia paid him no salary as director and provided no financial support for the center. It did provide office space in a run-down former medical school building on the brink of condemnation three miles from the campus in Hell's Kitchen, but otherwise the university took little or no notice of the acquisition that had been thrust upon it unbidden (Lazarsfeld, 1968, p. 276, 288-291, 329-331; Hyman, 1991, pp. 185-200; Barton, 1979, pp. 11-14).

In spite of the university's indifference, the Office of Radio Research—later renamed the Bureau of Applied Social Research—expanded and gradually became somewhat integrated with the educational activities of the Department of Sociology. The research of the Bureau was still supported by contracts with outside agencies and commercial firms, but Columbia graduate students began to be involved in the research. During World War II funds became available from many wartime agencies and nourished the growth of the organization. In 1941 Lazarsfeld also received a regular professorial appointment in Sociology and began teaching a full load of courses

with a methodological orientation. Robert K. Merton also joined the department in 1941 as a social theorist, supposedly providing a counterbalance to the appointment of a methodologist. According to Hyman, “the ironic result was that Merton and Lazarsfeld joined forces, jointly strengthened the Bureau, shared its burdens, and integrated it with the department” (Hyman, 1991, p. 202). Merton even served for a time as Associate Director of the Bureau. As they both rose in rank, scholarly fame, and influence, they became the dominant force in the department, and they assured the closer if incomplete integration of the BASR with the Department of Sociology.

Lazarsfeld did not want the Bureau to be primarily a survey research organization like the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago or the Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan. It did carry out frequent surveys, but it never developed a permanent field staff to carry out regular surveys, and each field operation had to be improvised anew. Consequently, it was never a very large research organization and usually had no more than ten full-time senior staff with PhDs or the equivalent who directed projects. Neither did Lazarsfeld want a research center that focused only on a particular subject area.

In his 1962 Presidential address to the American Sociological Association, Lazarsfeld sketched out his ideas for the ideal organization to carry out sociological research. He pointed out that about two-thirds of the PhD granting universities in the United States had made arrangements to carry out sociological research, either through a unit specifically attached to a Department of Sociology, an interdepartmental unit that included sociology, or a fairly permanent project in which at least one sociologist participated. Units with a specialized focus he believed outnumbered general purpose organizations by better than two to one. The general purpose organizations in turn divided more or less equally into those that were autonomous and developed their own programs and those that were occupied mainly with simply facilitating the research of individual faculty members. He himself strongly favored general-purpose, unspecialized, autonomous research organizations. He went on to criticize the current “confused” practice of universities with regard to their social research units, no doubt stimulated by his own experiences at Columbia:

We allow these institutes to develop without giving them permanent support, without integrating them into the general university structure, without even really knowing what is going on outside our immediate academic environment. . . . Some form of permanent core support, assimilation of teaching and of institute positions, a better planned division of the students’ time between lectures and project research, a closer supervision of Institute activities by educational officers, more explicit

infusion of social theory into the work of the institutes—all this waits for a systematic discussion and for a document which may perform the service which the Flexner report rendered to medical education fifty years ago (Lazarsfeld, 1962, pp. 763-764).

Ten years later he was still making the same basic points:

. . . In the United States . . . empirical studies were always considered part of the graduate sociology program, but . . . the conventional university departments were never suited to the execution of research projects that required teamwork, division of labor, and a certain type of leadership which was different from the customary relationship between an individual teacher and his disciples . . . The essence of the story is that most universities created centers, laboratories, bureaus, and organizations which were not well integrated into the academic departments, were badly financed, and yet were indispensable for the training of students. The battle for and around these hybrid centers and their financial support is still raging (Lazarsfeld, 1972, pp. Vii-viii).

Though Lazarsfeld did not address the issue of interdisciplinary research in either instance, he was strongly in favor of cooperation by scholars from different disciplines. He was disturbed that few faculty members at Columbia outside of sociology became involved in the Bureau's research activities—something that he attributed to the failure of other social science departments to hire faculty with interests in large-scale empirical research projects. In its later years a few political scientists and one anthropologist did take part (Barton, 1979, pp. 17-18, 40).

The BASR was the type of social science research organization encouraged by the Ford Foundation, and by the late 1950s Ford was providing from one-third to one-half of the Bureau's funds, and nonprofit groups were providing another one-fourth. Government agencies provided most of the rest, and it was no longer necessary to seek contracts with commercial businesses. Like the Ford executives, Lazarsfeld hoped that the Bureau would play an important role in stimulating interdisciplinary research, as Allan K. Barton, a former director of the Bureau recalled:

. . . I feel that research centers which can develop coordinated programs applying the methods and ideas of several disciplines to major intellectual issues of social behavior—which do not follow traditional departmental lines—are likely to produce the most innovative and socially valuable research. This will lead in the long run to reorganizing the structure of teaching departments and decision-making authority

within universities. These are the kinds of developments that Lazarsfeld had in mind in his many writings on research organization, though he was not able to clearly formulate them, let alone implement them in his own university (Barton, 1979, p. 41).

The Bureau was highly creative and innovative, but primarily in the realm of methodology and certainly not in stimulating interdisciplinary breakthroughs in theory. It became, in fact, primarily an adjunct of the Department of Sociology and most of the researchers were sociologists.

Lazarsfeld was never able to secure the kind of support for the Bureau from Columbia that it was obviously entitled to, given its central role in elevating the reputation of Sociology at Columbia. The failure of the university administration to supply significant support is surprising, if not shameful. By the 1950s the Bureau's annual income from outside sources was regularly at the \$500,000 level, and by the 1960s ranged above \$1 million. The university collected 10 to 20 percent of the Bureau's income for overhead, but returned only a small portion to the Bureau for its internal administrative expenses—far short of covering its actual costs. In 1972-73, for example, the Bureau received \$1,398,000 from outside sources, the university received \$275,000 in overhead, and the university provided only \$39,000 in support to the Bureau (Barton, 1979, p. 15). Finally, in 1977, a year after Lazarsfeld's death, the Columbia administration closed down the Bureau of Applied Social Research, and its facilities were demolished to make room for a parking lot and a new Center for the Social Sciences. Phyllis Sheridan, in her 1978 dissertation, *The Research Bureau in a University Context: Case History of a Marginal Institution*, summed up the story of the sad ending of the Bureau:

Thus, Columbia University's Bureau of Applied Social Research, one of the first university social science bureaus in America devoted to large scale or team research, was closed after forty years, never having received full acceptance from its university. It began as a marginal organization . . . that was never made an integral part of the University, and was brought to a close by the decision of the University administrators (Sheridan, 1978, pp. 57-58, quoted in Hyman, 1991, p. 217).

It is not possible to disentangle the influence of the Bureau of Applied Social Research from the presence of its star scholars—Merton and Lazarsfeld—but during the years of the Bureau's vigorous operation the reputational rank of Columbia sociology was very high—2nd in 1957 and 3rd in 1964. After the closure of the Bureau, the death of Lazarsfeld, and the retirement of Merton, its ranking fell precipitously—to a tie for 7th or 8th in 1980 and to

13th in 1995 (Marwell, 2012, p. 296). No doubt the departure, retirement, or death of several other faculty members—including Kingsley Davis, Robert S. Lynd, C. Wright Mills, and Herbert H. Hyman—between 1955 and 1969 also had a negative effect.

Other University Social Research Centers

Paul Webbink, from the Social Science Research Committee, which was largely funded by the Ford Foundation, reported that between 1944 and 1948 American universities had created more than thirty “university institutes, centers, and other units concerned with research programs in specific social science fields” (Webbink, 1948, p. 2). Many of these were explicitly interdisciplinary—something that the SSRC and the private foundations strongly encouraged. Though they were nominally interdisciplinary, in most cases they simply included members from different disciplines who pursued research side-by-side on their own disciplinary topics rather than together in cooperative joint projects. The two most successful of the nonprofit, public interest social research organizations associated with universities and primarily dedicated to survey research were the National Opinion Research Center (NORC), now loosely affiliated with the University of Chicago, and the University of Michigan’s Survey Research Center (SRC) and Institute for Social Research (ISR).

The National Opinion Research Center and the University of Chicago

The unlikely founder of the National Opinion Research Center was Harry H. Field, an expatriate Englishman, who was not an academic, and, though very bright, had no college education. His background was entirely in market research and commercial polling, primarily with George Gallup, but he had a dream of founding a nonprofit organization attached to a university that would be funded by foundations and government contracts to do high quality surveys free of political or commercial bias that would serve the public interest. He won the backing of the three leading market researchers—George Gallup, Elmo Roper, and Archibald Crossley, who did not see him as a competitive threat, and he also enlisted the support of leading social scientists, including Hadley Cantril, Gordon W. Allport, Samuel A. Stouffer, and Paul F. Lazarsfeld. Cantril was especially important, for he arranged for a series of meetings with Marshall Field II (no relation to Harry) and persuaded him to provide seed money of about \$50,000 a year for five years to start the center. Cantril, Allport, and Stouffer, who was still at Chicago, were invited to become trustees (Cantril, 1967, pp. 165-166; Sheatsley, 1982,

pp. 6-7). The University of Denver also offered housing in its library building and an annual subsidy of \$10,000. Thus the National Opinion Research Center was founded as a nonprofit organization in Denver under the laws of Colorado in October, 1941. From the very beginning Field insisted on maintaining high quality standards, including using only interviewers who were personally hired and trained by NORC staff, using probability sampling, and establishing a national sampling frame (Sheatsley, 1982, p. 7).

The Denver operations were interrupted by World War II, and during the war years only three or four surveys a year were mounted from Denver. The Office of War Information in New York City, however, needed the services of a survey research organization, and it contracted with NORC to open an office in New York City, which came to be presided over by Paul B. Sheatsley. All through the wartime period the small New York office carried out the bulk of the center's surveys—not only public opinion surveys but also fact-finding surveys for both the OWI and the Office of Price Administration. At the end of the war the OWI activity ceased, and NORC faced an uncertain future, but the New York office was able to remain open when it was commissioned by the Department of State to conduct surveys on its behalf. It conducted several studies each year for the State Department, but was also permitted to sell some sections in surveys to other organizations—the beginning of omnibus surveys (Sheatsley, 1982, pp. 8-9).

Field succeeded in recruiting an academic Associate Director, Clyde W. Hart, a former University of Iowa sociologist, who had served as an administrator of OPA and had worked closely with the survey staff of NORC during the war. Field died in a plane crash in Belgium in November, 1946, and Hart succeeded him as Director. This marked an important turning point for NORC. According to Sheatsley, Hart had a different vision for the organization: "Whereas Field saw NORC as a sort of nonprofit public interest polling center, Hart envisioned a major social research institution, with academically trained social scientists pursuing their interests under government or foundation grants and contracts" (Sheatsley, 1982, p. 11). To achieve this end, Hart convinced the trustees that it was necessary to move the main operations of NORC to a larger and more prestigious university where it could attract the kinds of academic scholars necessary to carry out this work. The NORC trustees explored several possible hosts, including Chicago, Columbia, Cornell, Michigan, Pittsburgh, Princeton, and Wisconsin, which all expressed interest. The trustees chose the University of Chicago, which was probably not unrelated to the fact that Hart had received his PhD in sociology at Chicago in the 1920s and had many friends in the Chicago department (Hyman, 1991, pp. 147-148). Marshall Field was also a trustee of the University of Chicago and was able to convince his fellow trustees to make NORC an affiliated research institution of the university. It did not

become a fully integrated institute within the university, however, like the Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan. It continued as a separate nonprofit corporation, but the university appointed a majority of its trustees. The move to Chicago was accomplished in 1947, though satellite offices were maintained in New York City and at the University of Denver (Bradburn and Davis, n.d., pp. 4-5).

NORC conducted a large number of surveys between 1947 and 1960, sometimes generated directly by NORC's study directors and sometimes contracted by outside researchers—e.g., Stouffer's civil liberties study and Lazarsfeld's study of the impact of McCarthy's anti-communist crusade on university professors. Its annual budgets during this period, though, were comparatively small, only once reaching \$500,000. By 1965 and thereafter, however, its annual budget exceeded \$2 million and the staff grew from 30 or 40 to over 100. It was a significantly larger organization than Columbia's Bureau of Applied Social Research. After Hart retired in 1960, Peter H. Rossi, who had worked with Lazarsfeld at BASR, became the Director of NORC, and he recruited an outstanding set of study directors, including James Coleman, Norman Bradburn, Andrew Greeley, Seymour Sudman, John Johnstone, Elihu Katz, David Caplovitz, Alice Rossi, Philip Ennis, and Joe Spaeth. Some of the study directors had academic appointments in the University of Chicago, but it was not possible to accommodate all of them. According to Bradburn and Davis, Rossi faced a dilemma:

[Rossi] wanted to strengthen the ties to the University by having more of the NORC study directors have joint appointments with University departments. But this meant that the study directors would spend more time teaching and have to reduce the amount of time devoted to doing research at NORC. The realities of funding NORC, however, meant that it was necessary to have a large enough research staff to support the national field staff. A national field organization was like a machine; it had to be continually operated to keep it well-oiled or it would rust. Since a study director could not do more than one new study every year or two, the staff had to be big enough to generate a sufficient volume of studies to keep the field staff busy. Rossi did not want to increase the size of NORC's research staff because there were a limited number of opportunities to make joint appointments with the University (Bradburn & Davis, n.d., pp. 5-6).

Rossi's solution was to make the field staff available to researchers outside NORC and the University of Chicago. He established the Survey Research Service to provide sampling and interviewing for studies designed and analyzed by researchers at other universities and nonprofit organizations.

Paul Sheatsley moved from New York to Chicago to become its first director.

In 1966 NORC faced a financial crisis, because its informal style of management was unable to cope with the demands of a growing organization. The crisis was caused in part by a shift in its principal funding from private foundations, which paid in advance, to government grants or contracts which were paid only after invoices were received and processed. NORC was saved from bankruptcy, however, when the University of Chicago extended a long-term loan. A professional management team was brought in to reorganize administrative procedures, and Norman Bradburn was installed as Director (Sheatsley, 1982, pp. 14-15).

NORC has continued to grow and carry out influential surveys in the public interest. By the 1990s its budget was approximately \$40 million, and by its 70th anniversary in 2011 it had tripled again, with over 400 contracts, grants, and subcontracts from government and nonprofit agencies. It had 32 Senior Fellows, and it listed 147 researchers and survey methodology experts on its staff in 2011. It is now headquartered in downtown Chicago, with additional offices on the University of Chicago campus—an indication of its growing autonomy. Though much of its survey work is applied research for a variety of institutions, it has had a profound effect on social science research as well. The General Social Survey is its longest running project, reaching its 40th year in 2012. It is the single best source of data on societal trends, since it includes a core of demographic, behavioral, and attitudinal questions that are repeated from earlier surveys, many dating back to the very beginning. It is also an omnibus survey that includes topics of special interest. Apart from the U.S. Census, it is the most frequently analyzed source of information in the social sciences, and has provided the source of data for some 16,000 journal articles, books, and PhD dissertations. NORC claims that 98 percent of the users have no connection with NORC, and also that 400,000 students use the data in class instruction and projects every year (*NORC Annual Report*, 2011, pp. 3, 7).

NORC was not founded to be an interdisciplinary research institute of the sort envisioned by the private foundations, since methodology—use of the survey—was its organizing principle. Many of the first studies carried out were in a disciplinary vein according to the discipline of the study director, but the larger studies did come to employ researchers with different disciplinary backgrounds. Today the interdisciplinary nature of the organization may be seen in the variety of research departments and centers, with staffs representing many different disciplines. These include such subjects as Economics, Labor, and Population; Education and Child Development; Health Care; Public Health; Security, Energy, and Environment; Substance Abuse, Mental Health, and Criminal Justice; and Demography and Economics of Aging (*NORC Annual Report*, 2011, pp. 50-51).

The Michigan Survey Research Center and Institute for Social Research

The University of Michigan's Institute for Social Research, including its original component unit, the Survey Research Center, is, as its web page proclaims, "the world's largest academic social science survey and research organization." Unlike NORC, which is an autonomous organization not fully integrated into a university, the Survey Research Center, and later the ISR, have been integral parts of the university from the very beginning in 1946.

The origins of the Survey Research Center lie in the prior development of the Division of Program Surveys of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, which was founded and directed by the 36-year-old social psychologist Rensis Likert in 1939. The USDA had started collecting spot reports of farmers' opinions about various problems and programs by 6 to 9 roving observers, but then it also began to collect information about the opinions of urban recipients of its food distribution and food stamp programs. Such a small field staff was clearly inadequate to cover the whole country. The first regular recurring government surveys of opinion with probability sampling were begun by Likert and his staff in 1942, and as the most experienced survey organization in the government, it was also contracted to do surveys on behalf of the Office of War Information (OWI), the Office of Price Administration (OPA), and the Treasury Department during World War II. The staff quickly mushroomed to over 100 social scientists. Herbert Hyman, a newly minted PhD, joined the staff in 1942, lured by Likert's vision and enthusiasm:

Likert's "vision," communicated to the staff with sincerity and enthusiasm verging on religious fervor, was of a survey method distinct from and superior to both the commercial polling and academic attitude research of the period. That method would help solve the social problems of peacetime as well as wartime, and the theoretical problems of social science, and would be developed by our joint efforts. Our great mission inspired us and intensified the passions already aroused by the war (Hyman, 1991, p. 5).

Likert's prior fame rested on his development of a technique of attitude scaling utilizing a series of closed-ended questions requiring the respondent to express approval or disapproval in five degrees, ranging from strongly approve to strongly disapprove. The technique is still in widespread use today. Surprisingly, when Likert became the director of the Division of Program Surveys, he turned against the use of closed-ended questions, arguing that adults, unlike the docile college students that social psychologists usually

studied, were unwilling to cooperate with answering questions that did not capture the complexity of their views. Thus, the Division relied almost entirely on open-ended questions in interviews. This set them apart from market research and polling organizations, but the interviews required complex coding and this made the surveys slow and expensive. The OWI had also begun to use the services of NORC, which had started conducting surveys using mostly closed-ended questions. It retained Paul Lazarsfeld to advise it on the merits of the two approaches. Lazarsfeld was a strong believer in a well-organized set of closed-ended questions, but he also believed that open-ended interviews were useful at the very beginning of research and at the very end. He recommended that OWI continue to support both types of surveys, but instead OWI canceled its contract with Likert's Division in November, 1942, and half of its staff had to be terminated. Many of the senior staff remained, however, and the Division continued to operate with support from USDA and the Department of the Treasury. Gradually the Division researchers began to incorporate closed-ended questions into their surveys under the pressure to make their surveys more expeditious and less costly (Hyman, 1991, pp. 6-20).

Likert in November, 1944, took on an additional job as the Director of the U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey of Germany in the Morale Division, an autonomous agency under civilian control within the office of the Secretary of War. Its primary function was to organize a survey in Germany at war's end to determine the effects of the massive strategic area bombing campaigns carried out by both Britain and the U.S. on German civilian morale. Senior staff included mostly former researchers from his Division of Program Surveys, plus a few current staffers. Upon Japan's surrender in August, 1945, Likert quickly organized another team to carry out a similar survey in Japan. This staff also included some staff from the Division of Program Surveys but also many new members who had special knowledge that might be applicable to Japanese society. Though the two bombing surveys had a great effect in sharpening the methodology and skills of survey researchers who took part, the results did not have the wider influence of the research in Stouffer's Army Research Division. Its original reports were in classified mimeographed form. After declassification two volumes on Germany and one on Japan were published by the U.S. Government Printing Office in 1947, but they did not stress the substantive or methodological implications for scientists, and both scholars and policy makers generally ignored them.

Toward the end of World War II the Division of Program Surveys' research for wartime agencies declined, and its surveys became more narrowly focused on the problems of farmers and the marketing of farm products—subjects that were of less interest to Likert and other senior staff members.

Finally, the Division was abolished in August, 1946, and replaced by the Division of Special Surveys focused on agricultural marketing. Many of the staff returned to a variety of university positions, but Likert and a small group of his senior colleagues who had close relationships with each other wished to remain together and build a survey research organization in a university setting (Hyman, 1991, pp. 19-20). Likert himself was a University of Michigan alumnus and had ties there. Seeing the likely fate of the Division, Likert began exploratory conversations with the chairs of Psychology, Sociology, and the new doctoral program in social psychology at the University of Michigan and found increasing levels of enthusiasm for the idea of a survey research center within the university. The university administration finally decided to welcome the new organization and established the Survey Research Center in 1946. They agreed to house the center and give research appointments to its founding members and professorial appointments to those who would be teaching in social science departments. At the same time the university made it clear that the center was to be wholly self-supporting from outside research grants and contracts. The agreement also specified that if the outside funding for a position ceased “in case of persons not previously employed by the University, both the service and the salary shall forthwith terminate regardless of the rank or title held” (Cannell and Kahn, 1984, p. 1257).

Recognizing that the new research organization needed some means of providing continuity for its staff between grants, the administration made a concession that was of crucial significance for the success of the center. It agreed to letting the center retain all the overhead or indirect costs portions of grants and contracts rather than appropriating them for the university’s general fund. The Survey Research Center thus had much more generous support from its host than the Bureau of Applied Social Research did at Columbia University—a critical difference that helps to explain the eventual demise of BASR (*Ibid.*)

Rensis Likert, Angus Campbell, George Katona, Charles Cannell, and Leslie Kish moved from the Division of Special Surveys to their new home in Ann Arbor in 1946. Within two years they were joined by others who became longtime colleagues, including Robert Kahn, Daniel Katz, Stephen Withey, John Lansing, and James Morgan. Likert and Newcomb were the two key leaders who helped to build the organization, and from the beginning the senior staff met together weekly to discuss issues facing the center. In the early years grants and contracts were secured from the Office of Naval Research, the Treasury Department, the Federal Reserve Board, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Carnegie Corporation, and the Ford Foundation (*Ibid.*).

In 1948 the Research Center for Group Dynamics moved from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology to the University of Michigan, and a new

Institute for Social Research was founded to accommodate both the Survey Research Center and the new Group Dynamics Center. The latter had been founded by the experimental psychologist Kurt Lewin at MIT in 1945, but after his death in 1947 the remaining senior staff members wished to move to the University of Michigan, which had a larger and more diverse social science faculty. The founding members of the Michigan unit were Dorwin Cartwright, who had been a member of Likert's Division group, John French, Leon Festinger, Ronald Lippitt, and Alvin Zander. The members of the unit pursued research on group behavior, their cohesiveness, their response to change, their response to leader behavior, etc., using for the most part experimental methods" (Cannell and Kahn, 1984, p. 1261).

A Center for Research on Utilization of Scientific Knowledge was created by Floyd Mann and Ronald Lippitt in 1964 within ISR to study how new information is used, spread, or resisted by individuals and organizations, but it was disbanded in 1985 due to financial and staffing problems. The Center for Political Studies began as a program in the Survey Research Center studying public information levels and attitudes toward political issues, starting with the 1948 Presidential election. It began to expand into other areas of political behavior, and in 1970 became a Center in ISR under the direction first of Warren Miller and later of Philip Converse (Cannell and Kahn, 1984, p. 1263; University of Michigan ISR webpage).

The Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research was established by Warren Miller in 1962 to collect, curate, preserve, and disseminate social science data. It was originally housed in the Political Behavior Program of the Survey Research Center and then in the Center for Political Studies, but it became a self-standing center in 1998. Today it maintains the world's largest archive of digital social science data, with 7000 data collections and an annual addition of about 500 new collections each year. Originally there were only 21 founding institutions in the consortium; today there are more than 660 members. Each summer it trains over 800 students and scholars in quantitative methods of research and the use of its data collections (Cannell and Kahn, 1984, p. 1263; University of Michigan ISR webpage).

Though Robert C. Angell, the chair of the Sociology Department in 1946, helped to arrange for Likert's group to become established at the University of Michigan, sociologists played a much smaller role in the Survey Research Center and the Institute for Social Research than social psychologists and political scientists through its early history. Ronald Freedman from Sociology and Angus Campbell from ISR did, however, conceive the Detroit Area Study in 1951 as a "training and research laboratory" in the Detroit community to train graduate students in survey methodology. At the same time the formal master's thesis was eliminated as a requirement for a master's

degree in sociology, and all sociology graduate students were required instead to take a two-semester DAS graduate level sociology course in which they helped to develop an interview schedule, carry out interviews, code the resulting data, and analyze a portion of the data. An executive committee composed of faculty from Sociology, Psychology, and Political Science selected the topics for investigation each year from proposals submitted by faculty investigators.

The DAS was originally administered by the Survey Research Center and was wholly supported by a grant from the Ford Foundation until 1954-1955 and partially supported until 1958. When the grant ran out, the university assumed the regular budget, channeling it through the Department of Sociology as an integral part of its interdisciplinary graduate training program. Eventually the Department of Sociology quit requiring its graduate students to take the DAS courses, the cost of personal interviewing went up, and response rates went down, and after 51 years of operation, the DAS was discontinued in 2002. It was, however, a highly successful innovation. During its first 50 years the DAS generated 17 books, 64 dissertations, 437 scholarly articles, book chapters, or papers, and 1,172 requests for DAS datasets archived at the Interuniversity Consortium for Political and Social Research (Converse, Meyer, *et al.*, 2002; Sharp, 1961).

Freedman also conducted the Growth of American Families Survey in 1955—the first major survey of fertility and family planning in the United States. The Population Studies Center was founded by Ronald Freedman with the support of the Ford Foundation in 1961. It was originally a unit within the Department of Sociology, but later it was moved to the College of Literature, Science, and the Arts, and in 1998 it finally became a Center within ISR. It draws together an interdisciplinary community of scholars—not only sociologists and demographers, but also economists and researchers in public health and biostatistics. It supports extensive domestic and international research on such topics as family change, health, disability, mortality, human capital, labor, aging, and population dynamics.

Today, then, there are five interdependent Centers within the Institute of Social Research, with more than 200 research scientists affiliated with one or more of the centers. They pride themselves on being interdisciplinary and the researchers come from more than 20 academic disciplines, including psychology, business, economics, public health, political science, demography, statistics, and engineering (University of Michigan ISR webpage). The research activities are supported by outside grants and contracts secured through proposals prepared by staff members or program directors—a burdensome process but one that prevents intramural competition and conflict over the allocation of scarce internal resources. The ISR does not offer regular university courses or grant degrees, and senior staff members for the

most part teach within academic departments—not in the Institute (Cannell and Kahn, 1984, p. 1258).

Research carried out by the ISR over the years has been of major significance for the development of the social sciences. Among the more notable and influential studies have been

- Thomson Reuters/UM Surveys of Consumers, measuring consumer sentiment on a monthly basis since 1946
- Health and Retirement Study, surveying 22,000 Americans age 50 & over every two years
- Panel Study of Income Dynamics, studying household structure and economic status of US families over lifetimes and across generations (the only social science project listed by the National Science Foundation in its list of the Nifty Fifty—the top 50 research projects in NSF history)
- World Values Surveys assessing value changes in almost 80 societies
- Monitoring the Future Study surveying 50,000 American youths on their use of tobacco, alcohol, and illicit drugs
- National Survey of American Life surveying a national representative sample of African Americans. Many were reinterviewed 8, 9, and 12 years after the initial study. (University of Michigan ISR webpage)

The Survey Research Center and the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan more than any other university social science research centers, came closest to representing the kind of interdisciplinary organizations that Beardsley Ruml and the private foundations had long hoped to encourage, but in actuality, government agencies probably played a greater role in their founding and growth than did the foundations. No other university enjoyed the same degree of success in organizing interdisciplinary research in the social sciences.

Wisconsin's Efforts to Promote Social Science and Interdisciplinary Research and Training

The University of Wisconsin was a latecomer to the interdisciplinary movement in spite of the efforts of some of its social scientists, largely because the top administration was unresponsive to their requests for greater support. It did not create a significant interdisciplinary social science research unit until the late 1950s with the founding of the Social Science Research Institute—just when the private foundations were beginning to cool toward interdisciplinary research initiatives. By that time the new research institute's effect on Sociology at Wisconsin was minimal. In this section I will review the earlier failed efforts to promote interdisciplinary research and training. I will explore the establishment and decline of SSRI in Chapter 6, vol. 2.

McCormick, Sewell, and the Wisconsin Social Science Research Committee

In 1948 there was a failed attempt to do something about the declining status of the social sciences at Wisconsin. A social science interdisciplinary subcommittee of the Graduate School Research Committee was appointed, but its members could not agree on a course of action. Some favored the formation of a centralized organization to promote research in the social sciences, but others resisted this, fearing it would encroach on the prerogatives of individual scholars. In the end, nothing was accomplished (Solovey, 1990, p. 44-46).

By the late 1940s the prospects for social science research in the nation began to improve as private foundations began to make increased grants to universities for social research, and even Congress began to consider the possibility of providing some support. The Ford Foundation in 1951 had an endowment of \$417 million, compared with \$170 million for the Carnegie Corporation and \$122 million for the Rockefeller Foundation (Sutton, 1987, p. 52). It soon emerged as the dominant foundation supporting the social sciences and had a strong influence on other private foundations, particularly with its enthusiastic commitment to supporting interdisciplinary research.

In its first wave of large grants to the social sciences in 1950, the Ford Foundation gave \$300,000 to each of seven universities: California, Chicago, Columbia, Cornell, Harvard, Michigan, and Yale. Smaller grants of \$100,000 each were given to Illinois, Minnesota, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Princeton, and Stanford. Wisconsin received nothing. The grants were intended not for the support of specific research projects but for institution building—"not to be measured so much by research findings *per se* as by an increase in the number or capacity of the research workers, the improvement of their methods and the enhancement of their facilities and resources" (Seybold, 1980, pp. 275-276). The foundation adopted the term "behavioral sciences" to distinguish its approach from that of the traditional organization of the social sciences and to emphasize its interdisciplinary commitment. It also explicitly defined the behavioral science program as an applied program, whose goal was to understand human behavior and to contribute to the solution of social problems (*Ibid.*, p. 277; Seybold, 1982, p. 29). Further grants were made to Harvard, Michigan, Stanford, North Carolina, Minnesota, Illinois, and Columbia in 1955 to be used for the "development and improvement of the behavioral sciences." More specialized grants were also given to the Bureau of Applied Social Research at Columbia and to the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago. In 1956 grants were given more broadly to 23 universities in the United States and abroad, and in the following year additional grants to seven of the elite universities (Seybold, 1980, pp. 283-4).

The exclusion of Wisconsin from the 1950 Ford grants came as a shock to the University of Wisconsin administration and caused some soul searching. According to Schoenfeld, the Ford officials said that they had "no faith" in the willingness of the university administration to match Ford funds adequately (Schoenfeld, 1986, pp. 85-86). This may have been in recognition of the administration's general unresponsiveness to the needs of the social sciences. Sewell said that "the reason given by the Foundation was that Wisconsin had not demonstrated sufficient willingness to extend support for social science research from the considerable funds under its control" (Sewell, 1988, p. 129). Thomas C. McCormick, the Chair of Sociology and Anthropology, gave a somewhat different account of the Ford action in a letter he wrote to a new *ad hoc* university committee including William H. Sewell established to study once more the problems of the social sciences:

Although I do not rest the argument for a more effective organization for research in the social sciences entirely on its appeal to the foundations, I am reliably informed that we were omitted from the Ford Foundation grants because it was generally felt that: (1) we had indicated little interest in cross-departmental social research, and (2) we were

not organized for such research. To some of us, the Ford Foundation incident is only one of many evidences that on the whole interdisciplinary social science research at Wisconsin is largely behind that at most other major American universities. There was a great upsurge in this type of research following World War II, with many comprehensive reorganizations; but on our campus nothing new has yet occurred, and we have continued in a style and on a scale which I believe is now definitely outdated (McCormick to Members of Conference on Research in the Social Sciences at Wisconsin, November 6, 1950, UW Archives, 4/16/1 Box 145, Folder "Social Science Research Committee").

The ad hoc committee was largely unsuccessful, because the members could not agree on a recommendation for action. After the Ford fiasco, however, there was a renewed determination to try again, and this time the committee presented a united front. It recommended that the university create a standing Committee on Social Science Research. Its mandate was carefully phrased to protect the autonomy of individual researchers and try to win the support of most of the faculty:

Its policy should be to help and promote, and in no sense to administer or direct research. First emphasis must always be on the freedom of the individual researcher, to decide what research he shall do, and to seek support therefor. It is consistent with this emphasis, however, that aid be extended those who may seek to carry out research on a group or team basis ("Report of the Special Committee on the Situation of Social Science Research, to the President," UW Archives, 5/83/2 Box 1, Folder "Ad Hoc Committee's Preliminary Proposal," p. 5).

In response, President Fred created the Wisconsin Social Science Research Committee with the suggested mandate in August, 1951 (*Ibid.*). The WSSRC was given an office in Bascom Hall near the central administration, and a budget of \$6,915 for the first year. President Fred appointed a somewhat reluctant William H. Sewell from Rural Sociology to a four-year renewable term as chair, Don Knight from Commerce to a four-year term, Virgil Herrick from Education to a three-year term, Willard Hurst from Law for a two-year term, and Ralph Nafziger from Journalism for a one-year term. The committee operated at a considerable disadvantage, caught between an administration that was unsympathetic or ill-informed about social science needs and a divided faculty that would welcome measures to bring in more research money but would be resistant to initiatives that would undermine the autonomy of individual researchers or encroach on the prerogatives of disciplinary departments (Solovey, 1990, pp. 50-51).

The WSSRC had little influence, for it had no research funds to dispense and thus no ability to stimulate new research directions. In March, 1952, Sewell approached Vice-President Ira Baldwin (a bacteriologist and former Agriculture Dean and Graduate School Dean) and proposed that funds received as overhead on social science research contracts be turned over to the WSSRC to be used to encourage new directions in research that might win outside financial support. Sewell was no doubt aware that the University of Michigan allowed its Institute for Social Research to retain all the overhead from its grants—a practice that helped it to become the strongest social science research institute in the country. Baldwin, however, thought that it was inappropriate for the university to give overhead funds directly to WSSRC for distribution. He indicated that overhead funds would be turned over to the respective college deans, and WSSRC would have to seek funds from the deans.

In May, 1952, Sewell, acting for the committee, reported to the administration that it lacked the power to accomplish its purposes, since it had no funds to finance “risk-taking research.” It asked the university to grant it \$25,000 a year plus a share of overhead funds to carry out its mission. The administration never granted either request. The WSSRC did the best it could to assist faculty members in preparing research proposals and suggesting possible funders, but the number of researchers who sought their assistance was “disappointingly small.” The committee reported that there were deeper causes for the social science malaise: “heavy teaching loads, lack of emphasis on research in the departments, need for additional staff with greater research interests and lack of hope for adequate research support” (“Annual Report of the Social Science Research Committee,” May 3, 1952, UW Archives, 5/83/2 Box 1, Folder “Social Science Research Committee: Fisher, Burton R. Files, 1951-56”).

The WSSRC was convinced that Wisconsin was falling behind other universities because of its lack of any initiatives in interdisciplinary research, because not only Ford but other foundations as well saw this as the most promising way to make social science relevant to policy formation. Sewell secured a grant from the Social Science Research Council in 1952 to hold a series of faculty seminars over a period of eighteen months bringing together people from Sociology, Anthropology, Psychology, and Education to talk with each other about their common interests. Sewell said, “It went very well because we had sufficient money to have the evening meetings started with a fine dinner and some good wine and so on paid for by SSRC—and also people had a very genuine interest” (Sewell Oral History Interview 5, 1988). They planned and proposed an interdisciplinary training program, but it never materialized. With the support of Dean Ingraham, they presented a proposal to the Departments of Psychology and Sociology and Anthropology

for a graduate interdisciplinary training program in Social Psychology, but neither department accepted the proposal for a joint degree (“Interim Report of the Staff’s Seminar on Social Psychology,” UW Archives, 5/83/2 Box 4, Folder “Seminar on research training in social psychology—interim report, 1952). The most that either department would approve was an interdepartmental minor with requirements so unattractive that students avoided it, and the minor disappeared within a few years (Sewell, 1989, pp. 91-92). During the next two decades, however, Sociology appointed two senior professors with PhDs in Psychology from Stanford University—Elaine Hatfield and Jane Piliavin—harking back to the senior appointment of Kimball Young in 1926, who also had a PhD in Psychology from Stanford. In the mid-1970s Vernon L. Allen from Psychology and I also worked together in perfect harmony studying the social psychological effects of the New Jersey Income-Maintenance Experiment of the Institute for Research on Poverty (Middleton, 1977). There were many economists and a number of sociologists who worked on the project, but I believe that the chapter that Allen and I prepared was the only part of the final report that involved researchers from different disciplines.

In the spring of 1953 the WSSRC sent a confidential memo to the central administration expressing a strong sense of frustration and pessimism.

... It has become apparent that establishing an inter-departmental program (which has worked well at a sister university) would be almost impossible here. The “traditionalist” attitudes prevailing in certain departments (if not open hostility) would create curriculum, budgetary and personnel difficulties of a threatening type for the new program. Among the handful of people genuinely committed to and interested in a social behavior research training program, this has been the feeling: the program could not maintain itself long if the recruitment, advancement, salaries and disposition of time of personnel and decisions on curriculum and budget depended upon the individual departments and upon agreement between departments covertly somewhat hostile among themselves. . . . The conclusion has been that the program would have to be, administratively speaking, the functional (if not formal) equivalent of a separate department. . . . Personnel, departmental attitudes toward research, and administrative leadership—these are the “jugular” points of the situation in the social sciences at this University (“Memorandum to university administration from WSSRC, p. 9” UW Archives, 5/83/2 Box 3, Folder “Miscellaneous, 1951-53).

Even though the requested leadership from the administration was not forthcoming, the WSSRC members had not lost all hope, for social science

research was becoming increasingly dependent on outside funding, and they believed the policies of the government and the foundations might shake up the established relations within the university.

During the 1950s private foundations were increasing their support for social science research, following the lead of the Ford Foundation. In March, 1953, three years after Wisconsin had been excluded from Ford's initial round of large grants, Ford offered Wisconsin another chance. It notified the university that it was one of fifteen universities eligible to apply for five grants of \$50,000 to carry out a self-study of the future prospects of social research at its institution. It made no promises that it would support the recommendations coming out of the self-study, but it hinted that "the reports will present important opportunities for implementation." Ford did not exclude the possibility of supporting certain kinds of disciplinary research, but it specified that the self-study should address "relations among departments, divisions, and professional schools which contribute to the behavioral sciences" and the "nature and size of research program" (Ford Foundation, Behavioral Sciences Division, "Self-Study Program," March, 1953, UW Archives, 5/83/2 Box 2, Folder "Ford Foundation Self-Study Proposal").

About the same time the Ford Foundation announced that it was initiating an "interdisciplinary research and study program that is designed to stimulate intellectual contact between such behavioral sciences as psychology, sociology and anthropology and such related disciplines as history, philosophy, economics, business, law and humanistic studies." It would provide two-year grants of up to \$50,000 ("Announcement of Interdisciplinary Research and Study Program, Feb. 20, 1953," UW Archives, 5/83/2 Box 1, Folder "Social Science Research Committee: Fisher, Burton R. Files, 1951-56"). Three proposals were submitted by Wisconsin researchers: William S. Stokes and Milton Barnett on "The Power Structure in Latin America," Selig Perlman, Hans Gerth, and Edwin Young on "Labor Problems of Continental Europe," and C. W. M. Hart and Kenneth H. Parsons on "Social and Economic Development in the Non-industrialized Areas." None of the proposals was successful ("Bernard Berelson to Pres. E. B. Fred," April 30, 1953," UW Archives, 5/83/2 Box 2, Folder "SSRC Ford Foundation Interdisciplinary Research Program Proposals").

Sewell was quite aware that applying for the Ford self-study grant could be hazardous and counter-productive, since the application would necessarily point to the shortcomings of the existing situation of the social sciences. If it did receive a grant, the self-study would likely prove to be even more critical than the proposal. Sewell wrote President Fred and Vice-President Baldwin, "In my personal judgement it would be a serious mistake for the University not to make an all-out effort to obtain a grant under this

program.," but he warned that they must "be prepared to accept the risk that the relatively public report of the study committee may well be quite unfavorable" ("Sewell to Pres. Fred and V.P. Baldwin, April 10, 1953," UW Archives, 5/83/2 Box 2, Folder "SSRC-Ford Foundation Self-Study Proposal"). Fred and Baldwin gave the go-ahead and WSSRC put together and submitted a proposal. Recognizing that Wisconsin was on thin ice, Sewell wrote to Bernard Berelson on May 21 almost pleading for support:

The greatest fear that our Social Science Research Committee has is that the head of steam that has been generated now will be wasted if the self-study does not take place next year. . . . Quite frankly, we do not feel that we can continue indefinitely to give our time and effort to the promotion of the behavioral sciences at Wisconsin if we are not to have at least the minimum encouragement of a self-study grant at an optimal time for utilizing it" (Sewell to Bernard Berelson, May 21, 1953," UW Archives, 5/83/2 Box 2, Folder "SSRC-Ford Foundation Self-Study Proposal").

It is possible that the Ford officials saw this as a confession of weakness. On May 29 Berelson notified President Fred that the proposal for a Wisconsin self-study would not be funded by Ford ("Bernard Berelson to Pres. E. B. Fred, May 29, 1953," UW Archives, 5/83/2 Box 2, Folder "SSRC Ford Foundation Self-Study Proposal"). It was obvious that the Ford officials were still suspicious of the university's commitment to the social sciences. Sewell was devastated by this latest setback, and he and Willard Hurst, the two most active members of the WSSRC, went to New York to talk to Berelson about the reasons for the rejection. He sent the following plaintive note to Deans Ingraham and Elvehjem and the other social scientists who had worked on the proposal:

Through an unfortunate series of circumstances, the Ford Foundation's activities to strengthen the behavioral sciences have had almost the reverse effect on this campus. The latest Foundation action . . . has caused real concern among the faculty members and especially has discouraged those who have taken leadership in the development of our social science research program (Wm. H. Sewell to Deans Elvehjem and Ingraham, Professors Fisher, Kearl, Brim, Herrick, Knight, Hurst, RE Dr. Berelson's Letter of May 29, June 11, 1953, UW Archives, 5/83/2, Folder "SSRC Ford Foundation Self-Study Proposal," quoted in Solovey, 1990, p.67).

The administration could have gone ahead with a self-study funded from internal resources, but it made no effort to do so. The Ford Foundation

continued to give only meager support to the University of Wisconsin—only \$57,290 in 1955-56 for all fields—less than the amount provided by the Carnegie Corporation, the W. K. Kellogg Foundation, and the Rockefeller Foundation, and only one twenty-seventh as much as was contributed by WARF (“Comparison of Expenditures, Funds from Selected Foundations,” UW Archives, 4/16/4 Box 33 Folder: “Changes That Have Taken Place”).

In 1955 a dispirited Sewell sent a letter of resignation as chair of WSS-RC to President Fred, turning down a second term. He wrote that he could not honestly say that “the social science research situation at Wisconsin had changed materially for the better as a result of the work of the Committee.” He added, “After four years of work, I must say that I doubt that any committee without funds to disburse for research, without any control over appointments to staff and without influence in existing departmental situations can do much to better the situation of social science research at the university” (Sewell to President E. B. Fred, May 16, 1955, UW Archives, 5/83/1 Box 1, Folder “President E. B. Fred”).

Sewell continued to play a very active role nationally in trying to promote interdisciplinary research and training in social psychology during what he described as the “golden age of interdisciplinary social psychology” from about 1940 to 1965. He served on or chaired several research grant and training committees for interdisciplinary social psychology and was well acquainted with the leading scholars in the field. Thus, it was particularly distressful to him that he was not more successful in promoting an interdisciplinary program in his home institution (Sewell, 1989, pp. 88-90). By the 1970s the possibility of an interdisciplinary program in social psychology had largely disappeared, as the discipline broke up into three distinct and somewhat hostile divisions: psychological social psychology, social structure and personality, and symbolic interactionism (House, 1977; Sewell, 1989).

At Last a Positive Response from the Administration

For almost three decades Young, McCormick, Sewell, and their allies lost almost every battle to secure more funding for social science research at the university, but in the end the social scientists “won the war.” The drumbeat of complaints that the social sciences and humanities had been short-changed by the administration over a long period of time began to resonate with the general faculty and a wider public, and there was increasing pressure on WARF to change its policies. By 1956 WARF’s support for research in the university reached \$1 million per year and by 1958-59 and subsequently \$1.5 million or more (“Research Expenditures by Source of Funds,” UW Archives, 4/16/4 Box 33, Folder “Changes That Have Taken Place”). The trustees could no longer argue that there was insufficient money to give

some support to the social sciences and humanities. They then fell back on their older argument that the foundation charter restricted research support to the natural sciences.

A turning point came when historian Vernon Carstensen succeeded Sewell as chair of the WSSRC in 1955 and renewed the campaign to secure a fair share of WARF funds for the social sciences and humanities. He and other members of WSSRC and the Executive Committee of the Faculty Division of the Social Sciences met with Vice-President Baldwin and then Dean Elvehjem to discuss the Crandall family's gift of more than 1000 acres of scenic riverfront property in the Upper Dells area of the Wisconsin River in 1954. They wanted to know why WARF had obtained control of what had originally been offered to the university and why the income from this gift was treated like other WARF funds and was only being used to support the natural sciences. The group was told by Elvehjem and Baldwin that the restriction to support only the natural sciences was included in the WARF charter. Carstensen commented, "The disappointment of the social scientist is based not only on the loss of this possible source of support but also on the feeling that their interests are not being properly looked after." After he became chair of the WSSRC, however, Carstensen secured a copy of the WARF charter and discovered that there was no limitation on the fields of research that could be supported. Carstensen reported this to Ralph Nafziger, a former WSSRC member and current chair of the Executive Committee of the Faculty Division of the Social Studies:

. . . I found that the charter, which I take it was written by men who knew the precise meaning of words, expressly stipulates that "the business and purposes of the corporation shall be to promote, encourage and aid scientific investigation and research at the University of Wisconsin by the faculty, staff, alumni and students thereof, and those associated therewith." I could find nothing in the original document or in the amendments restricting the use of funds to support of research in the natural sciences, or excluding the social sciences from the benefits of the fund (Vernon Carstensen to Ralph Nafziger, Sept. 16, 1955, UW Archives, 5/35/4, Box 6, Folder "Correspondence, 1953-56.)

Carstensen's letter was widely circulated, and this immediately placed WARF and the university administration on the defensive, since it became evident that they had been misrepresenting the contents of the WARF charter and engaging in a pattern of systematic discrimination toward the social sciences and humanities for some 30 years. President Fred immediately made a few conciliatory gestures. He offered up to \$5000 to fund travel of social science and humanities professors to meet foundation representatives

and discuss research grants. The administration announced that profits from the university's Wisconsin Dells property would now be used to support research in all fields. The WARF Trustees agreed to accept gifts that included a stipulation that they were to be used to support social research, and Thomas Brittingham, the chair of the WARF trustees, agreed to transfer \$50,000 a year from the Brittingham Trust to the university to support research outside the natural sciences (Solovey, 1990, pp. 75-77).

President Fred and Dean Elvehjem both warned the WARF trustees that there was growing faculty pressure and that there would be trouble if something were not done to reduce the imbalance in support of fields other than the natural sciences. Fred was scheduled to retire in 1958, and Elvehjem hoped to succeed him. Elvehjem may have worried that there would be opposition to his succession to the presidency if it appeared that the same policies favoring the natural sciences were likely to continue. Elvehjem, as Chair of the Graduate School Research Committee, adopted a slightly more conciliatory stance and proposed allotting \$25,000 of WARF funds to the social sciences in 1957, but this was an insultingly small amount compared to a total 1957 WARF grant of \$1.1 million—a ratio of 44 to 1. Nevertheless, Elvehjem was inaugurated as President in 1958, and he continued to submit only modest proposals to the WARF trustees in support of the social sciences and humanities (Schoenfeld, 1986, pp. 86-87). In December, 1957, WARF was still advertising that its purpose was to support research in the natural sciences (Solovey, 1990, p. 78).

The social scientists were far from satisfied by the minor concessions, and they continued to push. In a report to President Fred in March, 1956, the Executive Committee of the Faculty Division of the Social Studies wrote,

No one would hold that there ought to be a settled proportion of research funds for the social sciences (or the humanities) as opposed to the biological and physical sciences. Certainly we do not advocate increased support of the social sciences at the expense of other areas. Rather it is agreed that support is most productively allocated when every project, regardless of its field, has an equal chance to obtain research funds on the basis of its merit (Report to President Fred, March 28, 1956, UW Archives, 5/35/4, Box 6, Folder "Correspondence, 1953-56.)

The WSSRC continued only a year after Sewell's resignation. The Executive Committee of the Faculty Division of the Social Studies recommended to President Fred in March, 1956, that the committee be abolished and that its duties be assigned to a "new officer in the University's administrative structure who would have general responsibility for representing social science interests as a member of University administrative councils where

major decisions on educational and research policies are made" (*Ibid.*) He did so in July, 1956, naming historian Fred Harvey Harrington to the position of Assistant to the President. To assure his influence, he stipulated that Harrington would be a member of the Administrative Committee, the University Research Committee of the Graduate School, and other committees concerned with policies affecting the social sciences.

When Fred retired in 1958, Elvehjem was elected President, and Harrington replaced Ira Baldwin as Vice-President. With Elvehjem moving up from Dean of the Graduate School to President, his former position was open. A formal search committee was not required in those days, but a faculty committee presented three names to Elvehjem, with William H. Sewell as their first choice. Sewell recalled,

And Connie felt that he had to call me in, because we were old friends—been battling, yes, but we were good friends. . . . He was a very nice man except that he didn't have any idea what the social sciences were all about and was very suspicious of them. But in any event, I went to see him, and he said, "I suppose I have to tell you that you're first on the list to be dean of the Graduate School. I don't want you because you'll be moving in on the WARF money if you get that job." So he appointed John Willard (Sewell Oral History Interview 2, 1983).

Willard was a chemist who also wanted to protect WARF money for the natural sciences.

At Elvehjem's election the long-retired John Gillin, just nine months before his death, sent his congratulations and advised him,

From my talk with you I know that you are interested, not only in the natural sciences but also in the social sciences and the humanities. Please do not forget these step-children of the research funds and the salaries of their teachers with all these added responsibilities as President (UW Archives 7/33/4 Box 7, Folder Oct. 5, 1956-1958, A-M).

Harrington as Vice-President proved to be a constant source of pressure for the more equitable distribution of research funds, and his hand was greatly strengthened when in 1959 the Governor of Wisconsin, Gaylord Nelson, and one of his appointees to the Regents, Arthur Debardeleben, took up the cause supporting the social sciences and humanities. Nelson told Elvehjem that they should reconsider their policy of directing the great majority of WARF grants to the natural sciences. He indicated that the state had a right to review WARF's policy because the state's taxpayers ultimately paid for the social research that WARF refused to support (Solovey, 1990, p. 79).

President Elvehjem died in 1962 after only four years in office, and he was succeeded by Harrington as President. Harrington selected Robert Clodius, an agricultural economist with strong international interests, as Vice-President. John Willard, who was Dean of the Graduate School and chair of the Research Committee, was uncomfortable with Harrington's policies regarding the redistribution of research funds and resigned, to be replaced by another chemist, Robert Alberty (Solovey, 1990, p. 72).

President Harrington, accompanied by ex-President Fred, met with the WARF trustees in Chicago to discuss the WARF restrictions on grants. He reminded them that WARF's policy had always been "not to cross the campus line"—that is, not to encroach on university authority and governance. He politely but firmly informed the WARF trustees that henceforth the Graduate School Research Committee would accept no external restrictions on the fields to which WARF grants could be given. The trustees grudgingly complied (Schoenfeld, 1986, pp. 87-88; Solovey, 1990, p. 81).

The Growth of Federal Funding of Social Science Research

Though the University of Wisconsin continued to have troubled relations with private foundations, the prospects for more funding for the social sciences from the federal government suddenly brightened in 1950 when the National Science Foundation was created. The private foundations usually had narrow and specific programmatic social goals and were almost never willing to support basic research that had no immediate or foreseeable application. The National Science Foundation had a somewhat broader mandate, but even it began to insist that grant applicants address the likely broader effects of the project on society. This mandate is exceedingly broad and vague, but it is taken seriously by reviewers, which makes it difficult for some fields, such as astronomy or archaeology to formulate convincing answers.

Congress postponed making a decision on the contentious issue of whether it would fund the social sciences as well as the natural sciences. The legislation creating NSF did not provide for a social science program, though early drafts had, but it did not prohibit support of the social sciences either. In practice NSF did not give grants to social scientists in its first years. In 1953 it reopened the question, and an advisory committee was formed headed by Harry Alpert to make recommendations. Alpert adopted a cautious strategy to circumvent political opposition from skeptical Congressmen and recommend that NSF fund only social science research that was most like natural science in methodology and objectives. He argued that it should support only "basic research which conforms to the highest standards of scientific inquiry and fulfills the basic conditions of objectivity, verifiability, and generality."

Alpert's recommendation was accepted, and NSF began a limited program of research and fellowship support in areas such as anthropology, demography, mathematical social science, experimental psychology, economic geography, and the history, philosophy, and sociology of science. Bill Sewell said that he was the first person to be asked to be director of the social science division of NSF, but he declined because "I wanted to stick to my own research [rather] than jobs of that sort, but I was on the research advisory committee that got the director to first establish this limited program in social sciences" (Sewell Oral History Interview 5, 1988). Alpert served as the Social Science Program Director from 1953-1958, but Sewell remained on the advisory committee for several years and later served on an NSA committee to reorganize NSF.

Modest research funds started flowing to the social sciences, and eventually the grants became substantial and less narrow in their focus (Solovey and Pooley, 2011, pp. 230, 247; Sewell, 1988, pp. 130-131). The University of Wisconsin-Madison as a whole benefited greatly from the greater government support of research, with Federal grants and contracts increasing from \$1.6 million in 1955-56 to \$20.8 million in 1964-65—a 13-fold increase in a decade ("Research Expenditures by Source of Funds," UW Archives, 4/16/4 Box 33, Folder "Changes That Have Taken Place"). The natural sciences received the bulk of these funds, but the social sciences began to share increasingly in the 1960s.

Although Sewell had enjoyed little success in changing the funding policies of his own university, he was very active on the national level in the 1950s in trying to win federal support for research in the social sciences. He reported that lobbying activities were generally unsuccessful, but a strategy of "infiltration" of federal agencies, particularly those dealing with health, was much more promising. The sociologist John Clausen was appointed Social Science Consultant to the Director of the National Institute of Mental Health in 1948 and launched a small social science research program in mental health. In 1956 Sewell replaced Robin Williams on the Mental Health Study Section of NIMH, which was responsible for reviewing research proposals. He was the only sociologist on the panel, whose other members were all psychiatrists or psychologists. He immediately started advocating for a "broader definition of mental health relevance and the need for greater representation of sociology and anthropology" (Sewell, 1988, p. 130). The next year an anthropologist and another sociologist were added to the panel, and they began to spread the word that proposals relevant to mental health would be welcome from sociologists, social psychologists, and anthropologists. The response was so great that NIMH set up a new Behavioral Science Study Section, with Sewell as chair its first three years, to evaluate the new proposals. The first year 300 proposals were received, and 125 were funded.

It became a major source of research support in the social sciences until it was crippled by the Reagan Administration's adoption once more of a very narrow definition of mental health relevance (Sewell, 1988, pp. 130-131).

Sewell also lobbied for the creation of the Behavioral Science Training Committee in the National Institute of General Medical Sciences in 1963. The committee was established, and Sewell served as its first chair. It provided for pre-doctoral and post-doctoral training programs in social science departments in such areas as medical sociology, research methods, and demography. This greatly added to the training programs that were already funded by NIMH. Sewell also served on the advisory committee of the National Institutes of Health that drew up plans for the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (NICHD). In 1973 most of the portion of NICHD concerned with adult development and aging was split off to form the National Institute on Aging (NIA). Both NICHD and NIA became major supporters of social science training and research in university social science departments (Sewell, 1988, pp. 130-131). Sociologists at the University of Wisconsin were able to take advantage of all of these new sources of government funding, and the research funding and the funding of training programs had a transformative influence on the department.

Ironic Coda

For a long period the private foundations tried to prod universities into developing more interdisciplinary programs, and most of them responded in some way, though their efforts in this direction were often more apparent than real. Some of the social scientists at Wisconsin worked hard to develop interdisciplinary programs, but they were generally unsuccessful. After the foundations began to back away from this emphasis and money for specialized research began to become available from government agencies, there was less external pressure to become interdisciplinary. Still most people in academia thought that interdisciplinary research was a good idea, and many have maintained that boundary spanning research is more likely to yield innovative breakthrough findings. Perhaps, though, this is mere lip service. The reality is that the institutional arrangements of universities generally do little to support those who undertake interdisciplinary work and may even punish them. A recent study of 26,000 U.S. citizens who earned PhDs in 2010, found that, controlling for discipline, age, gender, and ethnicity, those who wrote a multidisciplinary dissertation earned \$1,700 less in the year after graduation. The authors suggest that perhaps only tenured senior professors can get away with doing multidisciplinary work without paying a penalty (Kniffin and Hanks, 2013).

A recent book by sociologist Jerry A. Jacobs argues that disciplinary

units are still the most effective mode for organizing research universities. Disciplines are not the isolated “silos” they have been made out to be by proponents of interdisciplinary studies. His analysis of citations in science journals showed that a substantial number, ranging from 17 percent to 38 percent, depending on field, were to research findings from other disciplines. He defends specialized disciplines as the primary source of innovative ideas, and he raises questions about the effectiveness of many interdisciplinary programs, particularly those that meld together small departments that are too small or too costly to stand on their own. He also warns that the push for interdisciplinary programs “fits with current managerial ideology, and increases the power of administrators” at the expense of the faculty in decision-making. He concludes, “Research universities are one of the greatest things ever created, and they are built on disciplines.” Interdisciplinary studies themselves require strong disciplines (Jacobs, 2014).

In spite of these somewhat negative views of efforts to stimulate interdisciplinary research, efforts in this direction did start to bear fruit at Wisconsin in the 1960s with the development of special training programs in sociology. The medical sociology training program began to stimulate collaboration in teaching and research among sociologists, psychologists, social workers, psychiatrists, and other medical specialists. The law and society program involved a close collaboration of researchers in sociology, law, and political science. The Center for Demography and Ecology began to enlist members from Economics and various medical specialties, particularly after much of its research funding was devoted to the study of the life course and health concerns. The Institute for Research on Poverty has also brought together researchers from many fields with a common interest in the problem of poverty. There was never much true interdisciplinary collaboration between economists, sociologists, and others in the 1960s in the Social Systems Research Institute, which had the avowed purpose of becoming an interdisciplinary research organization, but other centers and institutes have gone much further in taking on that role from the 1970s onward.

PART 3

The Recovery of Wisconsin Sociology Since 1958

William Hamilton Sewell (1909-2001)

In the period from 1929 to 1958 Sociology and Anthropology operated as a joint department, but by the 1940s it had become a dysfunctional department, because several of the senior professors did not get along well with one another. Howard P. Becker was the chief troublemaker in Sociology, and though he was a distinguished and prolific theorist and historian of sociological theory, he was in perpetual conflict with his colleagues. He was not the only source of trouble, though, for some of the other senior professors in both Sociology and Anthropology were not cooperative and collegial in their relations with one another. During the same period there was also an obstreperous and obstructive professor in the Department of Economics—Walter A. Morton—who for several years made it almost impossible to get any business done in Economics Department meetings. Morton's behavior was tamed only after Chairman Edwin Young and the rest of the Economics faculty met with President E. B. Fred twice to try to find a solution. A proposal to make Morton a professor at large, outside the department, proved unnecessary after Morton learned of his "chastisement" and began to act in a more collegial manner (Lampman, 1993, pp. 83-85). A conference room on the seventh floor of the Social Sciences Building is now named in honor of his memory and the positive contributions he made.

President E. B. Fred was aware of the problem in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, and he attempted to do something about it by bringing in a bright young sociologist with a rapidly rising national reputation as a tenured professor in 1946 to provide leadership. It was the 36-year-old William Hamilton Sewell.

Sewell's Early Life in Perrinton and Jackson

Bill Sewell was born November 27, 1909, and grew up in Perrinton, Michigan, a village of about 460 some 100 miles northwest of Ann Arbor (Sewell Oral History Interview 4, 1986—this interview by his granddaughter Adrienne source for entire section). His father and mother had originally come from Canada and their parents were also Canadians. His paternal grandparents were born in Leicester, England, where his grandfather apprenticed

as a bricklayer. After they moved to Canada he worked as a contractor and became quite well-to-do. His maternal grandparents also had an English background, and that grandfather started as a carpenter and then also became a contractor in Canada. Bill's father graduated from high school at the age of fifteen but went on for a thirteenth year of schooling. He had also been a registered pharmacy apprentice for several years, and he went to a pharmacy school for three or four months in Toronto to prepare for the pharmacy licensing exams. He took the exams in both Canada and Michigan when he was seventeen and passed them, but under Canadian law he could not practice until he was twenty-one. He and his wife married when they were both 18, and they moved to Detroit and began working in some capacity in pharmacies there. He saw an ad that a pharmacy in Perrinton was for sale, and he persuaded his mother to lend him the \$700 to purchase it. He was still underage to be a practicing pharmacist, but he was given a temporary license, because the town needed a pharmacist. Bill's older sister was born when his father and mother were 20 and Bill was born when they were 21. A younger sister was born a little later. The pharmacy prospered, and Bill's father became one of the most prosperous members of the community.

Bill spent the first 12 years of his life in Perrinton and attended the little frame public school that had only six teachers. The school had no electricity or running water, was heated by coal-burning stoves in the rooms, and had only outdoor privies. Bill was a bright and precocious child who was terribly bored in school, because he already knew everything that was being taught. The teacher drilled the first graders in reading, pointing to a picture of a cat on a wall chart and then having the children repeat C A T, cat, C A T. But Bill had already taught himself to read and was reading newspapers by then. He also knew how to do all the math that was being taught. He would sit in the back of the room, and when the teacher asked a question, he always had his hand waving in the air. She would not call on him, though, unless no one else could answer the question. Finally, she would call on him and he would come up with the right answer. He remembered, "Well, as a result the kids in the grade ahead of me thought I was a smart aleck, and even the teacher, I guess, thought I was a smart aleck. In fact, they used to, instead of saying I was a very smart boy, they always talked about me as being a smart aleck" (Sewell Interview 4, 1986).

To relieve his boredom in school Bill would seek subtle ways to disrupt the class. During a study period, when the teacher demanded absolute silence, he would whistle without moving his lips—a skill he practiced until he could do it to perfection. The teacher would hear it and start down the rows to discover the source, but as she got nearer, he would whistle more and more softly, so she would go the other direction. She finally discovered the source and told Bill's father. His father thought it was quite clever, but

forbade him to do it any more. School was so easy for Bill that he did not study much or work hard—a habit that persisted until his second year at the university.

Bill got into more serious trouble at the school after the United States entered World War I, and the nation was gripped with a hyper-patriotic mania engineered by the government in an effort to demonize and create hatred for Germans. Bill was somewhat frail as a child, and his father worried that he “might be too much of a sissy,” so he always encouraged him to follow “manly” pursuits, such as boxing, football, and basketball. The teacher, however, required all her students to knit squares that would be put together into blankets for wounded soldiers in the hospitals. Bill adamantly refused to do so, regarding it as a feminine activity. The teacher would start each day asking, “Billy, are you going to knit?” He would say no, and she would then write on the board with a piece of yellow chalk, “Billy Sewell is a slacker.” The other children started calling him “Kaiser Bill” which usually provoked a fight. His father asked him why he was getting into so many fights, and when he told him, his father was furious. He spoke to the principal to put an end to it. Bill thinks that perhaps his patriotism was questioned in part because his parents were the only persons in the community who were not US citizens, but all of Bill’s uncles were in the Canadian army, which had been fighting the Germans since 1914. Bill’s father was naturalized as an American citizen after seven years of residence, but he had been elected mayor of Perrinton even before he acquired citizenship.

All of the Sewell children loved singing, and when they lived in Perrinton, Bill and his sisters formed the Sewell Trio and performed at all the civic events—Fourth of July celebrations, Memorial Day services, and school graduations. Bill was a boy soprano. They knew all the popular World War I songs and performed them often. Their teacher or director was the bank president’s wife

Though school was a bore, Bill loved living in Perrinton. He recalled seven decades later, “Life in that little town was really great. . . . I really loved it when I was a child.” It was a happy time for the whole family. Bill had a free run of the community, where he knew everyone—both adults and children. Because he worked so much in his father’s drug store washing bottles and delivering things, he was exempted from most household chores. When his sisters had to do dishes or make beds, they would ask, “Is the Crown Prince comfortable?” or “I wonder if it would hurt the Crown Prince if he were to do this or that.” These early experiences living in a rural village seemed to imbue him with a lifelong interest in rural people and their problems, and it was probably a factor in turning him in the direction of becoming a rural sociologist.

In 1922 when Bill was 12 and his older sister Grace was 13, the family

moved 76 miles south to Jackson, to take advantage of the better schools there. Jackson had a population of about 60,000 at that time and had an excellent public school system. Perrinton's high school had only two grades, and the school was unaccredited. His father sold the drug store in Perrinton and bought a new one in Jackson that had been operating since the Civil War. Later Bill's brother also became a pharmacist and joined his father in the business. The store prospered and together they ran it for another 60 years, making it the oldest pharmacy in the state of Michigan. Bill continued to help out in the pharmacy while he lived in Jackson and became an apprentice pharmacist while continuing his regular schooling.

Bill first attended eighth and ninth grades in an intermediate school with 1,000 or more students. At first he had some difficulty adjusting to a large school with many rules enforced by officious student police, but he did well after he made some friends. Bill immediately joined municipal and church singing groups. The high school in Jackson was even larger, and Bill's graduating class had more than 750 in it. It was a college preparatory school that required four years of Latin and offered no vocational courses. Bill found the school work easy, but he had little interest in education and found that he could get by without studying or working hard. He was never a star student in high school, as his younger sister was, for he lacked motivation, but he played on the football team and was active in other school activities. He was a member of the boys' choir, the boys' chorus, and the school choir in high school, but his sisters did not join the singing groups in high school, even though he thought they sang at least as well as he did. He was popular with the other students and just enjoyed life.

College in Michigan

After graduating from high school, Bill attended a new community college in Jackson for a year (Sewell Oral History Interview 4, 1986—this interview by his granddaughter source for section unless otherwise indicated). He was a star football player on the college team and also played basketball. Once again the school work was not challenging, so he and his family decided it would be better for him to go away to a better college.

Jackson is equidistant from Ann Arbor and East Lansing—38 miles—but Bill decided to go to Michigan State College (now university) rather than the University of Michigan, because the football coach at Michigan State recruited him. He enrolled as a pre-med student, largely because his parents always wanted him to become a doctor. His father's brother was a very successful neurologist in Detroit, and he wanted Bill to join him in his practice. Bill, however, still showed little interest in academics and did not study much or work hard. His grades were mediocre, mostly C's and even

a couple of D's in his freshman year--just good enough to get by. He was more interested in football and played guard on the freshman football team. His son, William, Jr., remembers him saying that he weighed between 185 and 200 pounds when he played football as a lineman. This may occasion some surprise, since Big Ten guards today typically weigh more than 300 pounds. Football in the 1930s, however, was in a different era, when most teams used the single wing formation and emphasized the running game. Even then Bill was probably undersized, but he was barrel-chested, strong, and fast--very well suited to play pulling guard, utilizing his speed to get out in front of the running back and clear a path. The freshman team must have been exceptionally good, for Sewell told his son that on one occasion the freshman team badly beat the varsity in a full scrimmage (William H. Sewell, Jr., personal communication, Sept. 8, 2015).

Around the time of spring practice his freshman year, Sewell came down with a severe strep throat infection. His temperature soared to more than 104 degrees and he almost died. He was at home for many months recovering. There were no antibiotic drugs to treat strep infections at that time, and the illness left him with a weakened rheumatic heart. His athletic career was over. He recalled,

I didn't go back 'til the winter quarter. And then I really got serious, became a serious student, and I made excellent grades, and carried about 22 or 23 hours a semester. And graduated from college in 1933.

In fact, nearly all of his grades were A's after he returned to the campus following his severe illness. William Jr. says,

I think the near death experience must have cured him of his hard-partying ways. He played only his first year at MSU--on the freshman team. He had the strep toward the end of that year and couldn't play thereafter because of the heart condition. He sometimes mused about what he would have done if he had continued playing football. He used to say he probably would have become a coach. He probably would have been a good one. He was pretty good at coaching sociologists! (William H. Sewell, Jr., personal communication, Sept. 8, 2015).

During his senior year at Michigan State Bill's mother, who was only 44, died suddenly of a strep infection much like the one that Bill had suffered--a great shock to the whole family. He was still one quarter short of graduating, but the family decided that Bill should come home to stay with his father for a while. Bill had applied for admission to medical school and was accepted by the University of Michigan and the Detroit Medical College (now School

of Medicine at Wayne State University). He had little to do except work in the drug store while he was back in Jackson, so he decided to study his pharmacy books and take the pharmacy license exams. He had completed all the pharmacy apprenticeship requirements and had the equivalent of a major in chemistry as a part of his pre-med training. Most of those taking the four days of pharmacy exams had completed four years of study at one of Michigan's three pharmacy schools, but Bill took the exams and passed with a 90 average—as he said, “much to the embarrassment of the Board of Pharmacy and a lot of others.” He thus became a registered pharmacist but never practiced. He had filled thousands of prescriptions under supervision previously, but he did not remember ever filling another prescription after he became a registered pharmacist.

Bill finished his last quarter at Michigan State, but he began to have doubts about going to medical school. He said that the more chemistry and biology he took, the less interesting he found them to be. He was also not eager to join his uncle's practice in neurology, which he described as “plumbing.” Psychiatry appealed to him more as a medical specialty. He was also considering that he might want to get married to a young woman he was courting, and thought that medical school would make an early marriage impossible. The romance broke up, however, because she was a devout Catholic and would not marry him unless he became a Catholic. He was not at all religious himself and could not accept Catholic doctrine. Nevertheless, he decided to delay his entrance into medical school for a year and explore his growing interest in sociology.

Bill had found the few social science courses he had taken much more interesting than the natural science courses. Though his own family was relatively secure financially, he became increasingly concerned about the social conditions in the midst of the Great Depression. Half of the young men in his fraternity had to drop out of school because of their families' financial reverses. One of the most eye-opening courses he took as an undergraduate was a social work field course in which he had to work with a social welfare agency in Lansing.

Most of what I had to do for my field work was go out and see families where the husband had worked in the automotive factories, all of which were completely closed down. And they were on relief. And my main job was to go out and tell them that we no longer could furnish any money for milk and things, and you'd see these young people with three little children, and you were going out there and telling them that next week we're going to have to cut off the money for milk. Just horrible. Here these people, it wasn't like they were the continually poor or the habitually poor; these were the young people willing and anxious to work. . . .

So there was very little that they had to live on, there was a great deal of hunger. And it was really a desperate situation. What it did to people's morale was just awful.

Another influential course was in sociology. The professor became interested in homeless young men wandering around the country. There were probably two million of them during the Great Depression, because they could not find jobs and their families could not support them, so they became hoboes, moving from place to place, hitchhiking and "riding the rails" and depending on odd jobs and handouts. The professor asked Bill to disguise himself as a hobo and spend two weeks living the life of a hobo, sleeping and eating with them, and utilizing the services of the Salvation Army and the Volunteers of America. He wore ragged clothes and went without any money, joining the young men in Lansing and hitchhiking to Grand Rapids.

. . . I'd never seen anything like that before, and I enjoyed it greatly. In fact, the first place I went I had so completely disguised myself so I'd look bad that one of the old guys took me aside—I stayed in each place two or three days—and said to me, "Now look," he said, "I know the captain and I can get you a pair of better pants than that. 'Cause those look like hell, they're all torn up." But anyway, there was a sense too in which it was all an adventure for these kids. You know, some of them had come all the way from the West Coast or down South, and they'd get on the hobo circuit; there were camps where they could stop along the road. Also they encountered problems with the Pinkerton Agency guys that they hired to throw people off the trains and all that sort of thing. Really they, many of them, had lost any hope of finding work; it became kind of a way of life for them, at least during that period.

During the days Bill would talk to the young men about their lives, and in the evening he would write up his notes, which he used later in writing a paper for the professor. It was his first experience with participant observation research, and he found it exhilarating. It was similar to the study of migrant farm workers done by UW economist Don Divance Lescohier in 1923, which also involved visits to "hobo jungles." It differed in that Bill assumed the role of a hobo to gain an inside view of their lives and problems, whereas Lescohier's research was a view from the outside. Bill never tried to publish anything based on his undergraduate paper, but the experience had a profound effect on him.

Bill's father was a steadfast Republican, but he was never an arch-conservative who opposed welfare for the poor. In his store he always treated African Americans, poor Polish people, and other minorities with fairness,

courtesy, and respect, and thus he won their loyalty as customers. Bill recalled, “There were a lot of Polish people in our town, and the Polish people were looked down upon too, and my father took in Polish apprentices in the store, and we were just taught not to differentiate.” Bill reacted to the breakdown of the economy and the immiseration of a large part of the American public during the Great Depression by becoming a New Deal Democrat and admirer of Franklin D. Roosevelt. He regarded himself as a “radical” devoted to rooting out injustices in society, but he never embraced socialism or Communism. He believed that Roosevelt’s New Deal reforms narrowly averted the outbreak of revolutionary violence in the country.

To explore this new interest in social science, Bill decided to spend another year at Michigan State and enrolled in the master’s degree program in sociology. He liked psychology too, but at that time Michigan State had only one psychologist but five or six sociologists. Even so, the sociology department there was not considered one of the stronger ones in the United States. Though he found some of the faculty “very nice people and able people,” he thought no one was really an inspiring teacher. He did a lot of reading on his own, however, and became especially interested in social behavior and social psychology. By the time he completed his master’s degree in 1934 he was fully committed to becoming a sociologist instead of a doctor, and he wanted to go to a top department to earn a PhD in sociology. His father did not know what sociology was and feared it was like “socialism.” He knew Bill was interested in Harold Laski, the British economist and political philosopher, who was the leading British spokesman for socialism in the 1930s. Laski was a professor at the London School of Economics, and played an active political role in the Labour Party. Bill’s father thought that economics would be a more respectable field than sociology, so he offered to pay Bill’s way to study economics at the University of London. Bill, however, had already made up his mind that he wanted to go into sociology (Sewell Oral History Interview 3, 1985).

Doctoral Study in Minnesota

Sewell had learned enough about sociology to realize that the future of the discipline lay in empirical research and the application of quantitative methods to the study of social phenomena, both of which appealed to him. With his premed background in the natural sciences, he developed a preference for precise methods in research. He wanted to study under one of the leading quantitative sociologists of the era—preferably William F. Ogburn, the chief methodologist at the University of Chicago. The Chicago department was by far the dominant sociology department at the time and boasted a full complement of notable scholars in theory and a number of substantive fields as

well as in methodology. He wrote to Ogburn about the possibility of securing some kind of financial aid, and Ogburn wrote back explaining that the department did not give fellowships or assistantships to graduate students in their first year at Chicago. He was cordial, though, and urged him to come, saying that if he did come they could probably find something for him.

Sewell had also written to his second choice, F. Stuart Chapin, at the University of Minnesota. Chapin (1888-1974) was also a notable early quantitative sociologist and was elected President of the American Sociological Society just when Sewell was applying to Minnesota. One of Sewell's professors at Michigan State also recommended Minnesota. Despite his mediocre grades in his first years at Michigan State, Minnesota offered Sewell a teaching assistantship. Since he wanted to be self-supporting right away, he decided to go to Minnesota rather than Chicago (Sewell, 1988, p. 120).

Because he already had a master's degree, Sewell was permitted to teach introductory courses on his own and not be just an assistant to a professor. He did very well in the program, and at the end of his first year he was made an instructor. As a part-time instructor and junior member of the faculty his salary jumped from \$800 a year to \$1200 a year. That was greater than his living expenses, so he was actually able to save money throughout his doctoral study and did not require any financial assistance from his father. He had saved a considerable sum of money earlier when he had been working at various jobs in Jackson, but most of his savings were wiped out when thousands of banks failed in the early 1930s.

The graduate department was not large, consisting of about six professors and not over ten full-time graduate students. There were no required courses, and students were mostly occupied with studying to prepare for very demanding oral prelim exams. Much of his education was informal—reading on his own and taking reading courses, though he also took some seminars and courses. He quickly built a reputation as the top student in the sociology program, and a couple of the professors took a great interest in him and worked with him, giving him special attention—particularly Chapin himself. Chapin quickly recognized Sewell's promise and worked closely with him from the beginning. Chapin, however, was not an outgoing person and was reserved and austere in his personal relations. He was highly organized, scheduling his time minute-by-minute. Even on vacation at his summer cottage he worked by a fixed schedule, working a precise four hours in the morning, then having lunch, fishing all afternoon, and reading in the evening. Graduate students were not permitted to drop by his office informally. Sewell said,

So he was a hard man to see, you couldn't see him without an appointment of some days in advance usually. . . . He was not a very outgoing

person until he got to know you quite well, and then only if he respected your intellect, so that there were a lot of the graduate students who feared him terribly. On the other hand, I always found him warm and always helpful. Any time I wanted to see him I'd tell the secretary and she'd get me in the next day. . . . But still, anybody who regulates his time in that way, you know, you don't just go in and visit and mess around. . . . (Sewell Oral History Interview 3, 1985).

Sewell thought Chapin was not a very good lecturer, though he was always well prepared and his lectures were well organized. But he thought "at the seminar level he was the best I ever saw." Even when some of the students in his seminars made weak presentations, Chapin could expand on them and point out implications and possibilities for research. Sewell was one of the few students who ever challenged Chapin during seminar discussions, for most were afraid to question him.

Chapin's chief influence on Sewell was his emphasis on measurement. Chapin told him, "Anything that man does or says can be measured," and Sewell took it to heart.

When I went to Minnesota I was interested in statistics. By the time I left Minnesota I was interested in measurement. In other words, not just statistics but how can you measure attitudes better, how can you measure social status better, and so on. And that really was where my research started off. . . . Truth was that I thought I was going to be studying with a great statistician, but it turned out—I say this, I hope with sufficient modesty—I knew more statistics by the time I got there than he did because I was so much more recently trained, and I had gone out of my way to take statistics outside of my department, that I really knew more technical statistics than he did. (Sewell Oral History 3, 1985).

Nevertheless, Sewell had immense respect for Chapin: ". . . I grew really to have not only great respect for him but, I think, probably a great deal of love and admiration for him after I left there . . . and I never was one to particularly apprentice myself to anyone anyway." Sewell believed that Chapin was the only professor during his training who ever had much influence on him. But one of his undergraduate students at Minnesota, Louis Guttman, also influenced him in the area of scaling. Guttman went on to become one of the most influential scholars in developing better scaling methods. Sewell also took advantage of classes in psychology at Minnesota to learn about factor analysis and the latest scaling techniques, and this knowledge was very important in his early research.

During his first year at Minnesota Sewell lived in a brand new dormitory

named Pioneer Hall—the same dormitory I lived in seventeen years later when I started to graduate school. At that time there was a section set aside for unmarried male graduate students, and he got acquainted with many fellow graduate students who went on to have productive careers.

There I met some of the brightest people I ever knew. In economics, in history, in psychology, in various other fields, and I got a lot of education out of our discussions and talks. And then I would go off to other departments and take courses or sit in on seminars, especially psychology. I minored in economics, so I had to take things there, and then I went off to biometry to take statistics courses, and economics and various other places, so I could build up my knowledge of quantitative methods (Sewell Oral History 3, 1985).

Sewell also struck up a lifelong friendship with Olaf Larson, one of John H. Kolb's doctoral students at the University of Wisconsin, who was spending a year at Minnesota as an exchange student. They became best friends and maintained a warm friendship for the rest of their lives.

By the spring of his second year Sewell felt ready to take his prelim exams. He recalled, "When you got ready to take your prelims, which were oral at that school, you had to be ready to answer any question that those people asked you. Most people flunked, but I didn't."

During his first week in residence at Minnesota, the department secretary, who delighted in being a matchmaker, introduced Sewell to a senior social work student named Elizabeth, who was working part-time in the department office. They started dating and it quickly evolved into a real romance. After she graduated she got a job as a social worker and they continued dating until they got married in 1936 during Sewell's second year at Minnesota. When his granddaughter asked him what the reaction of his father was, he said that he thought that his father was relieved that Liz had displaced his former girlfriend in his affections.

I suppose my dad, even though he was very tolerant of people and other religions, he really didn't want me to be a Catholic. But in any event, the minute they met Liz they thought she was great. And she's always been, always was, I think, their favorite in-law. But, so there was no problem with that.

Liz was much more social than Bill and they had quite different personalities. Sewell said that in those early days he was "intellectually arrogant and intolerant," whereas Liz was more tolerant and not as "bookish." They always got along very well together, however, and she was of great assistance

to him in all his professional roles. She was the first person he turned to for advice. He told his granddaughter,

. . . We got along very nicely, and we've had a very compatible marriage and married life. We never get in fights, we might argue a little now and then, but never get angry at each other. I don't think we ever passed a night that we didn't make up whatever argument we might have had, but we didn't have many. I attribute that to the fact that she's so good natured, which she is. . . . We were real companions and friends and enjoyed each other. It's never stopped. . . .

I think all of our department members loved Liz too. It was a fortunate marriage.

First Academic Job: Oklahoma A&M College

In the 1930s it was common for doctoral students to take a job after passing prelims, and it was expected that they would work on their dissertations while getting started in their new jobs. It was difficult to do both things at once, and often there were considerable delays between passage of prelims and actually completing the PhD. Jobs were difficult to come by during the Great Depression. Chapin wanted to keep Sewell at Minnesota, but he could only provide a temporary appointment while waiting for a permanent job to open up. Sewell wanted to get away, and Chapin helped him to get a job in Otis Durant Duncan's new sociology department at Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College (now Oklahoma State University) in Stillwater, Oklahoma. He also had an offer from Indiana University, a much better school, but it would have required him to teach 12 hours of introductory sociology each semester, which would leave him little time to work on his dissertation. Duncan recognized Sewell's potential and offered him a half-time research position through the Agricultural Experiment Station. He also offered a salary of \$2,800, whereas Indiana was offering only \$1,800, the prevailing rate for new faculty with his qualifications (Sewell Oral History Interview 3, 1985).

Sewell was not impressed with Oklahoma A&M, which he described as "a big cow college," and he complained about the mediocrity and lack of intellectual stimulation from most of his colleagues. He thought the college was not in the same league with the land-grant colleges he was used to: ". . . The college was certainly nothing like the University of Minnesota. In fact, it wasn't anywhere near as good as Michigan State." He did not care for the campus or Stillwater either.

The campus was a desert. When we got there the dust would blow across it, there wasn't a green blade of grass anywhere, the trees, they'd plant trees and they'd die out for lack of water. And while the buildings were fine, the place just looked so utterly desolate. . . . The town was an awful little place, I always thought. It had about 10,000 people exclusive of students. Dusty, rundown little main street, two or three movie theaters, a few restaurants, not air conditioned and not very good. There was kind of a level of mediocrity about the whole place. I never really liked it.

There was no air conditioning in the campus buildings, and about the only air conditioning in town was in the movie theaters, so intense summer heat made life miserable for considerable periods. Liz liked the community more than Bill, and all three of their children were born in Stillwater—Mary in 1938, Bill Jr. in 1940, and Chick in 1942.

The sociology department was one of the stronger departments on campus and had a master's degree program. Duncan himself had still not completed his PhD, for he had run afoul of F. Stuart Chapin at the University of Minnesota and had failed his prelim there. Nevertheless, he was a strong leader and when he was made chair of a new department of sociology at Oklahoma A&M, he brought in a number of bright young faculty members. He was not able to complete his own degree until 1941 at Louisiana State University, but thereafter he emerged as one of the most influential rural sociologists of his generation. Sewell held him in high regard and said he was "a very fine man, a good scholar, and had good standards." Duncan was ambitious for his department and wanted to send his graduate students on to the University of Wisconsin for doctoral work. In 1940 the two Oklahoma A&M students he recommended were turned down for fellowships at Wisconsin, and Duncan wrote to T. C. McCormick asking why they were rejected and why no A&M students had ever been accepted

Is it because we are a new department, or because we have not turned out enough productive scholarship, or because our students are lacking in some form of fundamental training? I would like to know if we can reinforce ourselves in the eyes of other institutions so our students will be able to compete with those from other places (UW Archives, 7/33-5 Box 1, Folder: D).

McCormick replied diplomatically that "your departments rates well at Wisconsin, and this was a point in favor of each of your men." Wisconsin had only a half dozen awards with nearly 120 applicants, and the credentials of the A&M candidates were not as strong as some others. Duncan wrote

back immediately and said that he was still anxious to place some of his students with Wisconsin if he ever had any who were able to meet the competition. “I am thinking particularly of my own boy who will be ready in a year or two if he continues to do well.” Of course, he was writing of his son Otis Dudley Duncan. The younger Duncan was an excellent student, and he did follow in his father’s footsteps, but, as he said in his autobiography, not necessarily because of his father’s influence:

. . . . Occupational inheritance is not the direct explanation of my entry into sociology. Instead, I suspect the major factor was friendship with and admiration for William H. Sewell, who is now a distinguished Professor of Sociology at the University of Wisconsin. In 1937 he was a fledgling member of my father’s department, a close friend of the family, the proud possessor of a beautiful and charming wife, Elizabeth, and soon to be the parent of three attractive children. I mowed the lawn and did heavy chores for Liz, baby-sat with the children, and from time to time got tidbits of wisdom from Bill. In the summer of 1939, I took my first two courses in sociology, one from Sewell. His teaching was orderly and informative but not, as such, inspiring to me. What was exceedingly stimulating was that he referred me to the current polemical literature in sociology, which revolved a good deal around the question of whether and how the discipline could be made into a science—the answer of George A. Lundberg, in *Foundations of Sociology*, being that we must seek rigor and reliability of observation, perfect our instruments of measurement, and attack the testing of hypotheses with research designs that had proved robust and productive in the natural sciences (Otis Dudley Duncan, n.d.)

When Otis Dudley entered Oklahoma A&M, Sewell became his advisor, and they worked together until Dudley’s final year, when he accompanied his father to study at LSU. He then went to the University of Minnesota to take his master’s degree in sociology with Chapin—something that must not have pleased his father. Finally, he went to the University of Chicago to earn his PhD in sociology. From there he went on to become one of the leading quantitative sociologists of his generation. For the rest of their lives Bill Sewell and Dudley Duncan remained intimate friends, and Dudley became one of Bill’s most trusted advisers, returning the favor of his early mentorship.

The elder Duncan gave Sewell every encouragement, and Sewell responded. He completed his dissertation in one year in 1938 and received his PhD in 1939. He got the idea for his dissertation from a study Chapin had done earlier, devising a “family living room scale” for measuring a

farm family's socioeconomic status. There has always been great difficulty in measuring the socioeconomic status of farmers, in part because of the complexities of farm bookkeeping and estimating farm income. Chapin devised a scale based on the household goods in a farmer's living room. Chapin was not familiar with the sophisticated techniques developed by psychologists in developing scales, and his was simply an arbitrary ad hoc collection of items, but it worked fairly well. Sewell thought he could improve on Chapin's scale by using the psychologists' methods to select items that measured the same underlying phenomenon and testing the reliability and validity of the scale. He and a colleague at A&M carried out a survey of farm families—probably one of the first studies to use a probability sampling design for rural families.

Sewell started out by compiling a list of over 200 socioeconomic items associated with the socioeconomic status of farm families, derived from other scales, housing schedules, level of living studies, social participation schedules, and opinions of people with some expertise with regard to rural life. Many of the items were eliminated after field observations because they were ill-defined, difficult for a lightly trained interviewer to record, or limited to a specific area. Sewell and his colleague then took the remaining 123 items, including both material possessions and social participation and other cultural characteristics, and ascertained how many each of the farm families in their sample possessed. He then used item analysis techniques that had been developed by psychologists to select the 36 items that had the greatest internal consistency. Then he calculated measures of reliability and validity. This was before computers or even electric calculators were available, so all the calculations had to be done laboriously by hand. He “ended up with a rating scale in which you could, in ten minutes, rate a farm family's socio-economic status better than you could with these other techniques that took hours to do.” He believed that his study was the first to use modern scaling techniques in sociological research. He did the whole study without any assistance from Chapin, his advisor. In fact, Chapin did not even know what he was working on until Sewell presented the completed dissertation to him. Chapin was greatly impressed and praised the dissertation, and his committee readily accepted it (Sewell Oral History Interview 3, 1985).

Sewell published an article describing the construction of the scale in *Sociometry* in 1942, and it was very well received by the profession (Sewell, 1942). Other researchers began using the scale, but they asked for a shorter scale that would be easier to administer. He went back to work and reduced the number of items in the scale from 36 to 14. The final scale included both material objects and social characteristics: the construction material of the house, the ratio of persons to rooms, type of lighting, piped water in the house, radio, telephone, automobile, refrigerator, washing machine, taking

a daily newspaper, and education and church attendance of husband and wife (Sewell, 1943). The shorter scale correlated with the longer one at $+ .95$. In a discussion of the paper Genevieve Knupper and Robert K. Merton at Columbia asked why he did not make the scale even shorter, while still retaining a high level of validity. Sewell replied that further reductions might compromise the reliability of the scale. Looking at the items today, it is clear that the scale was time-bound, and it is doubtful that many of the items would be useful in determining socioeconomic status of farm families today after massive social and technological change in rural areas.

The dissertation was Sewell's first research on socio-economic status. His work attracted much favorable attention, and he was asked to write more and more about socio-economic status. Between 1937 and 1943 he published about fifteen papers and monographs on various aspects of socio-economic status, many of them methodological. He also was invited to give seminars at leading sociology departments around the country on the techniques for developing scales. It was far from his only interest, and he actually got tired of working on the subject while he was at Oklahoma A&M, but he was not able to break free until World War II came along. He did pursue research in other areas after the war, but over the course of his career probably 60 percent of his publications were in the area of social stratification.

Sewell quickly climbed the academic ladder, going from beginning assistant professor without a PhD to full professor in four years. He reached the latter rank in 1940 at the age of 31. Sewell quickly built a national reputation as one of the most outstanding young sociologists in the country, and he began to attract offers from other universities.

I was the light haired boy of the place, and anything I needed or wanted I got. So it was a great place for me to start out. I did research that was well recognized, and made it possible for me by the end of the seven years to go practically any place I wanted. I was getting job offers everywhere.

Military Service and the Bombing Survey

World War II intervened and Sewell spent the years 1943 to 1946 as a Lieutenant (Junior Grade) in the U.S. Naval Reserve. "I took a commission because I figured I might be drafted anyway, and if I had to go I'd better go as an officer." There were more than 2,000 WAVES, women from the women's auxiliary corps of the Navy, on the Oklahoma A&M campus, living in dormitories, and taking courses as a part of their training program. At first he was assigned to teach some of the orientation courses for the WAVES—naval history, naval policy, and current news about the Navy's role in the war. He

had to teach himself these subjects beforehand, reading books by Samuel Eliot Morison and others on naval history.

Sewell had earlier been offered a job in the national headquarters of Selective Service in Washington, DC. It was a civilian agency, but it depended almost exclusively on military personnel for its staff. When the sociologist Raymond Bowers, the Assistant Director of Selective Service, learned Sewell was in the Navy, he asked for him and got him transferred to the Research and Statistics Division of the agency. He was made Assistant Director of Research and Statistics, but his naval salary was only one-third of what he had been offered as a civilian. Samuel Stouffer also wanted him to join his group working on the American Soldier studies, but Stouffer was a civilian and was outranked by the military head of Selective Service. Sewell moved to Washington immediately. He wanted to bring his family there too, but it took six months for him to find housing for his family, and Liz and the children had to remain in Stillwater until then. Sewell was thus doing what was essentially a civilian job, but in a naval uniform.

This was Sewell's first experience with large-scale statistical processing. There were 18 million men registered with the agency, but the records were chaotic, and when Sewell arrived he said "nobody knew where they were. . . The system was lousy. . . ." He helped to develop the system that was later used, but he was extremely frustrated working inside the bureaucracy and contending with its rigidities and inefficiencies. In later years he refused to take any job in a government agency in Washington, DC, though Carl Taylor and others kept trying to induce him to come (Fuguitt & Sewell, 2001; Sewell Oral History Interview 4, 1986).

While the war was still going on plans were being formulated by Rensis Likert and a group of social psychologists to launch a study of the effects of mass strategic area bombing on civilian behavior, the infrastructure, transportation, and war production as soon as the war was over. Sewell knew several of the scholars in the group, and he was eager to join them. The social scientists would focus on the effects of the bombing on civilian morale, the will to fight, and the will to work. The propriety of using mass strategic bombing of whole cities inhabited primarily by civilians rather than tactical bombing targeting military and industrial targets was highly controversial, so the issues they sought to investigate were very important. Unfortunately, Sewell, as a Lt. Jr. Grade, was under the command of a Navy captain who had become embittered and negative because he had been sidelined to a desk job in Washington during the war as a result of choosing the wrong side in a factional fight within the Navy. He had no particular reason to dislike Sewell, but he refused to release him to participate in the study in Germany. His excuse was that the war was still going on against Japan (Sewell Oral History Interview 3, 1985).

As soon as the war against Japan was over, however, the Navy did release Sewell to participate in the Japanese bombing survey. He arrived in Tokyo just ten days after the Japanese surrender, when the carnage and devastation from the area incendiary bombing of cities was fresh and raw. He recalled, “. . . three quarters of the buildings in Tokyo had been destroyed, burned up. So that was the most desolate looking sight you could imagine” (Sewell Oral History Interview 4, 1986). He joined a large team of some 1,000 people, headed by an outstanding multidisciplinary group of eighteen social scientists, most of whom became quite famous in subsequent years. They included six anthropologists, five social psychologists (including Burton Fisher and Herbert Hyman), two statisticians, two political scientists, one psychiatrist, and two sociologists (Sewell and Raymond Bowers, his boss at Selective Service) (Hyman, 1981, pp. 93-95). They immediately set up headquarters in Tokyo and started making plans for the survey and designing the interview schedule.

The research team was in Japan from October through New Year’s and during an intensive period of work they managed to deploy a large team of interviewers, mostly Japanese Americans from the West Coast and Hawaii. They interviewed more than 2,000 Japanese civilians about their experiences in the war. After the interviews were completed, the researchers returned to the United States, and Sewell and Herbert Hyman, who had worked on the Bombing Survey for Germany, went to Swarthmore College for about two months. There they developed a coding scheme for the interviews and trained a team of psychology students to do the coding. Then they returned to Washington, DC, to analyze the data and write their report. This took another three or four months, and Sewell said that as research leader of the team he wrote the main part of the final report and over half of the total report (Sewell Oral History Interview 3, 1985).

During the last year of World War II, the blustering Army Air Force General Curtis LeMay was placed in charge of the 21st Bomber Command in the Pacific in January, 1945, even though he was widely disliked by most of the other Air Force generals. He strongly advocated strategic firebombing directed against the Japanese civilian populations in preference to precision tactical bombing of military targets, because he believed it would destroy civilian morale and lead to an early Japanese surrender without the necessity of an invasion of Japan, which would entail a massive number of casualties. President Truman very much wanted to avoid an invasion if possible, and hoped that the bombing campaign would lead to unconditional surrender. As soon as the atomic bombs became available, he determined to use them also for the same objective. They were the ultimate strategic bombs and were obviously designed to kill a vast number of civilians.

Sewell said that his team found that the strategic bombing did lead the

Japanese government to make an attempt to surrender, but the bombing did not have the desired effect on civilian morale:

It was kind of an interesting survey because essentially we found that the Japanese were ready to surrender from strategic bombing and had made two attempts, once with the Russians and once with the Swiss, to surrender before the dropping of any atomic bomb. And I think, for that reason, it was suppressed. I know that by the time I got—I really wrote the main part—the effects of bombing part of the report. And it was published in the U.S. Government Printing Office. And within a week or two of its publication I wrote for a copy, and they said they were out of print. So I can't help but feel that it was suppressed. The Air Force was very upset, of course, with the findings and so were various others. In fact, our findings were, essentially, that bombing was not a way to break civilian morale, that it seemed to increase the will of the country to fight, and that lesson had already been learned in England, in Germany, again in Japan, and they still continued with that right into the war in Vietnam, of course, with exactly the same results (Sewell Oral History Interview 1, 1977).

LeMay's area firebombing raids on Tokyo and 66 other cities over the last six months of the war killed some 500,000 civilians and left about 5 million homeless, even before the atomic bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The Strategic Bombing Survey, however, showed that the more the Army Air Force bombed Japanese civilians, the greater became their will to resist the United States (Sewell, 1988, pp. 124-125). The Strategic Bombing Survey for Germany, where 780,000 civilians were killed and 305,000 homes were destroyed by area bombing, reached the same conclusion (Hyman, 1991, pp. 113-121). Area bombing of civilian populations was then and is now contrary to international law, but during World War II all belligerents on both sides engaged in it freely, approved at the highest level—Hitler, Churchill, Roosevelt, Stalin, Tojo and Emperor Hirohito. In the documentary "The Fog of War" Robert McNamara was asked about the firebombing of Japan:

LeMay said, "If we'd lost the war, we'd all have been prosecuted as war criminals." And I think he's right. He, and I'd say I, were behaving as war criminals. LeMay recognized that what he was doing would be thought immoral if his side had lost. But what makes it immoral if you lose and not immoral if you win? (Errol Morris Film, "The Fog of War: Tran-script)

LeMay was honored with 16 US medals and received additional honors from another dozen countries, including Japan. He became a hero to the right-wing, and later was George Wallace's running mate in his bid for the presidency in 1968, even though LeMay denied being a segregationist like Wallace. Their American Independent Party received 13.5 percent of the popular vote and carried most of the South.

Herbert Hyman, who participated in both the German and Japanese bombing studies, was particularly distressed by the immorality of bombing civilians when it served no legitimate strategic purpose. He wrote a popular article reporting the substantive findings of the two bombing surveys, but it was serially rejected by the *New York Times Magazine*, the *Atlantic Monthly*, *Harper's*, the *Saturday Review*, *Scientific American*, and a few other magazines. He was an excellent writer and gave permission to the editors to simplify the writing style if they wished, but they were not interested, and he finally gave up (Hyman, 1991, p. 130). Government and military policy makers also failed to learn the lessons from the bombing surveys. In March, 1968, Harold Brown, Secretary of the Air Force, recommended "the intensification of the bombing . . . to erode the will of the population by exposing a wider area of North Vietnam to casualties and destruction (*NY Times*, July 4, 1971, p. 17). President Nixon also ordered an intensification of bombing in Cambodia when the covert U.S.-South Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia proved ineffective. He told Henry Kissinger, "I want everything that can fly to go in there and crack the hell out of them. There is no limitation on mileage and there is no limitation on budget. Is that clear?" (Owen and Kiernan, 2006, p. 66).

During World War II the U.S. and Britain dropped about 1,360,000 tons of bombs on Germany and another 160,000 tons of bombs on Japan, mostly in area bombing (U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey Summary Report, 1946, p. 16). During the wars in Indochina, the U.S. dropped at least 6.7 million tons of bombs on Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos—more than four times as much as on Germany and Japan combined during the whole of World War II. A database released by President Clinton—apparently inadvertently—showed that the intensity of the secret bombing of Cambodia was at least five times greater than previously acknowledged. During the Johnson and Nixon administrations the Air Force dropped at least 2.7 million tons of bombs in Cambodia, leading Owen and Kiernan to suggest that "Cambodia may well be the most heavily bombed country in history" (2006, p. 67). The title of the most heavily bombed country per capita, though, may belong to Laos, where 580,000 U.S. bombing sorties between 1964 and 1978 delivered more than 2 million tons of bombs, leaving the country pockmarked with craters and strewn with 78 million unexploded bomblets that are continuing to kill and maim civilians decades after the war's end (Suthinithet, *Hyphen*, Issue 21).

Recruitment to the University of Wisconsin

While Sewell was still in the Navy working in Washington, DC, he was recruited to join the University of Wisconsin faculty. It started when Sewell got acquainted with William B. Sarles, who was a bacteriologist at the University of Wisconsin. They met in Potomac Park where the Naval Auxiliary women often served outdoor picnic lunches under the trees for officers in the area. Sarles was working on the Committee on Biological War of the National Academy of Sciences, which was headed by President E. B. Fred of the University of Wisconsin. When Sewell learned that Sarles was a professor at Wisconsin, he said, "Oh, yes. I've had some inquiries from them." He said, "Oh, have you?" The next day Sarles saw Sewell and told him, "Oh, yes. I know all about you now. Mr. Fred's got all the information on you and he's very anxious to see you." Fred had apparently already learned about Sewell, probably from John Kolb, who knew all the prominent rural sociologists in the country. Fred knew that the reputation of Wisconsin sociology had declined and that there were some difficult personality conflicts in the Sociology Department. He hoped that hiring a bright young sociologist with a rising reputation might help resolve both problems. No one knew when the war would end, but Fred wanted to steal a march on other universities by making offers to very promising young scholars in many different fields to secure their advance commitment to come to Wisconsin as soon as the war ended. It was a very wise move and gave the university an immediate boost right after World War II ended.

President Fred was on leave in Washington to head the Committee on Biological War at the National Academy of Sciences, so it was easy for Sewell to come to Fred's office for an interview. President Fred was in the habit of interviewing all new faculty prospects, particularly for tenured positions. In later years Sewell recalled the strangeness of the job interview:

We never talked one word about anything I'd ever done, anything I wanted to do when I got here, or anything else. He just talked about hybrid seed corn or whatever was on his mind, as he always did I learned later. But somehow or other I guess he was impressed with my ability to listen, I don't know what else, because he wrote back, Mr. Kolb told me, very enthusiastic letters and to go ahead with the appointment. But he was an enigma (Sewell Oral History Interview 1, 1977).

Other faculty members were also often disconcerted and baffled in their encounters with President Fred, and there was some debate about whether he was a naïve, out-of-touch bumbler or a really clever and crafty

administrator who was expert at delaying or derailing proposals he had some misgivings about.

John Kolb, the chair of Rural Sociology, and Thomas McCormick, chair of Sociology, wrote to Sewell and offered him a joint appointment in the two departments as a Professor. Sewell was very much interested, but he also wanted to learn more:

I guess the only hesitancy I had was I thought of Wisconsin sociology as do-gooder sociology. And I didn't know whether I wanted to be associated with that. Well, I came out and talked to Kolb—who was certainly a do-gooder man himself but also a good, careful scholar—and he said that was the very reason they wanted me to come, and I talked to McCormick and he said the same thing. So I decided to come (Sewell Oral History Interview 2, 1983).

The negotiations for salary, rank, and other perquisites were also done at that time. Because he insisted on a half-time research appointment, like he enjoyed at Oklahoma A&M, he was assigned to the Department of Rural Sociology in the College of Agriculture, since at that time a half-time research appointment was possible only in the Agricultural Experiment Station. He was, however, also a member of the Department of Sociology and served on its Executive Committee as well as the Executive Committee of Rural Sociology.

While he was in Japan working on the bombing survey, Sewell's points came up, making him eligible for discharge. He stayed in the Navy until the field work was completed and the research group returned to the United States. Sewell was then discharged from the Navy in 1946. He went first to Madison for a month to begin his appointment as a Professor of Rural Sociology and Sociology, and to buy a house at 6233 Countryside Lane on the far west side of Madison. Liz and the children were still in Washington, but Sewell immediately went on leave and returned to the East to work with Herbert Hyman and others in finishing the report on the Japanese bombing survey. The family relocated to Madison in the summer of 1946 and moved into the Countryside Lane house, where Bill and Liz lived for the next thirty years (Sewell Oral History Interview 4, 1986).

The whole family took an immediate liking to Madison:

You know, both of us were Midwesterners, Liz from Minnesota and me from Michigan, so we liked Wisconsin fine. It was a nice house, a nice place to live, and intellectually it was a far superior university. And I became a part of everything almost immediately, in the university. In fact, the university had purposefully gone out and recruited people like

me, relatively young people who were already tenured, to come and try to take over the departments. That was what they really had in mind; they told me that, in fact. But anyway, it was a great group of people came in. I was one of the older ones, of course, because by the time I went into the Navy I was already 33 or 34 years old. And that was kind of the upper end of people going in. So there were younger people too. But they brought in a group of just pre-war PhDs from all over the country and really just took over the whole place. And I was in all that action (Sewell Oral History Interview 4, 1986).

When Sewell arrived E. A. Ross and John L. Gillin were both retired but still living in Madison. Sewell remembered Gillin coming to the office almost every school day until he died—something that he did himself for the most part after retirement. The only unretired sociologists on the staff were Howard P. Becker in social theory, T. C. McCormick in statistics and demography, Svend Riemer in urban sociology, Marshall Barron Clinard in deviance and criminology (who arrived at the same time as Sewell as a tenured professor), Hans Gerth, an untenured assistant professor in social theory and social psychology, John Useem, a Research Associate, and Don Martindale, a recent graduate who taught introductory classes as an acting instructor. John Kolb and George W. Hill, like Sewell, also had joint appointments in Sociology and Rural Sociology, but their primary identity was with Rural Sociology (Sewell, 1988, p. 126).

Sewell, in his reflections on his career, wrote

It was quite apparent that the sociology faculty, although it had some well-known members, had not kept pace with its national rivals. To make matters worse, the faculty was riven with discord. The university administration was aware of this situation and wanted the sociology program strengthened. I was brought in with the understanding that I would take a leading role in the rebuilding of the program (Sewell, 1988, p. 126).

According to Sewell the Department of Sociology was severely handicapped by the split between McCormick and Becker:

McCormick had a vision of this being a great quantitative department, and Becker had a picture of it being a great theoretical establishment. And they could never agree on anything, including the time of day. And Becker was, without question, a paranoid. He was the most difficult person to work with that you can imagine. Tom was a nice, old, Alabama

southern gentleman, you know. And Tom would oppose everything Becker did, but without screaming and hollering. And Becker would oppose everything McCormick proposed, in the way of people to come here, excepting he did scream and holler and did everything he could to prevent them from coming (Sewell Oral History Interview 2, 1983).

Three years after Sewell arrived in Wisconsin, Kolb decided to step down as Chair of Rural Sociology. He had served as chair for 19 years, ever since the department's founding in 1930. He continued on in the department until his retirement in 1958, at which time he left Madison and moved to California. Sewell was then elected chair in balloting by the Rural Sociology faculty. Sewell was surprised, because he was expecting that one of the older faculty members in the department would be elected. He went to the Dean of the School of Agriculture and told him that he did not want to be chair, for he thought that he did not have the support of the faculty. The dean then got out the ballots and showed him that he was indeed elected by his colleagues, and Sewell finally agreed to serve (Sewell Oral History Interview 1, 1977).

According to Archie Haller, when Sewell joined the Department of Rural Sociology in 1946 it was serving as a catchall for people the College of Agriculture did not know what to do with, including the Pro Arte Quartet, the noted painter Aaron Bohrod, and the head of University Extension. Sewell persuaded the administration to find more suitable locations for them. "Then he and Kolb, the outgoing chair of the Department, each agreed to bring in one new faculty member. Bill brought in Gene Wilkening; Kolb brought in Doug Marshall. So the department became a real department of sociology" (Archie O. Haller, personal communication, July 13, 2014).

Sewell served as chair of Rural Sociology for only four years, from 1949 to 1953, but he made some significant changes while he was chair:

I was bored with it by the end. I got in two or three new people right away and made a lot of changes in the department in the direction that I thought it should go. And as I've always been in administrative jobs, once I got the things I wanted done, I found the routine things rather dull and boring. And so I decided it was time to get out of it. But by that time I had become, I suppose, one of the leaders of the new group of social scientists who had come onto the campus right after the war. . . . I knew all of them and got to know some of the older faculty as well (Sewell Oral History Interview 1, 1977).

Even while he was serving as a department chair, he was named Chair of the Division of Social Studies from 1950 to 1953. During this time he devoted a great deal of effort to trying to increase the support for research in

all the social sciences. He did not play a very active part in the affairs of the Department of Sociology during this period, for he preferred to keep his distance and avoid the wrangling and confrontations with Becker. He preferred to work at the Division level trying to bolster all the social sciences, but his efforts there were frustrating, as I reported in Chapter 17, vol. 1.

Research on Personality and Social Structure

As soon as he left Oklahoma A&M, Sewell abandoned work on social stratification for the next few years and began focusing on the field he called personality and social structure. He got interested in the subject largely from reading the work of other social scientists and psychiatrists while working at Selective Service in Washington. Ruth Benedict wrote a book attempting to explain Japanese respect for authority and emphasis on discipline in terms of strict training as infants and young children. Psychiatrists such as Erich Fromm, Karen Horney, and Abram Kardiner also emphasized the early experiences of children in shaping personality. Sewell remembered, “Well, I got interested in all that stuff, so I was reading it—you know, I got awfully bored at the statistics at Selective Service, so I was reading that.” He even visited the Kardiner-Linton culture and personality seminar in New York a couple of times.

Sewell was intrigued with the Freudian notions about the impact of infant training and discipline on the psychoanalytic and psychosexual development of the individual. I think Sewell was always skeptical about Freudian doctrine concerning the effect of early childhood experiences on personality, for nearly all the attempts to test the Freudian notions were based on clinical evidence from persons in psychiatric or psychoanalytic treatment. It was unknown whether the clinical patients were the same as or different from the general population with regard to infant disciplines. Others before Sewell, such as Harold Orlansky, Alfred Lindesmith, and Anselm Strauss, had also expressed skepticism about the psychoanalytic theories regarding the effects of infant training, but there had been no substantial attempt to test empirically the claims of Freudian theory about infant training in a properly designed study. Sewell saw an opportunity and set out to carry out such a study:

And I decided it was time somebody tested it instead of just inferring it from the patients they see in the clinic or something of that sort. So anyway, that’s why the Infant Training Study was done. That was, I suppose, my most famous thing. Even more famous than any single thing I ever did. . . . That one article was really the humdinger because it completely contradicted everything that psychoanalysts had said about

these things. . . . I once had a raft of letters that I got from various parents—mothers, usually, and usually Jewish—writing and saying, “You have freed me from my guilt. May God bless you,” and so on. I never wrote any of the popular things about it, but some other people did (Sewell Oral History Interview 3, 1985).

To carry out the study Sewell secured funding from the Experiment Station, the University Research Committee, and the Rockefeller Foundation. He first formulated testable hypotheses from statements by Freud about the importance of infant training disciplines in infancy and early childhood. Then he spent weeks developing an interview schedule and field testing it. He hired four experienced women, such as former social workers or psychologists, to be his interviewers and gave them intensive training in the use of the interview schedule. He selected Richland County, about 40 miles northwest of Madison, as the site of the study, because the county had the highest percentage of “old American stock” in the state, and he wanted to keep ethnicity and socioeconomic status as constant as possible. His team selected 162 farm women who were mothers of five- and six-year-old children, all in intact families that had never been broken. Sewell remembered that “. . . everybody said you couldn’t ask farm women—about whether children, the infant child, played with himself and how she fed him and how she toilet-trained. God, you couldn’t get away from them once you opened up the topic, you know” (Sewell Oral History Interview 3, 1985).

Sewell’s first article from the study appeared in the *American Sociological Review* in 1949, but it merely described the field methods he used to gather the data (Sewell, 1949). He described in scrupulous detail the steps he took to secure the most accurate information possible. It was an exemplary article, and no doubt the flagship journal thought it was worthwhile to publish it in the early days of social survey research to serve as a model for other sociologists. The article, however, indicated only that it was a “study of child training and personality development in a rural community.” There was only the briefest mention that the study would include questions about “feeding, toilet training, sleep habits, emotional behavior, and responsibility training.” There was not a word concerning hypotheses or the intent to provide an empirical test of Freudian theory, and no results were reported. He apparently expected to receive much criticism and did not want to tip his hand about what he was up to until he was fully prepared.

It was almost another three years before Sewell published the results of the study in the *American Journal of Sociology* (Sewell, 1952). For the 162 5- and 6-year-old farm children he examined the effects of seven infant training practices:

- Bottle fed vs. breast fed (43 vs. 60)
- Scheduled vs. self-demand nursing (110 vs. 52)
- Abrupt vs. gradual weaning (23 vs. 139)
- Early vs. late bowel training (95 vs. 67)
- Early vs. late bladder training (80 vs. 82)
- Punishment vs. no punishment for toilet accidents (92 vs. 70)
- Sleeping alone during 1st year vs. sleeping with mother (119 vs. 43)

Each practice was dichotomized, with the second listed practice considered more favorable for child personality development according to the psychoanalytic and psychological literature. Sewell gathered data from several standardized and unstandardized personality tests, both of the paper-and-pencil and the projective types, administered by a trained clinician early during the child's first year in school. He used overall ratings of personality from the tests as well as scores on individual personality components from the tests. Additional data on "personality behavioral manifestations," such as aggression, biting nails, sucking fingers, bashfulness, school behavior, sleep behavior, and happiness, were acquired from interviews with the mothers and from teachers' ratings. Sewell dichotomized all of the personality measures also, for the sample size was not large, and he did not have a high regard for the "precision, the validity, or the reliability of any of the personality tests, indexes, or items." The personality and behavioral measures were also classified as favorable or unfavorable on the basis of the general psychological literature. He then crossed the infant training practices with the personality and behavioral measures, resulting in 460 2-by-2 tables. He calculated chi square tests for each table to determine if the variables were related at the .05 level of statistical significance.

Sewell found that of the 460 relationships tested, only 18 were significant at the .05 level. Chance alone at the .05 significance level should have resulted in 23 significant findings. A further damaging finding was that only 11 of the relationships were in the direction predicted by Freudian theory; 7 were in the opposite direction. The training practice that produced the greatest number of significant relationships—a total of four—was "slept with mother vs. apart during first year," but all of these were in the opposite direction from Freudian predictions. No training experience was significantly related to any of the major tests of personality adjustment. Sewell concluded, "The findings indicate that none of the disciplines was significantly related to childhood personality adjustment as measured in this study. Consequently, considerable doubt is cast upon the general validity of the Freudian claims and the efficacy of the prescriptions based on them" (Sewell, 1952, p. 150).

The article was a bombshell, and, as he expected, Sewell came under general attack from Freudians, who generally dismissed his study as crude,

naïve, irrelevant, and “scientistic”—a pejorative term for science you don’t like (Cavalletto & Silver, 2014, p. 35). He probably changed the minds of very few of those who bought into Freudian theory more on faith than on the basis of scientific evidence, but the article was generally well received by sociologists and sociological social psychologists. Sewell seemed to enjoy the fact that he discomfited the Freudians. Freud’s writings had become very influential among some sociologists, particularly those in the Department of Social Relations at Harvard, but except for Kimball Young and Ralph Linton in the 1930s, few of the sociologists at Wisconsin were ever committed to most Freudian concepts. That has continued to be true to the present time. Sewell never attempted to write about his findings for the popular press, but he was glad that many of the large circulation magazines started writing about his study and presenting its findings to the general public.

In a little noticed passage at the end of the article, Sewell offered a caveat: “It is entirely possible that the significant and crucial matter is not the practices themselves but the whole personal-social situation in which they find their expression, including the attitudes and behavior of the mother.” Indeed, this is precisely the argument that Erich Fromm had made three years earlier, though there had been no empirical test of this possibility. Sewell, with the help of Paul Mussen and Chester Harris, sought to cast light on this question through a reanalysis of the data from the Infant Training Study (Sewell *et al.*, 1955). They reasoned that if various training practices were closely related, it might mean that there were some generalized attitudes, such as maternal acceptance or rejection of the child, that explained personality disturbances. They selected 38 child training variables, some dichotomous and some quantitative, and calculated intercorrelations among all the variables. Only 123 of the 703 correlations were statistically significant at the .05 level, and about one-third of the significant correlations were negative, meaning that “favorable” practices in one area were associated with “unfavorable” practices in another area. They concluded that “there is no general pervasive attitude toward the child, such as acceptance or rejection, which is reflected in all, or most, specific child training practices.” They then performed a factor analysis by the multiple group method. Though they found clusters or areas of consistent child training practices, they believed that there was not a single pervasive philosophy governing all aspects of their child training: “. . . The results of this study throw into serious question the previous generalizations about the interrelationships among child training practices and particularly the belief that specific practices reflect some general attitude toward the child or philosophy of child training on the part of the parents” (*Ibid.*, p. 148).

Sewell’s research on Freudian claims certainly did not vanquish psychoanalysis, but the publication of his 1952 *AJS* article on infant disciplines

markedly changed the discourse of sociologists about psychoanalysis. Cavalletto and Silver analyzed all the articles discussing psychoanalytic ideas in the *American Sociological Review* and the *American Journal of Sociology* and identified 1953 as a turning point: “. . . Before 1953, almost all of the published positive articles and more than half of the negative articles were of the essayist type; after 1953, all the positive articles and all but one of the negative ones are concerned with hypothesis formation and statistical testing” (Cavalletto and Silver, 2014, p. 35). Thus, Sewell was very successful in achieving his purpose of refocusing the attention of social scientists on finding ways to test empirically the validity of psychoanalytic ideas. Over time the interest of most sociologists in psychoanalytic ideas sharply declined.

Sewell did not continue his jousting with the Freudians but continued to do research on social structure and personality. Sewell always took the position that socialization was a matter of learning to adjust to new statuses and roles, and it is a process that continues throughout the life course, not something that occurs primarily in infancy and early childhood. In this view he was not alone, and probably virtually all sociological social psychologists take this position today (Sewell, 1963). Between 1947 and 1962, in what he called his “socialization period,” he published fifteen or twenty articles in the area. He told his interviewer he was particularly “interested in how people are socialized to the kinds of roles they play and what effects this has on later behavior and so on.” He studied social class and personality, intelligence and personality, adolescent socialization, and socialization to new roles in later life. He joined a larger group of social psychologists in several universities studying the adjustment of foreign students on American college campuses. Sewell’s piece of the project was the study of the Scandinavian students, and he published a monograph on the subject.

Sewell counted himself fortunate to be a participant in what he regarded as the golden age of social psychology—the three decades after World War II. It was a time when there was much excitement about advances in measurement, the development of survey methodology, and the use of computers to analyze data in increasingly sophisticated ways. There were also many scholars who sought to bridge the disciplines of sociology and psychology. Looking back in 1985 Sewell lamented that sociology and psychology had moved far apart and that social psychology suffered a decline in interest in both disciplines:

You see, social psychology has kind of gone out of style, in both psychology and sociology. Right in the post-war period when there was all the excitement about measurement and all that sort of social psychological phenomenon and all the advances were being made, all sorts of people found these kinds of problems interesting to work on. And then over the

years, increasingly sociologists would say these are reductionist explanations, you should be explaining social behavior with social behavior, not at a lower level of psychological behavior. . . . That's never bothered me at all, because if I'm not a sociologist by their definition it doesn't bother me. The profession seems to think I am. And certainly psychologists aren't calling me a psychologist (Sewell Oral History Interview 3, 1985).

Even after Sewell returned to social stratification research, he retained his social psychological orientation and incorporated social psychological variables in his status attainment research.

Moving Over to the Department of Sociology

Though Sewell had a joint appointment in both Rural Sociology and Sociology from the very beginning of his residence at the University of Wisconsin, he was primarily associated with Rural Sociology during his first dozen years. He did not play an active role in Sociology, preferring to keep his distance from the wrangling of the senior faculty and the disruptions of Howard Becker. The university administration, however, had long hoped that he would take a more active part in reforming the Sociology Department and reversing its downward slide. It was not until 1958 that Sewell agreed to take on this task, but this decision was a turning point in his own career and in the history of the Sociology Department. Here is how it happened.

Sewell spent the 1956-1957 academic year as a Ford Foundation Visiting Professor in India at the Universities of Bombay, Poona, and Delhi. David Baerris, an anthropologist, served as chair of the Department of Sociology



WILLIAM HAMILTON SEWELL
(R. MIDDLETON)

and Anthropology from 1955 to January, 1958, but he went on leave during the second semester. Sewell, who had just returned from India was asked by the sociology faculty and Dean Mark Ingraham to move his office from Agriculture Hall over to Sterling Hall and become the chair of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology. He finally agreed to do so and assumed the chair in January, 1958. Dean Ingraham continued Sewell's half-time research appointment out of his Letters and Science budget and gave him a light teaching load so he could give a substantial amount of time to administrative tasks in rebuilding the department (Sewell, 1988, p. 133).

One semester later, in September, 1958, Sociology and Anthropology separated to become independent departments, much to the relief of both the anthropologists and sociologists. Sewell remembered,

When I came here there was only one anthropologist in the department. . . . But within two or three years after I got here, anthropology had four or five professors and sociology had grown too. And they felt they'd do better off without us, and we felt the same way. It was a very peaceful separation. They wanted to go and we were willing to let them. . . . We thought that if they felt that they now had enough people to have a department, that there was no reason why they shouldn't go (Sewell Oral History Interview 5, 1988).

Sewell already had a stellar national reputation in the field when he became chair and thus commanded respect, but even more important, almost everyone loved Bill. He had a folksy, friendly nature, and he charmed everyone with his penchant for telling humorous stories to create good feelings and disarm critics. It was the same gift that Lincoln, Mark Twain, and Will Rogers possessed. He was ideally suited to smooth the troubled waters and start the turn-around process for the department.

Sewell served as chair of Sociology from 1958 to 1962, except in 1959-1960, when he was on leave at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences in Stanford, California. His old friend and colleague Burton Fisher served as acting chair in his absence. Though Sewell's tenure as chair was relatively short, he played a fundamental role in the department through the rest of his life. It is quite appropriate that the Social Sciences Building is now named after him, given his role in promoting all the social sciences. Fisher was on an interdepartmental committee to name the Social Sciences Building after it opened up in the 1960s. Thorstein Veblen, John R. Commons, E. A. Ross, and perhaps some other social scientists were considered as honorees, but the committee could not reach agreement. Veblen was opposed because of the lack of a Wisconsin connection. The committee no doubt was also concerned about the racism of Commons and Ross in the early years of the Wisconsin social sciences. The building remained with only a generic name until 2006, when it was finally renamed the William H. Sewell Social Sciences Building.

The lack of resistance from the co-resident Departments of Economics and Anthropology reflected the general admiration for Sewell throughout the building. A dedication ceremony was held on September 6, 2006, and a plaque was installed in the building lobby.

Our Latter-Day “Origin Myth”

Sewell loved to tell stories, and one of his favorites was about how he dealt with the continued wrangling among the professors in the Sociology Department after he became chair. The story assumed great symbolic significance to department members who revered Sewell’s memory, and it has often been repeated and referred to as our “origin myth” at various celebratory events in recent years, though some of the details have sometimes suffered some slight modifications in the retelling. It probably took place in an Executive Committee meeting in late 1960 or early 1961 after Sewell returned from his year at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences. Here is the story in Sewell’s own words, from an interview he did with Laura Smail for the Oral History Project of the University of Wisconsin Archives in 1983:

SMAIL: Tell the rest of the story about in a preliminary talk we had, you said that when you came back, there were still a couple of troubled department meetings?

SEWELL: Oh, yes. One very troubled one—I think it was about the second one after I got back—people just behaved like beasts toward each other. And now we had another problem. We had a couple of guys by then, in anthropology, who were almost as difficult as was Howard Becker. One was Bill Laughlin and the other was C. W. Hart. And so you had three of them that were just like three Iagos, you know, in a department of sixteen, seventeen people. Anyway, I got back, and some questions—some perfectly decent questions like who was going to teach such-and-such a course or something of that sort, and they started fighting just like dogs. So I just rapped for order and said, “I’m adjourning the meeting until such time as the members of this department can act like gentlemen. When you’re ready to, let me know, and we’ll call another meeting.” And in deathly silence I got up and walked out the room. I got to the door and I said, “I just want you to remember one thing. Howard Becker’s dead.” And, by gosh, from then on they just behaved just beautifully. And to this day it’s the least troubled department I’ve ever known—as big as we are now, fifty-some-people (Sewell, 1983).

Sewell’s memory may have jumbled the time sequence, for Anthropology had split off two years before Becker died, and none of the three “Iagos” was still in the Sociology Department in late 1960 or in 1961. On this occasion the bickering was probably just among the senior sociology faculty. The story conveys the flavor of the conflictive personal relations of the preceding



SEWELL PLAQUE IN WILLIAM H. SEWELL SOCIAL SCIENCES BUILDING
(R. MIDDLETON)

years, however. If it can be said to be an “origin myth,” it refers to a fundamental change in the nature and collegiality of the department that was ushered in during the Sewell era.

Sewell implied that his stratagem solved the conflict problem once and for all, and no doubt there was greater civility in meetings afterwards. Some of the friction had earlier been eliminated when Anthropology split off from Sociology in the Fall of 1958, but in reality there continued to be conflicts and animosities among the senior sociology faculty. A lasting solution to the problem emerged only gradually over the next decade and was due in part to the sharp increase in the size of the department and in part to cultural changes in the department. I will discuss this at length in the next chapter.

Sewell’s Recruitment of Faculty

Sewell brought in a number of sociologists at the senior level—Albert J. Reiss, Harry P. Sharp, and Edgar F. Borgatta. Burton R. Fisher had come to the department from the University of Michigan earlier in 1951, but he had known Sewell since their days working together on the Japanese bombing survey, and he became an ally and a kind of unofficial assistant to Sewell. Fisher helped in the junior recruitment process, but he generally preferred to work unobtrusively without credit in the background. During 1959-1960, when Sewell was away at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, however, Fisher served as the acting chair and was fully involved in recruitment and was responsible for recruiting Mechanic and Ladinsky.

The recruitment of Borgatta for Sociology and Guy Orcutt for Economics was made possible when Sewell and Ed Young, when they were the

chairs of Sociology and Economics, discovered the existence of funds that Thomas Brittingham had given to the university that were tucked away by the Administration. According to Sewell,

. . . Ed Young and I . . . got together and discovered this Brittingham money that was being used primarily by—I suppose at that time by Elvehjem, if not Fred, surely by Elvehjem, just for biological things they wanted, meetings or conferences and so on, and came up with the idea of a couple of Brittingham professorships. And we brought Borgatta and Ed brought Guy Orcutt (Sewell Oral History Interview 2, 1983).

Sewell and Young conspired with Fred Harrington to pry the funds loose for use by the social sciences. Sewell thought they were successful because Fred and Elvehjem were dead set on holding them off from the WARF money.

I believe it is not really true, as Marwell suggested in the discussion following the presentation of his Sewell lecture on the turnaround of the Wisconsin department, that there were few promising young sociologists coming out in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Mechanic says that when he arrived as an assistant professor in 1960, the assistant professors in Sociology were terribly alienated and believed that no assistant professor would ever be promoted to tenure (David Mechanic, personal communication, April 27, 2013). Most were not, but the situation changed very rapidly from that point on. Of the five assistant professors hired in 1961-2, four gained tenure at Wisconsin. Sewell and Fisher managed to hire several very good young people for Sociology at the beginning of the 1960s, in spite of the department's less than stellar reputation at that time. Sewell later recalled how he recruited young research-oriented sociologists:

For the most part my strategy was to bring in young Assistant Professors and guarantee them half-time research for three years with funds from the Graduate School Research Committee so they could get a good start on their research. I visited Berkeley, Harvard, Columbia, Michigan, and Chicago and asked my friends in those outstanding Sociology Departments to steer me to their most promising graduate students (Sewell, 1999).

Among those hired at the junior level were Stanley Lieberman, Robert R. Alford, David Mechanic, Joseph W. Elder, Warren O. Hagstrom, Gerald Marwell, Nicholas Jay Demerath III, Jack Ladinsky, Harry V. Ball, Richard A. Peterson, Allan Silver, and Thomas J. Scheff, as well as a young 31-year-old Leo F. Schnore as a new associate professor. This was a very talented

and attractive group and a good foundation for what came later, though Reiss and Scheff had already left by the time I arrived in 1963, and Silver left the following year. Several in this group were Jewish. If there was any residual reluctance to hire Jewish faculty, it completely disappeared during the Sewell and Fisher regime, never to make an appearance again.

Jack Ladinsky recalls that Sewell and Fisher recruited primarily by talking with and getting recommendations from senior professors they trusted at major universities. That is pretty much what all the top departments did in those days. Candidates usually did not make presentations to the department, and Ladinsky himself was hired simply after a telephone interview with Fisher without ever visiting the campus. Allan Silver recalled the time when he visited as a job candidate:

I'm sure I was strongly recommended by Michigan's Department and I had the impression, visiting UW as a candidate that I was already "in." I don't remember being asked to give a talk. Driving me back to the airport, Norm Ryder asked me who was my favorite sociologist or something like that. I said Max Weber, and he seemed to be satisfied (Allan Silver, personal communication).

Actually, hiring through the "old boy network" worked very well to identify good candidates, if one had access to the right networks—and Sewell and Fisher did. Such recruiting, though, tended to miss the relatively few women and minority PhD students in the sociology employment pool in the 1950s, as well as some "hidden gems" produced by the less heralded departments.

Sewell's main priority in recruiting was to hire research oriented sociologists who would be able to take advantage of the opportunities being opened up with the availability of greater research funding from federal agencies:

When I became chairman in 1958, I was the only person in the department that had one penny of outside research funds. And by the time I left in 1969, or something like that, we were getting more than a million bucks a year, and about half of the members of the department had research grants. I had to teach them how to do it, you know, and everything else. And then when I brought in young people, I always brought in research-oriented people who already knew a little about it and then pushed them as far as I could with Graduate School University Research Committee money. And then they'd be ready to go out and get their own. So that the whole department changed in that period, not so much because of me but because the opportunities became so much greater Enrollments were increasing by leaps and bounds, so we could

bring in new people. So that I'm sure the department was turned around by responding to the opportunities that were occurring during that period (Sewell Oral History Interview 2, 1983).

Building Collegiality

Sewell and his wife Elizabeth, who both had a friendly and folksy nature, began to have departmental parties at their lovely home at 6233 Countryside Lane—about a half mile beyond the bungalow that Commons had built in 1913—to try to build a feeling of collegiality in the department. It was a practice that subsequent chairs continued. They bought the house when they first came to Madison in 1946. When he served as Chancellor the two presidential mansions in University Heights and the Highlands were still being remodeled, so they remained in their home at Countryside Lane. William H. Sewell Jr. says that “the fact that they never moved made it possible to think of that Chancellor year as a kind of bad dream” (William H. Sewell, Jr., personal communication). They remained there until sometime around 1977, when they were raking leaves and said to each other “maybe it's time to move to a house with a smaller lawn.” They then moved to a house on Merrill Springs Road backing up to the Blackhawk Country Club golf course, where they continued to host occasional department parties. Both of them loved to play golf, and they remained there until health concerns finally required them to move to the retirement home at Attic Angel Place.



WILLIAM HAMILTON SEWELL HOUSE—6233 COUNTRYSIDE LANE
(R. MIDDLETON)

Return to Social Stratification Research

From the beginning of his career Sewell had been interested in the extent and nature of social mobility and why some individuals moved up in social standing and others did not. In his reflections on his own career, he wrote,

I have never doubted that social structural factors, particularly socio-economic, ethnic, race, and community background, influence one's life chances; but neither have I doubted that such social psychological characteristics as intelligence, motivation, and aspirations also play an important part. I thought that differences in career achievements might well be explained by variations in aspirations, resulting from differences in individual and social background characteristics (Sewell, 1988, pp. 134-135).

He began research in this area in the 1950s while he was still primarily resident in the Department of Rural Sociology and working mostly on adolescent socialization. With some colleagues he investigated the educational and occupational aspirations of Wisconsin high school students, examining the effects of parental occupational status, measured ability, and rural vs. urban residence. Sewell, Archie O. Haller and Murray A. Strauss, analyzed a one-sixth random sample of all nonfarm seniors in public and private high schools in Wisconsin in 1947-1948. The data were collected by the Wisconsin Student Counseling Center as a part of a regular program of intelligence testing. They found that parent's occupational status and the student's measured ability both made independent and joint contributions to educational and occupational aspirations. The study had no information on educational or occupational attainments, so they could not investigate whether the background factors and aspirations had behavioral consequences (Sewell, Haller, and Strauss, 1957). Haller and Sewell also published studies of rural-urban differences in the aspirations of Wisconsin high school seniors about the same time (Haller and Sewell, 1957; Haller, 1958). While I was still at Florida State before coming to Wisconsin, I was inspired by these three studies to collaborate with Charles M. Grigg in similar studies of rural-urban differences in aspirations of Florida high school seniors and ninth graders (Middleton and Grigg, 1959; Grigg and Middleton, 1960). Unlike in Wisconsin, we found that there were rural-urban differences in occupational aspirations for white males in Florida, but not for African Americans.

In 1959 Sewell's colleague, James Kenneth Little from the School of Education, offered him the questionnaires and coded IBM cards from his completed study of all Wisconsin high school seniors in 1957. Sewell saw great possibilities with the data and took along some of the data when he later

went on leave as a Fellow at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences at Stanford in 1959-1960. He spent much of the year working on the manuscript for his book on the adjustment of Scandinavian college students in the United States, but his thoughts and imagination were largely captured by the possibilities presented by this new research opportunity. When Sewell returned to Madison, the Wisconsin Longitudinal Study was born—the most ambitious and most important sociological research project ever launched at the University of Wisconsin. It is still going on today—57 years later.

Although Sewell was the guiding spirit of the Wisconsin Longitudinal Study, he was joined by many other faculty colleagues and graduate students in carrying out this monumental study. Arch Haller played an important role in the very early years of the study. After 1969 Robert M. Hauser became Sewell's chief collaborator, and he later succeeded him as Director when Sewell retired.

The full story of the development of the Wisconsin Longitudinal Study and the flowering of social stratification research at Wisconsin appears in Chapter 7, vol. 2.

A Nightmare Year as Chancellor

In the summer of 1967 Chancellor Robben Fleming resigned to take the Presidency of the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor. A few months earlier he had dealt gently with student demonstrators protesting the presence of interviewers from Dow Chemical on campus. When the students occupied his office and subjected him and Dean of Students Joe Kaufman to verbal abuse for many hours, some of the students were finally arrested, but then Fleming used his own personal funds to post bail to secure their release from jail. He was a labor negotiator and expert in conflict management, and he hoped to win the trust of the students, but his actions greatly angered the governor and the conservative members of the Board of Regents. His move to Michigan may have been motivated in part by a desire to escape from political complications and further dealings with student demonstrators at Wisconsin, which had a much larger contingent of radical students—including SDS members and Weathermen—than Michigan, but it was probably due more to the desire to be the top officer in a more prestigious university. He was not always happy to be subordinate to System President Fred Harvey Harrington, a vigorous leader who found it hard to restrain himself from intervening in Madison campus affairs.

A search committee was appointed, made up only of faculty, since regents and students were not included at that time. Within a month they produced a list of recommended candidates. The list was secret, but Bill Sewell

was certain that two names were on the list—his own and Ed Young’s. Sewell thought that Harrington first asked Young to take the Chancellor position, but Young had just recently taken the job as President at the University of Maine and felt it would be inappropriate to leave so soon. As Sewell recalled, Harrington then turned to him:

Fred called me over and asked if I would do it. He gave me three or four days to think about it, and I talked to only two people, my wife and Burt Fisher. And Burt thought I should do it. Well, I talked to Robben, of course, and I talked to . . . Bob Clodius, who was very anxious that I do it. . . . And when I talked to Robben he said, “Well, you know, I really think the worst of [the student demonstrations are over. It’s peaked. It’s all downhill from here on.” And he said, “If I were you, I’d make Joe Kauffman vice president for student affairs. Let him handle everything” (Sewell Oral History Interview 1, 1977).

When he talked to Harrington again, the President also told him, “Well, Joe can handle it. You don’t need to worry about it. Just turn it all over to Joe.” Sewell was not at all convinced that the student demonstrations and disruptions were over, but he believed that maybe they had peaked. He was eager to work on some new ideas in educational policy, and after he convinced himself that he would not have to spend all his time dealing with student demonstrations, he decided to accept the appointment.

When the faculty search committee was first appointed, I remember writing them a long letter extolling the virtues of Bill Sewell and strongly recommending him for the Chancellor position. One of the things I told them was that Sewell understood the student movement and was sympathetic to their concerns, so it was unlikely that he would make the same mistakes that UC-Berkeley’s first Chancellor, Clark Kerr, made in dealing with the Free Speech Movement. Kerr antagonized both the students and the regents and was fired in 1966. I was naïve and dead wrong. I did not anticipate the large number of radical students at Wisconsin who were intent on carrying out disruptive demonstrations—and the presence of a smaller group who were even prepared to use force against police efforts to disperse or arrest them. Many were not committed to the type of nonviolent civil disobedience that had been used so effectively in the civil rights movement. Neither did I anticipate that a majority of the students and faculty, a key member of the Chancellor’s staff, the President of the university, the Board of Regents, the governor, and the legislature would support a strict policy of confronting and cracking down on the disruptive demonstrators. In hindsight I believe that Sewell was placed in an impossible position, and neither he nor any other person serving as chancellor could have averted disaster

without flagrantly disregarding the instructions of the faculty and the wishes of a majority of the students, the university president, the regents, the governor, and the legislature.

The die was cast in February, 1967, even before Sewell was appointed Chancellor. Chancellor Fleming called a special meeting of the faculty to debate whether Dow Chemical and the CIA should be required to interview prospective job candidates off-campus. It was clear from past experience that their presence on campus would provoke student anti-war demonstrations. The faculty voted overwhelmingly to affirm the university regulation that prohibited students from disrupting university functions or interfering with the activities of corporations invited to interview job candidates on campus. When Maurice Zeitlin offered a motion to prohibit firms making war materials from recruiting on campus, it was defeated by a vote of 249 to 62—an 80 percent majority. Sewell voted in favor of the Zeitlin motion, for he was aware that Dow routinely conducted interviews with job candidates in hotels in large eastern cities, and he saw no reason why they could not do so in Madison and avoid the disruptions that were certain to come from student demonstrators. In a referendum, university students also voted overwhelmingly to keep all job interviews on campus.

After he took office in August, Sewell was still uneasy about delegating the task of dealing with student demonstrations to Kaufman. He began to talk to some of his friends who knew the university well, including Burt Fisher, Bryant Kearl, and Leon Epstein, the Dean of L&S. Sewell recalled,

And I just got, generally, the story that, well, Joe can't cope with it, that he's just—whatever capacities he had for handling this, he's burned himself out. He's got no more goodwill among the students, because of what he's had to do. And he's lost patience with the radical students. And you shouldn't! You can't fire him, but on the other hand you shouldn't turn it over to him. And I still tried to turn everything I could over to Joe. But it was true. By then, Joe had gotten pretty gun shy. He was terribly nervous. And another thing was going on. Joe was issuing edicts of various sorts, without talking to me about them (Sewell Oral History Interview 1, 1977).

Sewell was handicapped by a lack of adequate staff he could trust in the chancellor's office, but he was greatly aided by his old friend and colleague Burt Fisher. In his usual fashion Burt refused to take any formal position in the administration, and he operated entirely behind the scenes, but his contributions were enormous and his advice invaluable. Sewell finally persuaded Bryant Kearl, who was the Associate Dean for social science in the Graduate School, to take the post of Vice Chancellor. Kearl was one of the best

administrators in the university, but he did not want to deal with student demonstrations, so Sewell promised to exempt him from that responsibility.

The stage was set for a debacle when Dow recruiters returned to the campus on October 18, 1967, and Evan Stark, Bob Cohen, and others led a radical disruptive protest blocking access to the interview rooms in the Commerce Building. They packed the hallways, sat down and linked arms, and resisted efforts by university officials, campus police, and finally city police and deputy sheriffs to clear the halls. Violence broke out, with the city police beating students with their batons, and students throwing rocks and bricks and attacking the police.

A full account of the Dow protest is presented in Chapter 22, vol. 1, and will not be duplicated here, except to say that it was an unmitigated disaster with much violence and injuries to a large number of student demonstrators and police.

Sewall was devastated and felt disgraced by what happened. It was the worst experience of his life, and he wanted to quit the chancellorship right then, less than three months after he took office. He did not talk to anyone about resigning except his wife Liz, and she told him he had to see it through and try to restore the university to some semblance of normal function. Sewell recalled nine years after the events,

. . . I thought, God, you know, I have to take the blame. I doubtless made mistakes, you know. I should have overridden my advice. I should have maybe even moved . . . [the interviews] or cancelled them; would have been much better than having a riot. On the other hand, I'm convinced now that the riot and the troubles were coming. They had to come, and that the people who planned them planned that to come, and that if it wasn't there it was going to be the next place or somewhere else, and it had to come. . . . I should have done things that I didn't do. I didn't know what they were, but I should have. . . . I used to wake up in the middle of the night for months afterwards reliving the whole thing (Sewell Oral History Interview 1, 1977).

Sewell stayed on as chancellor through the academic year, but the troubles with demonstrations continued and much of it descended into sheer vandalism. Within a week of the Dow riot 22 fires were set in university buildings, including several in Bascom Hall that would have destroyed the building if they had not been discovered early. South Hall, the second oldest building on campus, was firebombed and gutted, destroying student records in the offices of the L&S Deans. Then an underground group began throwing bricks through windows of university buildings. The Social Sciences Building with its big, double, thermopane windows, was a favorite target.

Bricks were thrown through windows in my third-floor office twice. It cost the university \$400,000 to replace all the broken windows. The police and the FBI were never able to apprehend the perpetrators (Sewell Oral History Interview 1, 1977).

When Martin Luther King was assassinated in April, 1968, there was the possibility of another disruptive demonstration led by angry African American students. Sewell had met King and respected and admired him. He called Leon Epstein that evening, and he came over to talk about a university response. Sewell said, “. . . I told Leon that I thought the best thing we could do would be to declare a day of mourning at the university and cancel all classes.” Some African American students called and demanded that they close the university for a week. Instead Sewell called a meeting for early the next morning with as many of the deans as he could round up and invited the students to meet with them to plan some type of memorial program.

It was a rather trying meeting at the beginning. The black students were not just the ones which we had invited, but many others came. And some of them did the main talking. And they fell into the jargon of the ghetto immediately, calling us honkies, you know, and white mother fuckers, and all that sort of thing. And they went on with that for a while. . . . I think it was the dean of the nursing school, it was one of the women deans, just spoke up and said, “Look, you can’t challenge us with this kind of talk. Let’s get down to facts and talk about what you’ve come here for One of them said, “What do you plan to do?” Well, I said, “I’ve already announced . . . that the university would be closed for a day of mourning and that at ten o’clock that morning, we would ask the students to gather on Bascom Hill, and we would conduct some kind of services there, a memorial service (Sewell Oral History Interview 1, 1977).

When they wanted to know what would be on the program, Sewell told them “Well, I’m perfectly willing to turn the whole thing over to you and let the black students decide what the memorial service should be.” They were taken aback by this and suspected that there would be a “honky trick,” like shutting off the microphones. Sewell assured them that the microphones would not be shut off. Another student said, “What good’s that going to do in getting across our problems to the white students, who don’t really understand us and understand our problems?” Sewell suddenly had a flash of inspiration and told them,

Well, look, why don’t we announce, at the beginning of the program, that Bascom Hall, the Social Science Building, the . . . Commerce

Building, and . . . the Zoology Building . . . have many classrooms, that those buildings will be open for as long as anybody wants, for the black students and the rest of the student body to get together informally, talks or lectures, anything you want to plan. And they all agreed that was a great idea.

The African American students then organized a march down State Street to the Capitol to have another brief memorial, and along the way large numbers of white students joined the march. Sewell estimated as many as 10,000 participated. Then they marched back to the campus and most of the students went into the classroom buildings and black and white students began to talk to each other as never before. The 400-seat auditorium in the Social Sciences Building was filled for hours as the dialogue continued, and Bill and Liz Sewell sat in on as many sessions as they could. Sewell reflected, "And I thought it was one of the great educational experiences of the year in the sense that for the first time, black students who had been going to classes with white students, largely ignoring them, and white students ignoring them, and the white students not understanding their real problems, and so on, got a chance . . . to really talk out some of these things" (Sewell Oral History Interview 1, 1977).

As the year unfolded, Sewell had an increasingly contentious relationship with President Harrington, the Board of Regents, and members of the legislature, because he insisted on following due process in dealing with student leaders who were suspended. In both open and closed meetings hostile regents lectured Sewell on what he should do, and he would infuriate them by saying, "Well, that's an administrative matter, and I'll handle that" or "Well, I'll have to handle that and thank you for your advice."

And then I'd lecture them a good deal about things they didn't want to be lectured about. So as the year went on, even though I got stronger with the faculty and probably with the students, I got weaker with the regents. And I'm sure that they would have fired me in two or three months anyway. That was Fred's opinion. . . . I thought it would be so much more fun to be fired than to resign. And be kind of a vindication. They were firing me for really representing, essentially, a faculty position before them. And rather than doing what they wanted done, I was trying to do what the faculty wanted done. . . . And I thought it'd be fun to be fired by a bunch of antediluvian Republican conservatives anyway, you know (Sewell Oral History Interview 1, 1977).

Some of the regents were demanding that Harrington fire Sewell, but he protected him as best he could. At the spring meeting the regents expressed

their displeasure by giving Sewell the smallest salary increase of any administrator in the entire UW System.

Finally, Sewell decided to resign at the end of the year and not wait for the regents to fire him out of fairness to Harrington. Like John Bascom, almost a century earlier, he felt he had had lost any effectiveness in making contributions to educational policy, and there was no point in remaining Chancellor. Ed Young, who had returned to Madison from Maine, succeeded him as Chancellor and managed not to antagonize the Board of Regents as much. Harrington managed to hang on as UW President for two more years, but he became a staunch defender of the right of students to demonstrate and protest as long as they were nonviolent, and this caused him increasingly to be in conflict with the regents. In May, 1970, some 4,000 UW students battled police and National Guard troops, and tear gas permeated the central campus. This prompted Harrington to announce his resignation due to sheer fatigue and the lack of support from the regents and the legislature.

As soon as word spread that Sewell was resigning as Chancellor, he began to receive job offers and inquiries from places that assumed he might be inclined to leave Wisconsin after his troubles with the regents and the legislators. These included foundation presidencies, a presidency at another Big Ten university, and faculty appointments at Columbia, Yale, UCLA, and Minnesota. He said,

Several places figured, you know, "This is a good time to get this guy to move. He's probably mad at them," and so on. But I wasn't. I mean, I didn't want to move. . . . I wanted to stay here because I've been here all these years. And I have a big research program that I immediately returned to, and I could have moved it someplace else, but it would have been inconvenient (Sewell Oral History Interview 1, 1977).

After he resigned, Sewell took a year's leave to work at the Russell Sage Foundation in New York City. When he returned to the university he resumed his Vilas research professorship and over the next decade entered into one of his most productive and influential periods as a scholar. He was able to put his nightmare year as Chancellor behind him and move on. In 1971 he was elected President of the American Sociological Association. He formally retired in 1980, but, following the example of John L. Gillin, he continued to come to his office almost every day and work on scholarly research. He was certainly one of the most beloved sociologists in the history of the department, universally esteemed by his colleagues and graduate students. On the weekend of October 27-29, 1995, the Department of Sociology had a party to celebrate the life and contributions of Sewell and to "kick off" a campaign to increase contributions to the Sewell Fund, to which Bill had

been contributing for many years. Nearly 200 people attended a dinner at the Sheraton Hotel, where Chancellor David Ward, former Chancellor Ed Young, David Featherman, and Robin Stryker spoke about Bill's contributions to administration, research, and teaching. Bill responded with warm and witty remarks that left everyone smiling (*Wisconsin Update*, July, 1966).



PARTY CELEBRATING SEWELL'S CAREER, OCTOBER 27-29, 1995
(L TO R) THERESA THOMPSON-COLÓN, DEBORAH CARR, BILL SEWELL, JENNIFER
SHERIDAN, MEGAN SWEENEY, DAPHNE KUO, BOB HAUSER

Career Overview

Looking back over his career, Sewell was proud of what he had accomplished. In 1986, six years into his retirement, he told his granddaughter Adrienne,

But I suppose some of the big satisfactions were building up the social sciences in general in those early years when I first came there, and then building up the sociology department into one of the best departments in the country, which I take credit for. I mean I certainly started it on the path that led to that change. And then of course my own research and teaching has been a matter of great satisfaction. I had many great students, who've become important figures, and then my own research programs. . . . And then I also felt very honored to be named a Vilas Professor. . . . It came before I was Chancellor; it wasn't given to me as a prize for quitting or anything of that sort; it was earned. And I was quite pleased to be made President of the American Sociological Association, and to be elected to the National Academy of Sciences. . . . But by and large, I've never been sorry I decided to be an academic rather than a doctor or something else (Sewell Oral History Interview 4, 1986).

Sewell was highly productive throughout his career, and he took pride in the fact that he was still producing scholarly writing at an advanced age when most academics have ceased to publish. This led Laura Smail, who was interviewing him about his work, to suggest, "Writing came easily to you, I gather. You wrote easily." Sewell demurred:

No. I write hard . . . I have to outline, I go over and over and over it. . . . I hear people say, "Oh I just love to sit down and write." Well I don't, but I've done an awful lot of it, and I tend to write clearly, and so on, but I'm always fussing with it to make it a little better. . . . But I've always outlined, and then I'd make the outline finer. And then finally—and I've always got a mess of tables by me, and then I sit down finally and put it together. . . . And if you read my writing I think you'd agree that it's clear and well-written and all that sort of thing. But, you know, it's nothing flowery or—I economize on words. . . . I write for professional journals and professional audiences. I think I do it clearly and well, and . . . I've never had an article that I was single author of turned down by a journal, and that's quite a record for as many as I've done. . . . But writing isn't fun. . . . It's work and . . . I don't type so I have to write everything out by longhand. (Sewell Oral History Interview 3, 1985).

Sewell also told Smail that another key to his productivity was his ability to function with relatively little sleep:

I know one of the great advantages I've had is that I never required an awful lot of sleep. . . . When I was young I think I probably averaged about five hours of sleep a night. Now I don't average much more than that, but I nap off a little during the day. [Smail: What do you mean, five hours?] I mean go to bed at twelve and get up at five. There's something about five o'clock. I still get up then, and I have for years. Then I get up, and nobody else will be up, and I read for two or three hours. I never tried to write in the early morning, but I did a lot of my reading at that time (Sewell Oral History Interview 3, 1985).

Though Sewell described himself as "intellectually arrogant and intolerant" in his youth, I saw little evidence of that when I knew him as a mature scholar. He felt no need to brag about his accomplishments, and most people were unaware of all he did to promote the social sciences. The only time I saw him angry over not being given proper respect was when Jerry Marwell, who was then a very junior and brash assistant professor, wanted to take over teaching the required graduate methods course from Sewell,

because he thought Sewell was neglecting some of the newer methods of research, such as using controlled experiments with artificial small groups. Sewell considered himself one of the top methodologists in the country, and he regarded Marwell's request as a personal affront and a questioning of his competence. I was chair and did not allow the change, and Sewell continued to teach the course. In fact, he taught methods from his first arrival in 1946 until 1967, when he assumed the position of Chancellor.

In his very revealing oral history interviews, however, it is evident that Sewell had a touch of vanity and a healthy ego. In school, in college, and in his graduate training, he clearly thought of himself as brighter than his classmates, and apparently most of them and most of his teachers thought so too. He said that he was always regarded as the fair-haired boy—though he expressed it as “white-haired” or “light-haired” boy. “I was a brash, smart—kids would now say ‘smart-ass’—sort of a guy, you know, that just loved to go in and reveal the truth to them—you know, show them how to do things.” He saw himself as one of the six or eight top leaders in the discipline of sociology during the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s when the field was being transformed—and he considered himself a part of the circle that included Robert King Merton, Kingsley Davis, Robin Williams, and others. Though he did publish some books, he was primarily an article writer, publishing in peer-reviewed professional journals. He did not write articles for the general public. He saw his work as “normal science,” with advances made incrementally through empirical research and analysis and publication in scientific journals. Most of the other perceived leaders of the profession derived their prestige from the publication of books that had some novel theoretical ideas rather than reports of findings from empirical research. He left his stamp on the Wisconsin sociology department, which became primarily an article-publishing department rather than a “book department” like Harvard, Columbia, or Berkeley.

In retirement Sewell was still vigorous and active in spite of a slight walking impediment, showing up regularly at his book-lined office on the eighth floor of the building that would later bear his name. He continued to play golf and drive around in his beloved red 1969 Mustang convertible, which he had purchased a short time after he resigned as Chancellor. After Liz moved to a nursing home and Bill was living alone, he decided that he did not need two cars, and



BILL SEWELL'S RED 1969 MUSTANG CONVERTIBLE (SUZANN K. CAMPBELL, 2016)

he arranged through Bob Hauser for Dick Campbell to buy the Mustang in the late 1990s. Dick took the bus from Chicago and spent a pleasant evening with Bill reminiscing about the old days. Dick had no place to keep the car in Chicago, so he and his wife Suzann took it to their summer lakeside house in Lakewood, Wisconsin. When Dick and Suzann parted in 2001, Suzann took custody of the car, but Dick still drives it occasionally. The car was still in fair shape when they acquired it, and Suzann arranged for some restoration work subsequently (Suzann K. Campbell and Richard T. Campbell, personal communications, June, 2016).

Sewell died June 24, 2001, at the age of 91, and his daughter Mary scattered his ashes in Muir Woods beside the William H. Sewell Social Sciences Building. She said she could not think of anywhere else that was as meaningful to him as the building that housed his beloved Sociology Department. I liked looking out of my ground-floor office window to the woods a few feet away, where Bill's ashes were scattered. His spirit seemed to permeate the surroundings. Liz died a few years later, and her ashes were scattered at 2435 Branch Street in the backyard of Karen Kraus, who took care of her during her illness (William H. Sewell, Jr., personal communication).

Summing Up Bill Sewell

Soon after his death a number of friends and colleagues of Bill Sewell gave brief assessments of his life and work in an article published in the ASA's *Footnotes*, July-August, 2001. Herewith a brief sample of some of the comments ("Colleagues Remember William Sewell, 2001):

In all the years I played a role in ASA leadership, I met no other person who advanced so consistently and effectively a view of sociology as a theory-driven, empirically grounded social science and who demonstrated at the same time the ability to meld different views of the discipline into acceptable, workable and innovative ways to move our discipline forward. *Peter H. Rossi, University of Massachusetts-Amherst*

By any set of criteria Bill Sewell was a major figure in both the discipline and the profession of sociology—and Bill clearly recognized the difference and the importance of the distinction. . . . As a human being, Bill had few peers. He recognized and encouraged young talent; and he sought to bridge differences that stood in the way of understanding, while never giving up his own high standards of ethics and performance. We are all diminished by his passing. *Jim Short, Washington State University*

After returning to the Department of Sociology after a difficult year as Chancellor in 1967-68, Bill, rather than becoming some sort of senior statesman, continued as an active researcher and educator for another 30 years or so. He was an extraordinary man, and, like scores of other Wisconsin students, my education was far better for having known him. *Richard T. Campbell, University of Illinois, Chicago*

Not only did Sewell demonstrate the importance of social and economic status as a determinant of student outcomes, but, more importantly, he made a significant contribution to our understanding of the mechanisms that link status to educational opportunities and college attainment. . . . Not only was Bill an internationally esteemed sociologist, he was an exceptional person. During the many years I had the privilege of being on the faculty with him, I never once saw Bill less than gracious and kind in his interactions with colleagues, students and acquaintances. He was a model of gentlemanly behavior, quick to dismiss status differences, eager to include all in his circle of friends. I am proud to have known him. *Maureen T. Hallinan, University of Notre Dame*

Bill Sewell once wrote, "The President of our association does not have great constitutional power but does have the opportunity to influence its affairs if he or she chooses to do so." He was the first of ASA presidents to use the authority of that office and the stature he enjoyed as president to lead the ASA on a path of broader inclusion of people of color and women in all aspects of the Association. *James E. Blackwell, University of Massachusetts-Boston*

Bill Sewell was an extraordinary person. A giant in the field of modern sociology, he helped shape many of the features in our institutional landscape that we now take for granted: federal research support for the social sciences, graduate training programs, minority scholarships and interdisciplinary research. In addition to the many institutional contributions and professional achievements, Sewell cared most about the lives of his students and colleagues. . . . Sewell was a great leader — one of those rare people who combined skills of leadership on both the instrumental and socio-emotional dimensions of group interaction. He nurtured the professional development of many of us who experienced those turbulent years of the 1960s with him. His stature as a person who cared about those around him and who offered untiring encouragement for excellence in research and scholarship, is reflected in the respect and love that I and many others will always have for him. *Duane F. Alwin, University of Michigan*

Wisconsin Sociology's Turnaround

In the late 1950s and early 1960s the stage was set for a dramatic turnaround in the fortunes of the Wisconsin Department of Sociology. There were a number of critical factors:

- Increasing support of social science research by the federal government
- The breakthrough in the use of WARF funds for social science research at Wisconsin
- The accession of William H. Sewell to the Chair of Sociology
- The inauguration of Fred Harvey Harrington as President of the university
- The appointment of economist H. Edwin Young as Dean of the College of Arts and Science
- The rapid increase in the number of undergraduate students, which brought additional funds for instructional support

In combination and in interaction, these factors had a transformative effect. Wisconsin Sociology began its comeback.

Wisconsin Sociology's Recovery

For the William H. Sewell Lecture at Wisconsin in December, 2010, Gerald Marwell presented a paper entitled "The Fall and Rise of the Top Sociology Departments, 1950-1980: A Demographic Tale." It was later published in revised form in *The American Sociologist* (Marwell, 2012). In it he analyzed the changes in the reputational rankings of six leading graduate sociology programs between 1950 and 1980: Berkeley, Harvard, Columbia, Chicago, Michigan, and Wisconsin. Marwell's main point was that growth in Wisconsin's sociology faculty was a key to its rising reputation during the new "Golden Age" of the 1960s and 1970s, and he had some impressive statistics to bolster his claim. The Wisconsin department grew much more and much more rapidly than the others. It tended to hire a large number of young scholars, who were more often promoted and promoted more rapidly than

at the other universities. The young scholars were also particularly likely to embrace the new technologies of research, including the use of computers and sophisticated quantitative techniques.

By the time American sociology departments stopped growing rapidly around 1975 or 1980, the Wisconsin graduate sociology program had by far the largest number of faculty, and in 1981 it was ranked number two, after Chicago, in the Jones-Lindzey-Coggeshall reputational study (1982). Thereafter the *US News and World Report* surveys ranked it number one through 2016, and it remained at number one or two in their surveys until 2017. It was tied at number one with Princeton and Berkeley in 2013, but in the next survey in 2017 it slipped to sixth, tied with North Carolina, and behind Michigan, UC-Berkeley, Princeton, Harvard, and Stanford. Perhaps the flood of negative news about the budget cuts and erosion of tenure and shared governance at Wisconsin affected its reputational ranking. Though there have always been serious methodological problems with all the reputational surveys of university academic departments, they do seem to reflect at least roughly the general opinion of scholars in the field about the standing of major departments.

William H. Sewell earlier told a similar story in his 1975 paper:

First, burgeoning enrollment in the University, but particularly in the social sciences, enabled the departments to add many energetic younger scholars to their faculties. Second, the administration of the University was particularly friendly to the development of the social sciences throughout this period. Third, beginning in 1959, all funds for research coming to the Research Committee of the Graduate School were merged, thus ending the segregation of WARF funds for the support of the biological and physical sciences. . . . Things changed little until the late fifties when—in response to increased enrollments, increased opportunities for research funds, and strong leadership—a number of young, vigorous and research oriented sociologists were brought to Wisconsin. With encouragement from the chairman, they began to seek funds from NIMH and NSF for their research projects. By 1962, when Sociology was settled in the new Social Science building, where for the first time it had adequate research facilities, its professorial faculty had grown to twenty-two persons (the comparable numbers were six in 1949 and ten in 1958), most of whom were involved in research projects. When, in 1964 the American Council on Education made its ratings of the quality of graduate departments, Wisconsin again had become one of the most prestigious centers of sociology in the nation (Sewell, 1975, p. 221).

A somewhat contrary view of growth was expressed by Dean Leon Epstein, who presided over much of the rapid growth of the social sciences in the 1960s. In his memoir deposited in the UW Archives he commented on the growth of the Department of Political Science, where he had been Chair before becoming Dean. The department had 9 faculty members in 1945-46, 14 in 1955-56, 31 in 1965-66, and 37 in 1975-76 (C. Young, 2006, p. 91). He wrote that expansion in itself was not a major accomplishment, and the department only maintained its position in the lower part of the top ten:

A more plausible source of pride lay in the manner of our departmental development. It was not so abrupt or revolutionary as to disturb relatively amiable relationships. Behavioral political science did not threaten to supplant traditional political science. . . . We had no enduring feuds, or even well-defined factions contending that only one kind of political science was legitimate (quoted by C. Young, 2006, p. 178).

In John Bascom’s last year as President in 1886-87, the university had only 539 college level students. By 1892 there were 870 undergraduate and graduate students; in 1902 there were 1903; in 1912, 3,789; in 1924, 7257; and in 1929, 8860. There was a dip during the Great Depression to a low point of 6696 in 1933; a recovery to 10,677 in 1940; and then another dip down to 5619 in 1943 in the depths of World War II (“Total Credit Enrollments,” UW Archives, 4/16/4 Box 33, Folder: “Changes That Have Taken Place”). After the war, starting in the fall of 1946, enrollments grew rapidly, fueled at first by former servicemen studying under the GI Bill and later by the large new cohort of “baby boomers.” The increases in enrollments of undergraduate and graduate students, omitting Law and Medicine, since 1943 are shown in Table 4.

Year	Undergraduate Students	Graduate Students	Total
1943	5,066	553	5,619
1946	15,475	1,948	17,423
1957	12,093	3,295	15,388
1963	17,452	5,613	23,065
1971	23,077	8,713	31,790
1981	28,127	9,113	37,240
2013	29,504	9,188	38,692

SOURCE: [HTTPS://REGISTRAR.WISC.EDU/ENROLLMENTS_1888_TO_PRESENT.HTM](https://registrar.wisc.edu/enrollments_1888_to_present.htm)

Between 1957 and 1981 undergraduate and graduate student enrollments increased by 142 percent. Between 1981 and 2013 they increased only 4 percent.

All of the social science departments at Wisconsin grew rapidly during the critical 1957 to 1981 period—generally even more rapidly than the university as a whole. Yet only Sociology was able to improve its reputational ranking substantially during this period, moving from 12th to 2nd. (See Table 5.) Subsequently in the *US News* rankings it consistently placed 1st or 2nd and in 2013 was still ranked 1st, tied with Princeton and Berkeley. Political Science remained essentially the same at 8th or tied for 7th and 8th during the entire period, but fell to a tie for 15th with three other universities in 2013. Economics improved from 13th to 10th between 1957 and 1964 during the Orcutt era but after a slight dip in 1969 remained at tied for 10th to 13th seventeen years later in 1981. In 2013 it was still tied for 13th with Michigan. Anthropology also improved between 1957 and 1964 but then fell all the way to tied for 24th to 28th in 1981. The other departments all suffered reputational declines after 1957 during the period of rapid growth.

Discipline	1924^a	1957^b	1964^c	1969^d	1981^e
Anthropology	—	15	11	13-14*	24-28*
Economics	4	13	10	11	10-13*
Geography	3	1	1	3-4*	4-5*
History	6	5	5	5-7*	10
Political Sci.	4	8	7-8*	8	7-8*
Psychology	14	9	8	7-9*	13-15*
Sociology	3	12	6	6	2

*Tied ^aHughes (1925) ^bKeniston (1959) ^cCartter (1966) ^dRoose & Andersen (1970) ^eJones et al. (1982)

Clearly Dean Epstein was correct that growth alone does not necessarily bring an improvement in reputational standing. It depends more on the nature of the growth. The field of sociology was undergoing a revolutionary change from the 1950s to the 1980s, with new quantitative methods of research becoming dominant, and thus it was highly advantageous to bring in new young faculty who were trained in the new techniques and had a strong orientation toward empirical research. I was a part of the last generation of sociologists in the 1950s who had to use ingenuity to develop a research program with little or no financial support and without the use of

large databases and computers, which were still in their infancy. Sewell was certainly right that the influx of a large number of young research oriented sociologists to the department faculty, along with greater support for social science research from the federal government and internal university funds, were keys to the transformation of the department. When Sewell first joined the Department of Sociology in 1957, he was the only member who had a research grant. By 1964 the research budget of Sociology totaled \$503,771, representing slightly more than half of the total department budget (Harrington, Young, and Taylor, 1966, p. 100, UW Archives, 4/16/4 Box 33, p. 100).

I agree in general with the Marwell and Sewell papers, but I think they are not the full story. In this chapter I present an amplification of their analysis, focusing more on some of the efforts and strategies to change the internal nature, culture, and organization of the department to make it more attractive to the best young scholars coming out of graduate schools and also the top students beginning their graduate education.

The Edgar F. Borgatta Years

When Sewell stepped down as chair in 1962, there was a succession crisis. There was too much dissension among the most senior professors for any of them to serve as chair, so Edgar Borgatta, who had just arrived in the fall of 1961 from Cornell as a Brittingham Research Professor of Sociology, was elected. I suspect that he was recruited by Sewell and Fisher with the hope that he would step into the role as chair and avoid a divisive conflict within the department.

Borgatta was born in Milan, Italy, Sept. 1, 1924. His grandfather had migrated from Italy to Mexico about 1856, and his father was born in Mexico. His father worked for a time in the US but was drafted into the Italian army during World War I because of the family's Italian connection, even though he had never lived in Italy and did not speak Italian. He quickly learned the language and served as an officer during the war. After discharge, he married an Italian woman and worked for an Italian cable company. By 1925, however, Mussolini had established a fascist dictatorship, and fascists were taking control of communications. Ed's father did not want his sons forced to join fascist youth organizations, so in 1929 he arranged for the family to emigrate to the US under the auspices of his friend David Sarnoff, who later became the head of RCA. Ed was just short of five years old and knew no English. They moved to the Maspeth neighborhood in Queens, NY—which he described as a rough lower class neighborhood composed mostly of people of Polish and Irish descent. Like many immigrant children, he had a traumatic experience starting to public school:

. . . The event that clearly stays with me is standing in the center of the kindergarten room, not knowing how to say I needed to go to the bathroom since I could not speak any English at all, and then urinating in my pants and wetting the floor. The other vivid memory was of being told by the teacher and principal that I could not wear the kind of clothing that I had on, which was a one-piece gingham child's covering, with elastics at the legs, which led to being the butt of other children's ridicule. My mother had to have it explained that it was considered infant wear not proper in an American school. On top of this, my mother was told that I could not, as a boy, come to school with those wonderful golden locks of hair. I had to have a haircut like all the other boys. What a start! (Borgatta, 2008, p. 38).

A psychobiographer might argue that these early humiliations helped turn Borgatta into a superachiever seeking never to be ridiculed again, but I cannot agree. His personal qualities—a brilliant intelligence, an insatiable curiosity, and boundless energy—were really the key to his remarkable scholarly career.

Borgatta and his brothers had to walk some distance to and from school and often had to fight off boys in the area who constituted a loose gang, but he did well in school. He was able to skip one and one-half grades, and he was permitted to take extra courses in high school. He became a devoted reader, making great use of libraries. He also began to develop progressive political views: "I became convinced that redistribution of wealth was a key concept that should govern life in a just society." In 1941 at the age of 16 he entered Queens College, which had been founded only four years earlier and was still quite small—around 2,000 students. This was the same year that Kimball Young, one of the leading figures in social psychology at the time, became chair of the sociology department at Queens after leaving Wisconsin. Like other city colleges in New York City, it did not charge tuition. Borgatta started out majoring in chemistry and mathematics, but he began to lose interest in these fields: ". . . My radical roots of cynicism were becoming visible at the time." He still had not discovered sociology or social psychology at Queens. Borgatta was an excellent athlete, and when the college started a wrestling team, he joined the squad. He was six feet tall and weighed 185 pounds, but they put him in the heavyweight division where he never wrestled an opponent lighter than 230 pounds. He did well, however, because of his greater quickness (Borgatta, 2008, pp. 38-40).

When World War II started Borgatta was not drafted right away, because he was too young. He was able to attend two years of college by the time he was eighteen, and because he took so many extra courses, he completed

three years of college requirements in that time. When he was inducted into the army, he was sent to Camp Fannin in Tyler, Texas, for basic training and hated it, developing a strong dislike for Texas and Texans. In his autobiography he confessed that “I have always disliked anything about Texas since then, and having George W. Bush associated with Texas does not help.” He then recounted a nasty joke about Texans, but I was not offended because he was always warm and generous in his friendship with me in spite of my Texas upbringing. Somehow I escaped developing much of a Texas accent, and I did not fit the stereotype of a Texan. I never tried to play up to the stereotype, as C. Wright Mills often did. Because of his high score on the Army classification exam, Borgatta was sent to Stanford University for an AST Program in foreign area studies and the Italian language. After six months the program was ended, since Italian language specialists were no longer needed, and he was then sent to Signal School in Missouri. From there he was shipped off to the Pacific Theater to participate in the invasion of Okinawa. He was still in Okinawa when the war ended (Borgatta, 2008, pp. 40-42).

Borgatta returned to New York City and this time entered New York University on the G.I. Bill, with a major in sociology and a minor in psychology. With additional credits from his army training, he already had enough credits to graduate, and he completed his B.A. in one year in 1947. He continued in graduate school at NYU, receiving his M.A. in 1949 and his PhD in February, 1952. In typical Borgatta fashion, he took overloads in courses, so although he was officially a sociology major, he had the equivalent of a major in psychology and a minor in economics and econometrics as well. During this period he also married Marie Lentini, who later played an important role in the social life of the Wisconsin department. Still later she also became an academic, completing an M.A. in sociology at NYU and a PhD at CUNY (Borgatta, 2008, pp. 42-44).

While still a graduate student, Borgatta taught part-time at NYU and, during his fourth year, full-time. He also became an assistant to J. L. Moreno at his psychodrama demonstrations and later directed some of them himself. Moreno turned to Borgatta for methodological help in dealing with his research using psychodramas and his work in sociometry. Moreno also made Borgatta editor of *Sociometry*, a major social psychology journal, as well as the journal *Group Psychotherapy and Psychodrama*. In the process of working with Moreno he became well acquainted with the field of psychotherapy and soon was elected a Fellow of the American Society of Group Psychotherapy and Psychodrama and a few years later was elected to the American Academy of Psychotherapy. Borgatta was opposed to the professional licensing of psychologists, but in order to do consulting, he found it necessary in later years to acquire licenses as a psychologist in Vermont, New York, and Wisconsin (Borgatta, 2008, pp. 44-49).

In 1951 Borgatta was appointed a Lecturer and Research Associate at Harvard, even though he did not have his PhD until early the next year. He worked directly with Sam Stouffer, his boss, and Robert Freed Bales. He also pursued his own research and writing, primarily in small groups analysis, influenced greatly by Bales. In an important paper coauthored with Bales and Arthur Couch in the *American Sociological Review* in 1954 Borgatta and his colleagues found much empirical support for the "great man theory of leadership," which posits that group performance is strongly influenced by the presence of an "all-around leader" who combines attributes of assertiveness and sociability and acts as both a task leader and emotional leader.

Borgatta's more general function in the Social Relations Department, however, was to upgrade the statistical and methodological standards for teaching and research in the department. He himself published several articles on scaling and began to use factor analysis for the construction of sociological indices. He had studied econometrics at NYU, and under the influence of his teachers there he became a champion of the use of parametric statistics in the analysis of sociological data and sought to counter the fashionable notion that most sociological data needed to be analyzed with nonparametric statistics.

Borgatta was never quite comfortable at Harvard, for under Talcott Parsons' influence, psychoanalytic theory played a dominant role in the orientation of the department. Borgatta was decidedly not a Freudian: "I was an outsider for several reasons, the most obvious being that I made no bones about thinking that the procedures had little or no demonstrated validity." He even wrote two satires poking fun at psychoanalysis: "Sidesteps Toward a Nonspecial Theory" and "The New Principle of Psychotherapy" (Borgatta, 1954; Borgatta, 1959). Borgatta submitted the first to the *American Sociological Review*, but Robert Faris, the editor, rejected it. He then sent a copy to Theodore Newcomb, a social psychologist at Michigan, and though Borgatta did not submit it for publication, Newcomb liked it so much that he published it in *Psychological Review*, which he edited at the time. It was directed at psychoanalysts and elaborated a "Deumbilification" theory. Howard P. Becker was an admirer of the satire and asked for permission to reproduce it and add some footnotes of his own (UW Archives 7/33/6-1 Box 2, Folder, 1954, May-Nov., A-G). The second satire advanced the argument that "placebo therapy" was superior to some other non-validated psychotherapeutic approaches. Neither was calculated to make him popular with many of his colleagues at Harvard.

A second source of tension was that Borgatta was an incredibly hard-working and productive young scholar who produced a great many publications while at Harvard. He began to realize that some of his associates regarded him as a "rate-buster": "That was the first time I heard

academic people say that they did not want to live that way, i.e., working that hard” (Borgatta, 2008, p. 47). It was not the last time, and he became somewhat sensitive about this perception by others. From my perspective, his prodigious industry and creativity were an occasion for admiration and celebration, not for resentment and backbiting. I thought Bill Sewell was much too harsh when he expressed the opinion, “Ed Borgatta’s published some of the best stuff in sociology and some of the worst trash, and that’s because he just gets it out so fast that he doesn’t work it over enough to always produce good stuff” (Sewell Oral History Interview 2, 1983). It was attitudes like this that led Borgatta to use the pen name “E. Francisco” to publish several articles. He explained that he did not want his colleagues to see him as a “rate-buster.” E. Francisco had a post office box in Middleton, Wisconsin, as his address, and Borgatta even prepared a separate curriculum vitae for his pseudonymous alter ego.

In 1954 Borgatta moved from Harvard to the Russell Sage Foundation in New York, where his duties were only loosely defined, but he made himself very useful in assisting Leonard Cottrell and Donald Young in their projects, particularly in encouraging scholars to become involved in research in applied areas, such as law, social work, and medical training. Borgatta worked especially in the social work area, collaborating most often with Henry J. Meyer. Russell Sage also permitted him to work simultaneously as an adjunct faculty member in the NYU sociology department, where he developed advanced courses in statistics and methodology. Sociology students began to learn about methods such as factor analysis and regression analysis that formerly had been taught only in econometrics and psychological measurement courses. This was before computers came into use in the social sciences, and caused some overwhelmed students resentfully to apply the label “factor analyst” to Borgatta, a label he considered pejorative. Within two years he was invited to join the regular faculty at NYU, the first sociology appointment exclusively in the graduate school (Borgatta, 2008, pp. 48-49).

In 1959 Borgatta accepted a professorship at Cornell University. He liked Ithaca and appreciated the presence of some excellent scholars, such as Robin Williams, but, he complained, “. . . it was not a great place for me to do work because there were few graduate students and limited research resources at the time” (Borgatta, 2008, p. 51).

When Wisconsin came calling in 1961, he was happy to accept a Brittingham Research Professorship there and moved to Madison in the summer of 1961. He bought a comfortable vintage house at 122 North Spooner Street in University Heights, just two blocks from the old Ely mansion and four blocks from the imposing house built by E. A. Ross. Borgatta’s position specified that he would have only half-time teaching duties, with the other half devoted to research and writing, but at the end of his first year

on campus he was prevailed upon to accept the department chairmanship to keep peace among the bickering senior faculty. Soon additional duties began piling up, and he remarked that he had so many “half-time jobs” that it was embarrassing. In addition to teaching and serving as chair, he managed several research grants, he directed a major training grant, he was an active editor for a sociology series with Rand McNally and Peacock Publishing, and he did a considerable amount of consulting.

Borgatta had a major impact on the department's orientation through his emphasis on methodology training. He himself taught advanced methodology courses and secured a NIGMS training grant in sociological methodology that he directed during the rest of his time at Wisconsin. Borgatta continued his campaign against the common use of nonparametric statistics. George Bohrnstedt remembers being taken to task by Borgatta when he was a graduate student at Wisconsin in the 1960s. Bohrnstedt had been working with Bob McGinnis, a mathematical sociologist, who was one of those who thought that parametric statistics were not appropriate for sociological noninterval data. When McGinnis left Wisconsin, Borgatta became his new advisor, and Bohrnstedt consulted him on how to proceed:



EDGAR FRANCIS BORGATTA,
1961 (E. F. & MARIE BORGATTA)

When he advised me on how to analyze the data collected for my master's thesis, I said, “You can't do that—my data are not measured at the interval level.” He replied, “You think not—just watch me! All you need to do is to assume that the data are normally distributed in the population.” I said that I needed more proof than that if I was to analyze my data with parametric methods. He climbed up on a step stool and pulled down a book and started to read from it. What he read totally supported his position. I said, “Wow, that is amazing! Who wrote that?” His response was, “I did!” (George W. Bohrnstedt, personal communication, March 30, 2016).

I remember having a similar conversation with Borgatta myself when I first came to Wisconsin. It was through his work while at Wisconsin that he had a powerful influence on the direction of sociological methodology during its seminal period of development, largely through the training of a

corps of bright young methodologists, but also through his publications, and his editorships. Particularly important was his work with Alan Jossey-Bass and the ASA to publish *Sociological Methodology*, the highly influential yearbook that served as a leading outlet for cutting edge articles on methodology. He also collaborated with Sara and George McCune of SAGE Publications to found and co-edit *Sociological Methods and Research* (Bohrnstedt and Montgomery, ca. 2016).

In addition to his teaching and research, Borgatta embraced his duties as chair enthusiastically. He was never happier than when building a program, provided that higher administrators provided sufficient resources. He was a strong proponent of growth, both in faculty and in graduate students. He also insisted that the department make a greater effort to recruit women graduate students, who were scarce in numbers in the early 1960s. Some of the senior faculty had misgivings at first about rapid growth, but Borgatta prevailed. He had a very good personal relationship with Letters & Science Dean H. Edwin Young and convinced him to start putting more money into the department. During his first year as chair he brought in six new faculty members—five new PhDs as assistant professors plus one full professor—myself.

I don't know how I came to Borgatta's attention, for my PhD was from the University of Texas, which in those days was not among the leading centers of sociology, and I was teaching at Florida State University. Ordinarily a professor does not expect to find a job at a university better than the one where he received his training. I certainly was not a part of the "old boy" network, so Borgatta must have plucked me out of FSU because I had published a number of articles in the leading sociology journals in the preceding years. Productivity was very important to him—both for himself and for others. I was at Berkeley at the time on an NSF Postdoctoral Fellowship and fully intended to return to FSU afterwards, but when he persuaded Dean Young to offer me a full professorship with a handsome boost in salary, I did not hesitate to accept. I had considerable doubts about whether I was good enough for Wisconsin, and I worried about my inadequate training in methodology, but the prospect of joining outstanding scholars like Bill Sewell and Ed Borgatta, as well as many bright young faculty members, was very exciting. As it turned out, my methodological education was completed with the generous help of my junior colleagues and graduate students at Wisconsin.

Borgatta recalled the period of his chairmanship in these terms:

This was an interesting period of rapid growth, and Marie and I ended up having parties and entertainment for the many people we recruited virtually every week. Our children remember this period as there were so many people constantly underfoot. But the department was stimulated

to increase its size and to emphasize graduate instruction, especially with reference to research methods, data analysis, and statistics as of key importance (Borgatta, 2008, p. 52).

Borgatta, like Sewell and Fisher, relied in large part on recommendations from professors he knew in other good departments to find assistant professor prospects, and usually they were hired on the basis of the recommendations rather than after a critical review of their publications, unpublished papers, or dissertation chapters. Some were excellent, like Michael T. Aiken, a Michigan graduate who came when I did and who later became Chancellor of the University of Illinois. Bert Adams came the next year and he was the backbone of our marriage and family specialty area for over four decades. David Heise greatly bolstered the methodology training at Wisconsin and later at the University of North Carolina and Indiana University. Kenneth Lutterman came on a postdoc in 1962, and taught briefly in the department before moving on to the National Institute of Mental Health, where he had a brilliant career for 31 years as one of the preeminent scientist-statesmen of his time, giving strong support to graduate training programs around the country (Middleton, 2002). Some others were not so strong, but this did not disturb Borgatta unduly. He believed it was difficult to predict future success, and his basic strategy was to hire assistant professors in large numbers and then apply rigorous standards to weed out those who were found wanting in the next few years. He thought this would maximize the possibility of discovering future academic stars.

After Sewell stepped down as chair, he tried to be supportive of Borgatta, but it was clear that his view of him was somewhat equivocal. Two decades later he said,

[Borgatta] was very good in a number of respects. He was the most promotional guy that ever hit here. He got lots of money for research, he brought in lots of people. His attitude was essentially, "We have to fill up courses." . . . And so Ed would say, "I don't have time to go around, looking around the country hunting for intellectual ivory. Just send out some letters and we'll hire ten guys as assistant professors, and if they're not OK we'll fire them." And that was his way of going about it. It wasn't all that bad a way. . . . But anyway, I would say Ed's influence on the department was very good indeed. He had lots of very good students—he brought them in because he'd have big research projects in which he'd need ten people. So Ed did a great deal for the Department. Not that there wasn't a great deal of criticism of him, but if you look back over—his style was absolutely the opposite of mine. Get everything done the easiest, quickest possible way because you could always correct your

mistakes. He used to even argue, “Well, if we make a mistake and make some guy an associate professor that shouldn’t be and you discover it two or three years later, I’ll get him a job as chairman someplace else.” And that was true. You could do it in those days (Sewell Oral History Interview, 1983).

Several of the senior professors, however, thought that Borgatta’s approach was creating too much of a publish-or-perish atmosphere. George Bohrnstedt, who worked closely with Borgatta on some of his research projects, recalled an incident when they were leaving the Social Sciences Building at night after a hard evening’s work:

As we walked out of the building he looked up to the floor sociology was on and was looking to see whose office lights were on, with the comment that he wanted to see who was going to get tenure. It was tongue-in-cheek, but it spoke to what he expected from others. Importantly, it was nothing he had not gone through himself as a young academic. His productivity was incredible (George Bohrnstedt, personal communication, March 30, 2016).

Many of the junior faculty also frequently checked the office lights to see if they were in the company of their hardest working peers.

Some of the senior professors also began to feel that there was too much emphasis on quantity of scholarly publications rather than on evaluations of quality. Some of the junior faculty thought so too. One of the assistant professors from that period recalled,

I remember being called into Borgatta’s office—he was seeing all junior faculty—and being told the combination of publications required for tenure: something like one book and six articles, or two books and four articles. I was so appalled by this approach that I got up and left in the middle of one of his sentences. I well recall wondering whether it would make an effect, or detract from it, if I reached for the door to slam it. I chose not to, probably the wiser decision (Personal communication).

He later left Wisconsin but fared very well, reaching a tenured position in one of the nation’s top sociology departments and enjoying a productive career.

While Borgatta was heavily occupied with administrative duties and teaching, editing, doing research, writing papers and books, and making trips to New York, Washington, and other universities, Marie had her hands full looking after three young daughters. Ed’s middle daughter, Kim,

introduced him to a hobby that increasingly occupied his attention from the 1960s on. Kim brought home a ring with a cut stone in it from one of her school projects, and Ed became interested in gemology and lapidary work. I remember seeing his rock-tumbling equipment in the basement during one of the many parties at his house. On top of all his scholarly activities he began to take home study classes through the Gemological Institute of America and read numerous books to self-educate himself. He became a professional gemologist and collected minerals and gem stone materials during his many travels. He became quite expert at faceting stones and built collections of faceted large gem stones that he donated to the Milwaukee Museum, the Washington State Burke Museum, the Santa Barbara Museum, and the Smithsonian Museum. He presented the Smithsonian with the then largest faceted American Golden Topaz, 22,892.5 carats, which went on display next door to the Hope Diamond (Borgatta, 2008, pp. 53-54).

Sewell believed that Borgatta relinquished the chair after three years because he was tired of the routine duties that took time from his many other activities. On the contrary, I thought that he greatly enjoyed being chair and building the department and stepped down only because we had a three-year rotation rule. He was extremely busy not only with many research, writing, and editing projects, but also with consulting, buying and reforesting land, buying, selling, and renting houses, buying properties on State Street, and collecting semiprecious gem stones. After Borgatta relinquished the chair he was appointed chair of the Social Studies Division, which was responsible for reviewing recommendations to tenure in all the social sciences. He was still oversubscribed with duties and activities, and this continued to be true for the remainder of his time at Wisconsin.

There was some respite when the family spent each summer in the rural town of Arlington, Vermont, where the Borgattas had purchased property in the early 1950s. In the summer of 1963, however, the entire family went to Europe, where Ed spent most of his time getting acquainted with Italian sociologists. He wanted to see what the state of Italian sociology was, and he discovered it was in dire straits. There were very few sociologists and Trento was the only university that was planning to offer a degree course in sociology, but official recognition had already been delayed for four years. As a result of the contacts he made there, particularly with Franco Demarchi and Giorgio Braga, graduate students began to come to America to study with Borgatta. The first was Bruno Tellia, who arrived in Madison in August, 1966. He was not able to continue beyond one year, because he was drafted into military service in Italy, but other Italian students followed. Borgatta and George Bohrnstedt later organized an intensive course on methodology for Italian graduate students from the universities in Gorizia, Trieste, and Trento at CUNY in New York City, and he also helped to organize the

Institute of International Sociology at Gorizia. Borgatta and his American graduate students have had a profound influence on the development of Italian sociology since the 1960s—an influence that is documented in the essays of Alberto Gasparini and Bruno Tella in *Freedom in Sociology* (Borgatta, 2008).

In 1969 Borgatta went on a two-year leave from Wisconsin with fellowships that would permit him to work on his own research and writing. The family moved to Rupert, Vermont, for the leave period, and Borgatta came into New York City one day a week to consult at the Russell Sage Foundation. He decided not to return to Wisconsin, feeling that he had accomplished most of what he had set out to do, and he believed the department was maturing and was “not quite as exciting as earlier.” He began to look around for possibilities in the East near his Vermont home, but most did not work out: “I am told I had a reputation that scared most people into thinking I would want them to work harder than they might want and that I generally intimidated them.” Finally, in 1971 he accepted a distinguished professor position at CUNY. He and Marie continued to live in Vermont but spent three or four days a week in New York. He did not get along well with many of his colleagues who he thought were more concerned with teaching than with research, and eventually he withdrew from Queens College completely and moved over to the Graduate School.

In the Graduate School Borgatta also found himself out of step with many of his colleagues. He did not like the open admissions policy adopted by the university, which he thought admitted too many people who were unprepared for university work and then gave them social promotions for attendance. He was also accused of being “less than supportive of minorities” because of his earlier writings opposing racial preferences for minorities. He did not object to giving special consideration to students whose economic situation had limited their opportunities for education and advancement, but he was strongly opposed to using race or religion as a basis for eligibility for scholarships and other awards. Earlier he had resigned from the American Sociological Association in protest when it initiated its minority fellowship program and only rejoined years later. He and Marie had also become disenchanted with some of the people around their home in Vermont, so they decided to move once more (Borgatta, 2008, p. 8).

In 1980 Borgatta moved to the University of Washington in Seattle to head the new Institute on Aging, and he began a new phase of his career focusing on aging. He attracted a number of talented faculty and graduate students in the area and, in keeping with his nature, founded a new journal, *Research on Aging*, which he edited until 1990. He also arranged for a grant for a post-doctoral social science training program in the field of aging (Bohrstedt and Montgomery, ca. 2016). Unfortunately, cutbacks at the

university deprived the Institute of the funds needed for adequate support, and Borgatta complained he “got little support from the university.” After he finished his five-year obligation to head the Institute, he resigned and moved over to the Sociology Department, where he later agreed to serve as chair.

In 1992 Borgatta capped his sociological career with the publication by Macmillan of the monumental four-volume *Encyclopedia of Sociology*, for which he was editor-in-chief and Marie L. Borgatta was managing editor. It contained a rich collection of essays by major scholars in the field—a testimony to Borgatta’s vast acquaintance with subjects and people and the respect he enjoyed in the field. Copies are found in leading university libraries around the world. In 2000 an even larger five-volume second edition was published edited by Edgar F. Borgatta, with Rhonda J. V. Montgomery as managing editor. It contains nearly four hundred entries, many authored by former colleagues and students from the University of Wisconsin.

Borgatta believed that the quality of the sociology department faculty had been declining at the University of Washington with the retirement of some of the senior faculty. It could have been another opportunity to rebuild a program, but he became frustrated, he said, “. . . because the politically correct standards dictated policy through the dean that made it impossible to reclaim the national reputation and strength of the department.” Rather than preside over a “holding operation,” he quit—retiring from the university on December 31, 1993 (Borgatta, 2008, pp. 56-57).

Ed and Marie continued to live in the Seattle area afterwards in their house on Bainbridge Island, a 35-minute ferry ride from Seattle in Puget Sound. Ed turned his attention to boating and sailing in Puget Sound and beyond, and he also took up a new hobby of flower photography in the enjoyment of his own garden. Ed died there on February 20, 2016, at the age of 91 (“Edgar F. Borgatta,” March 17, 2016). George Bohrnstedt wrote in an e-mail, widely distributed,

Sad news, but Ed lived a full life and often commented to me in our calls that neither he nor Marie had ever expected to live as long as they had. He also never failed to tell me how fortunate he was to have married Marie—she was easily the best thing that ever happened in his life. And when with them, he was always sneaking kisses from her. They were married 69 years.

Borgatta was the most energetic and productive sociologist I have ever known, with more solid accomplishments during his life than a half dozen ordinary scholars combined. In 1993, at the time of Borgatta’s retirement, Otto Larsen, a fellow Emeritus Professor at the University of Washington

and a former Executive Officer of the ASA, described Ed's curriculum vitae as reflecting "... one of the most vital and productive careers in the history of American sociology. The scope and quality of the scholarly contents are unprecedented. Gathered under one cover, they would constitute an encyclopedia" (Bohrnstedt and Montgomery, ca. 2016). Duane Alwin, one of Borgatta's former graduate students at Wisconsin, dedicated the 2016 edition (vol. 46) of *Sociological Methodology* to Borgatta, the journal's founder and first editor. He also included his own essay reviewing Borgatta's life and contributions entitled "In the Shadow of a Giant."

Physical Homes of Wisconsin Sociology

The Department of Sociology and Anthropology was housed in Sterling Hall until 1962, along with the Economics and Physics Departments. The building was constructed in 1916. This is the building that was later bombed by four anti-war student activists on Aug. 24, 1970, as a protest against the pres-



STERLING HALL (R. MIDDLETON, 2014)

ence of the Army Mathematics Research Center. Sociology was no longer in Sterling Hall at the time of the bombing, but it was not immune from the violence of the 1960s during the Vietnam War. The faculty were at least as strongly opposed to the war as most of the students, and sociologists Joseph Elder and Maurice Zeitlin were notable among the leaders of the anti-war movement in Madison. Nevertheless, some student protesters in frustration began to lash out at all symbols of authority, including their professors. There was some random destruction of property too, such as throwing bricks through the expensive plate glass windows of the Social Sciences Building. All of the people teaching at the time remember the clouds of tear gas blanketing the central campus when the sheriff's deputies and National Guardsmen were called out to confront the protesters. Tear gas sometimes drifted into the classrooms, making it difficult or impossible to teach.

Sociology moved out of Sterling Hall in 1962 into a brand new building between the Carillon Tower (built in 1936 with donated funds) and Lake Mendota in Bascom Woods. The woods were soon renamed Muir Woods,

after John Muir, who was an undergraduate student living in North Hall in 1863. The Faculty Campus Planning Commission had recommended the site, but it was opposed by an eleven-member group headed by Einar Haugen, the chair of Scandinavian Studies. There was much opposition to the site, particularly from professors from the Department of Botany and by the *Capital Times*, since the eight-acre area of Bascom Woods was the last remaining forested area on the campus. After the Haugen group submitted a petition, a special meeting of the general faculty was called in early 1959 to discuss the issue. The usual faculty meeting auditorium in Bascom Hall was filled to overflowing.



THIRD FLOOR, STERLING HALL, HOME OF SOCIOLOGY UNTIL 1962. NOW OCCUPIED BY GENDER AND WOMEN'S STUDIES (R. MIDDLETON, 2013)

Dean Ingraham pointed out that sociology, anthropology, economics, and physics, the current occupants of Sterling Hall, were the most crowded departments on campus. Removing the social science departments to a new building would relieve the space problems greatly. After much debate the faculty voted 176 to 149 in favor of the site for the new building, but asked that the rest of Bascom Woods be set aside as a permanent natural area for instructional purposes. The Regents gave their approval for the construction shortly afterwards (UW Archives 24/9/3 Box 80 Sociology, 1954-64). A bill was introduced in the legislature to prohibit development in the area, but it was amended to permit one last incursion—the construction of the Social Sciences Building. The public controversy over the construction of the building helped to raise public awareness of the need to protect the natural lakeshore areas, and led eventually to the creation of the Lakeshore Nature

Preserve. Though environmental concerns were subordinated in 1961-62, the Departments of Sociology, Economics, and Anthropology, the Social Systems Research Institute, the Industrial Relations Research Institute, and the Institute for Research on Poverty all benefited enormously from the much expanded space and the beautiful, idyllic setting on the shore of Lake Mendota.

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In February, 1964, the National Science Foundation awarded the university \$900,000 to construct a social science research wing to be added to the Social Sciences Building. Guy H. Orcutt, the economist director of the Social Systems Research Institute played the central role in securing the

grant, since additional research space was imperative for the new interdisciplinary institute to realize its goals (Solovey, 1990, p. 108). It is doubtful that the proposal would have been successful without the impetus provided by SSRI, but the disciplinary departments of economics, sociology, and anthropology enthusiastically joined in supporting it. The state of Wisconsin matched the grant and the new wing was completed and occupied in 1966. We referred to this as the research wing, since it was to be used for social science research purposes. This was a real boon, since it almost doubled our space again. Unfortunately, the architects



WILLIAM H. SEWELL SOCIAL SCIENCES BUILDING.
HOME OF SOCIOLOGY SINCE 1962 (R. MIDDLETON, 2011)



RESEARCH WING, WILLIAM H. SEWELL SOCIAL
SCIENCES BUILDING, COMPLETED IN 1966
(R. MIDDLETON, 2011)

for the first building did not put enough structural steel in the seven-floor extension to the north, and it was not possible to add an 8th floor connection to the new research wing. Hence, people must still use the 3rd to 7th floor corridors to get to the 8th floor Social Science Reference Library and the beautiful William H. Sewell Conference Room looking out over Lake Mendota.

The research wing included elaborate small group observation labs, a particular interest of Ed Borgatta, but they eventually fell into disuse and were mostly converted into windowless offices for graduate students. The archeologists—all men at the time—insisted on having a shower installed in the men's rest room near the 2nd floor back door so they could clean up after sifting dirt in the field. It was later made a unisex rest room (lockable), so that women would have equal access to a shower. The shower is rarely used by anyone now.

1965-1968: Rapid Growth

At the time when Borgatta was elected chair, the Wisconsin Department of Sociology established a three-year term limit for chairs. This was an unusual rule within the university then, though the Department of English had started having a three-year rotation some years before (Cronon and Jenkins, 1994, vol. 3, p. 495). Also when Leon Epstein became Chair of the Department of Political Science, he initiated a three-year-term policy in that department, though two subsequent chairs served two non-consecutive terms totaling six years (C. Young, 2006, pp. 362, 441). I think the rule in Sociology's case was seen as a means of preventing the development of entrenched power by a future chair who might be divisive. Every Sociology chair until now has served for three years, with only a few exceptions. David Mechanic served for only two years during a period of campus strife. (See Chapter 22, vol. 1.) Also Gary D. Sandefur served as chair only one semester in the fall of 2000 before being named Interim Provost and Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs, and Charles N. Halaby returned as chair to finish the academic year.

All of the chairs from 1958 on have played significant roles in rebuilding the Department of Sociology and keeping it strong and vital. (See Table 6.) As I write, all of the former Sociology chairs since 1965 except Sørensen and Marwell are still alive; all those before June, 1965, have died.

Department of Sociology & Anthropology	
Edward Alsworth Ross	1929-1937
John Lewis Gillin	1937-1942
Thomas Carson McCormick	1942-1952
Howard Paul Becker	1952-1953
William White Howells (Anthropology)	1953-1954
Howard Paul Becker	1954-1955
David Albert Baerreis (Anthropology)	1955-Jan., 1958
William Hamilton Sewell	Jan., 1958-Aug., 1958
Department of Sociology	
William Hamilton Sewell	1958-1959
Burton Reuben Fisher	1959-1960
William Hamilton Sewell	1960-1962

Edgar Francis Borgatta	1962-1965
Russell Middleton	1965-1968
David Mechanic	1968-1970
Karl Ernst Taeuber	1970-1973
Warren Olaf Hagstrom	1973-1976
Michael T. Aiken	1976-1979
Aage B. Sørensen	1979-1982
Gerald Marwell	1982-1985
Halliman H. Winsborough	1985-1988
Franklin D. Wilson	1988-1991
James A. Sweet	1991-1994
Jane Allyn Piliavin	1994-1997
Charles N. Halaby	1997-2000
Gary D. Sandefur	Sept.-Dec., 2000
Charles N. Halaby	Jan.-Aug., 2001
Adam Gamoran	2001-2004
Pamela E. Oliver	2004-2007
Douglas W. Maynard	2007-2010
James D. Montgomery	2010-2013
Pamela E. Oliver	2013-2016
James M. Raymo	2016-present

SOURCE: OFFICE RECORDS, UW-MADISON DEPT. OF SOCIOLOGY

Pamela E. Oliver was elected to a second term in 2013. She is the only person ever elected to a second term since the rotation policy was started in 1962—a testament to her skill as a scholar-administrator and the esteem in which she is held by her colleagues.

Because of the adoption of the three-year term limit for chairs, a succession crisis once more loomed as the end of Ed Borgatta’s third year approached, since the situation among the senior professors had changed little. I remember how shocked I was when I was giving Jay Demerath a ride home one day and he told me that, according to department scuttlebutt, I was probably going to be elected the next chair. It seemed totally implausible to me, since I was a green and callow 34, I had been in the department only two years, my previous teaching experience had not been at first-tier universities, and I had no administrative experience since the time I had

served as president of my high school student council. I was the new kid on the block, however, and had a clean slate.

When I first arrived at Wisconsin some of my colleagues were a little bemused, thinking that I might be something like C. Wright Mills—one of Wisconsin's most famous graduates. Maybe it was because of the tendency to stereotype Texans—something that Mills always had to contend with—but we did have similar backgrounds. Mills was 14 years older than me, but our fathers were both middle class businessmen, we grew up in small towns and cities in north Texas, we attended rival high schools only two miles apart in central Dallas—Dallas Tech for Mills and North Dallas High for me—we both studied sociology at the University of



PAMELA E. OLIVER IN 2004
(UW DEPT. OF SOCIOLOGY)

of Texas before coming to Wisconsin and we had some of the same professors at Texas. When I started graduate school at Texas in 1952 colorful stories about Mills were still circulating among the sociology graduate students—mostly uncomplimentary. My Wisconsin colleagues, however, soon discovered that I was nothing like Mills except in progressive political orientation. I had neither his brilliance nor his abrasive rough edges. I was too new to have enemies and got along with everybody in the department, including the social isolates, so that was probably why I was elected.

When I went to see Dean Edwin Young after the election—which was only an advisory ballot not binding on the dean—I intended to decline, but he did not give me a chance. He never offered me the position. He just assumed the ballot was tantamount to appointment, even though I told him that I felt unready and unqualified for the job. He then proceeded to give me the first of several lessons on how to be an effective chair, based on his own previous experience as an outstanding chair of the Department of Economics and as Director of the School for Workers. The thing I remember most from that first talk was his key to making things run smoothly. He said that when he was chair he spent most of his time out of his office seeing and talking to people in the halls and in their offices. Before any faculty or executive committee meeting he wanted to know the probable attitude and vote of every member for every issue that might come up. I later came to believe that this approach was too manipulative, and I preferred to have disagreements aired in formal meetings, attempting to reach consensus through open discussion and argument. With Ed Young's encouragement and with the advice and

strong support of Bill Sewell and Burt Fisher, I began to think that I might be able to do the job. Borgatta had moved “upstairs” to become Chair of the Social Studies Division Committee, and he was tremendously busy with his multitude of research, writing, editing, and graduate training projects, but I knew I could also call on him for help when I needed it.

Everyone was aware that I leaned heavily on Sewell for advice and guidance, which he gave generously, but few were aware of how much I benefited from the behind-the-scenes assistance of Burt Fisher. He was one of the brightest but most self-effacing persons I have ever known. He would work prodigiously to help those he “adopted,” but he preferred to stay in the background and never took credit for accomplishments.

Fisher was a man with astute judgment and immense knowledge derived from wide experience in various research and academic settings—Likert’s Division of Program Surveys, Stouffer’s Army Research Branch, the US Bombing Survey in Japan, and the Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan. For the bombing survey Fisher was in charge of the revisions of the survey instrument, the final design and direction of the field work, and the analysis of the results. Herbert Hyman regarded him as one of the key persons in the development of scientific survey research and wrote of their days together in Likert’s organization:

Angus Campbell, Jules Henry, and I were the regular, appreciative audience for Burt Fisher, his boisterous comedy and Falstaffian air in sharp contrast to Campbell’s dour exterior and formidable stature. Fisher’s wit frequently conveyed a serious point which corrected excesses in method. The Fisher principle—“Be meticulous without being ridiculous”—was one of his correctives (Hyman, 1991, p. 16).

That was also the theme of one of Borgatta’s most famous articles, “My Student, the Purest: A Lament” (Borgatta, 1968).

By the time I knew him, Fisher was less Falstaffian and more acerbic than when he was working with Hyman and Campbell, but he was still witty and delightful company. I could count on him to give me unvarnished straight-from-the-shoulder advice. He was deeply attached and fiercely loyal to Bill Sewell, and during Sewell’s year as Chancellor, he worked tirelessly as an untitled and unrecognized chief assistant and troubleshooter for Sewell during a very difficult time. David Mechanic, who was also strongly attached to Sewell, also did some behind-the-scenes work for Sewell during the time of the Dow demonstrations. Mechanic says, “The only time I ever saw Burt cry was when everyone was going after Bill after the Dow incident” (David Mechanic, personal communication, April 30, 2013). Burt was also a generous friend and mentor to me who gave unstintingly of his time and advice.

Both he and his wife Janet were very private persons, and Mechanic even described them as mysterious and secretive. There is no denying it sometimes seemed that way, they were so determined to avoid the limelight. Burt Fisher died in 1988, an unsung hero in the rejuvenation of the Wisconsin Sociology Department. He can no longer object to my writing about his virtues and selfless dedication.

David Mechanic was the third colleague I particularly relied upon for help and advice. He was actually six years younger than me but wise beyond his years and a skillful administrator, as was shown by his building of an outstanding medical sociology program at Wisconsin, and later at Rutgers. The four of us—Sewell, Fisher, Mechanic, and I—tended to see eye-to-eye on most issues, and we were able to give direction to the department's development. I was certain that Mechanic would succeed me as chair—and he did.

Dean Young was certainly correct about one thing—chairing a big department in the right way could be an all-consuming job. In those days everything administrative in the department fell on the chair, since there was no associate chair, no director of graduate studies, no director of undergraduate studies, nor any other faculty administrative helper. My only formal administrative help came from Zenna C. Voegely, the long-time Department Administrator, and Joann Elder, the Undergraduate Advisor, along with assistance from the excellent classified staff. I assigned office space, negotiated the timetable of classes, organized faculty searches, presided at faculty meetings, named committees, negotiated with the Dean, and even typed my own memos and notices to the faculty. I became immunized to any further interest in academic administration and in subsequent years turned aside overtures to take associate dean positions in the Graduate School and College of Letters and Science or departmental chair positions at other universities.

Ed Borgatta was the chief advocate of faculty expansion, but I soon came to agree with him. In those days the Letters and Science Dean had a lot of money to allocate because of the rapid expansion of undergraduate enrollments, and Dean Young, with Ed Borgatta urging him on, saw Sociology as a strategic place where additional funds could make a real difference. I was dismayed, then, when early in my term in 1965 Ed Young left to become President of the University of Maine. He later returned as Vice President and then Chancellor at the University of Wisconsin.



BURT FISHER, 1985
(R. MIDDLETON)

A political scientist, Leon Epstein, succeeded Ed Young as Letters and Science Dean, and he turned out to be even more supportive of Sociology and opened the money spigot even wider. He did not have unlimited funds, and he had several problem departments to deal with, but he held up Sociology as a model for other departments to follow, and he treated us more than generously. He was a warm, friendly man who did not really enjoy being dean, but his morale improved when Bill Sewell became Chancellor, since he found Sewell more open to innovation. When Sewell was forced out by the Regents because of his resistance to their policies, following a year of demonstrations and campus turbulence, Epstein complained that being dean was no longer as much fun. He did, however, enjoy interviewing job candidates, both junior and senior. He was particularly impressed with the young people Sociology brought in and often engaged in extended conversations with them. He always met with them himself, never delegating the task to associate deans. Visits with the dean were a strong positive factor in our recruiting—not just a ritual formality.

I used to go to Dean Epstein's office and tell him, "We had a 20 percent increase in enrollment in sociology courses this year, so we need a 20 percent increase in faculty." He would say, "OK." Gary D. Sandefur, my colleague who was our Dean from 2002 to 2013, confirmed that those flush times are long gone, and those words are not so often heard in the dean's office these days.

In 1965, however, we had the authorization to start hiring at a much faster pace.

During my three years as chair we hired twenty new faculty members—twelve in 1966–67 alone. As many more turned down our offers. All the recruitment efforts wore me to a frazzle, but I persuaded Dean Epstein to let me cut down on bringing in so many people to be looked over by making some recruiting trips to some of the main feeder departments. That way I could interview a dozen or so of the best prospects coming out that year and the following year at each school and also talk to their mentors. I made several such recruiting trips and interviewed graduate students at Chicago, Michigan, Harvard, Columbia, Johns Hopkins, Berkeley, and UCLA. I found several good people who ended up at Wisconsin, but I really hit the jackpot at Michigan, where James Sweet, Larry Bumpass, Robert M. Hauser, David Featherman, Shalom Schwartz, John Delamater, and Andrew Michener were about to come out. All eventually ended up at Wisconsin and made a tremendous contribution in raising the visibility and prestige of the department.

By the time student enrollments leveled off and money for faculty expansion largely disappeared, the Department of Sociology, in combination with the Department of Rural Sociology, had the largest sociology graduate

program in the country. I think Bill Sewell, Ed Borgatta, and Jerry Marwell were right that expansion was a key to the graduate program's rise in prestige, since it made it possible to hire a large number of young scholars on the cutting edge of the discipline. Its reputation would probably have changed very little if it had remained a medium-sized program with fewer than 20 people. There were other factors besides mere growth that played a role, however, and I would like to elaborate on these.



DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY FACULTY, 1983

LEFT SIDE, L TO R, FRONT TO BACK: FRANKLIN WILSON, CORA MARRETT, BERT ADAMS, ELIZABETH THOMSON, MATTIE MORIN, ROBERT HAUSER, ARCH HALLER, JOHN CARY (VISITOR), WARREN HAGSTROM, KENT GEIGER.

CENTER, L TO R, FRONT TO BACK: ALBERTO PALLONI, SAM COHN, GERALD MARWELL, ANDREW MICHENER, ERIK WRIGHT, BURT FISHER, JACK LADINSKY, JOSEPH ELDER, AAGE SØRENSEN, DAVID FEATHERMAN, RICHARD LACHMANN, MICHAEL AIKEN, CHARLES HALABY, METTE SØRENSEN, SARA MCCLANAHAN, WILLIAM SEWELL, DOUGLAS MAYNARD, PAMELA OLIVER, ROBERTO FRANZOSI, RON AMINZADE, JAMES SWEET, HAL WINSBOROUGH, LARRY BUMPASS, MAUREEN HALLINAN, JOHN DELAMATER.

MISSING: ODIN ANDERSON, HOWARD ERLANGER, JAMES GREENLEY, RUSSELL MIDDLETON, JANE PILIAVIN, RICHARD SCHOENHERR, HARRY SHARP, IVAN SZELENYI, KARL TAEUBER, ROB MARE, CHARLES CAMIC, ROSS MATSUEDA.
(UW CENTER FOR DEMOGRAPHY AND ECOLOGY)

Changing the Culture

By the time I became chair some of the faculty, both senior and junior, had some misgivings about the department's direction. One of my own concerns was the limited role of the faculty in policy decisions. When I came to Wisconsin for a job interview in 1963 I was told repeatedly that Wisconsin was different from most quality universities in that the faculty, not the administration, really ran the place. Democratic faculty governance was really important to me, for I had spent five years at Florida State University with a Department *Head* (not a Chair) who made all decisions, with little or no

input even from full professors. Lowly assistant professors—like me—were not even allowed to come to department faculty meetings. I thought Wisconsin would be different, and it was—to an extent. During my first year here, however, we had department faculty meetings only once each semester, and at these meetings the chair did most of the talking. There were a lot of announcements and some discussion, but no motions or proposals offered by faculty members and no votes of any kind. I think one of the problems was that Ed Borgatta was immensely busy, and with his high energy level he was active and impatient, always on the move. It was not in his nature to consult widely with others before taking action. Fortunately, nearly all of his decisions were good.

Jack Ladinsky recalls that even before Ed Borgatta arrived, most of the sociology faculty had little input on policy decisions. Jack says,

The atmosphere was rather authoritarian. For example, assistant professors had no choice at all in the courses they taught. Before Bill became chair, assistant professors were not invited to the few meetings that were held. Bill slowly changed that. Bill did call more faculty meetings, but not routinely every month. I recall the few I attended were contentious, but subdued. Bill kept the lid on and kept the meetings short (Jack Ladinsky, personal communication).

Another concern of some of the faculty was the rather cursory evaluation of job candidates. There was a growing sense that we should not be hiring anyone unless we thought they had an excellent chance of attaining tenure, and that it was necessary to read some of the things they had written in making an evaluation. We wanted to be sure we were hiring the very best young scholars possible coming out of graduate school each year and did not want to rely entirely on recommendations, which sometimes gloss over weaknesses.

I think there was a conscious and deliberate strategy from the start to try to elevate the standing of the program. This strategy was the product not of a single person but of a small group in interaction. We knew that it would be very difficult to compete with schools like Berkeley, Harvard, Columbia, and Chicago for the famous senior scholars. I was at Berkeley on an NSF Postdoc the year before I came to Wisconsin, and I was awed by the presence of such scholars as Kingsley Davis (my sponsor), Herbert Blumer, John Clausen, Reinhard Bendix, Seymour Martin Lipset, Philip Selznick, Erving Goffman, and Neil Smelser. There has rarely been such a collection of heavyweights in the discipline. At the same time, I saw some weaknesses and vulnerabilities in the Berkeley department. There was little collegiality in the department then, and faculty meetings were rare. The faculty were spread out in three or four different buildings. None of them had their names on their doors,

and they did not know where each other's offices were. Junior faculty played little role in the department, and there was little quantitative research going on beyond rather pedestrian cross tabular analysis of survey data.

I was informed by Dean Young in the summer of 1965 when I became chair that we could recruit one or possibly two senior faculty members, and even though we thought we were more likely to improve the department through judicious recruiting at the junior level, we determined to work very hard on senior recruiting. I appointed a committee of six persons to compile a list of attractive prospects who might conceivably consider a move, and we ended up with 78 names. We compiled a basic list of publications for each of the persons and asked all the members of our department to comment on those persons whom they knew or whose work they knew. The resulting 77-page document served as the basis of our senior recruitment deliberations over the next year. We were very active. We made approaches to 19 persons. Seven had no interest in moving and declined immediately. Twelve were interested enough to come for a visit and give a lecture, and formal offers were made to nine of them. All but one ultimately declined. The one who accepted was perhaps the least highly regarded of those who visited, and his arrival did not substantially bolster the reputation of the department. He left after just a few years.

Thus, in spite of our strenuous efforts, our attempts at senior recruiting were largely unsuccessful. After this we pretty much limited ourselves to "targets of opportunity" at the senior level. It became increasingly clear that our main chance to improve was to hire the brightest young people who were just beginning their careers, but to do this we had to try to make our department especially attractive to such people. We knew that we had to make cultural changes in the department to pull this off.

The key decision we made was to adopt the policy of trying to hire the best new PhDs coming out each year regardless of field, and then nurturing them. This meant carefully reviewing their published and unpublished papers and dissertation chapters and hiring only those who stood an excellent chance of making tenure. Then when they arrived on campus we sought to provide mentoring and support to make it possible for them to fulfill their promise. We explicitly rejected the personnel policies of the Harvard and Columbia departments, which at that time rarely promoted any assistant professor to tenure. Such policies caused them to lose out on some of the most gifted young prospects. We wanted to be the Un-Harvard.

According to university statutes, hiring decisions and renewal and promotion recommendations were the responsibility of the Executive Committee, consisting of the tenured Associate and Full Professors of the department. To expedite the process of hiring assistant professors and to avoid disputes over which areas should be strengthened, the Executive Committee

each year delegated this task to a Junior Staff Search Committee, consisting of the department chair and two elected members. Their explicit instructions were to disregard the specialty areas of the candidates and to hire the very best candidates possible from the entire field of new or recent sociology PhDs. This committee, however, solicited advice from both junior and senior staff concerning the publications and written materials of the candidates and their reactions to the prospects who visited the campus.

When Sewell was chair and hiring assistant professors, he tried to arrange for half-time research appointments for three years paid from WARF funds for as many as possible. Later, with the rapid growth in the number of assistant professors, this was much less likely to happen, but the senior professors tried to provide some mentoring and advice to help them get started in their academic careers. The assistant professors themselves formed a Junior Jury organization at which individuals presented research plans or drafts of articles and received criticisms and suggestions from their peers out of the view of the senior faculty or graduate students. This was an invaluable source of help, since the jury members were an exceptionally gifted group and were eager to help one another.

I insisted that the entire Executive Committee read the file of scholarly productions for each junior faculty member coming up for renewal or promotion. When some of the senior faculty shirked this duty, I started putting the files in their mail boxes with distribution lists that had to be checked off. Eventually people willingly came to accept this responsibility, and still later we began to give annual feedback as a way of assisting and mentoring the junior faculty. All of this tended to bring people from different specialty areas together and create an overall sense of solidarity, with people taking interest in other people's work quite different from their own.

Most of the assistant professors did well and managed to begin a productive research career with a growing list of publications. In terms of the distribution of ranks, the department was bottom-heavy with assistant professors, so there were few constraints on renewals and promotions. The assistant professors were repeatedly told that they were not in competition with each other for a limited number of tenure positions and would be judged solely on the quality of their research, teaching, and service. This contributed greatly to a collegial atmosphere among the younger faculty, and they worked cooperatively to help each other. This assurance was believable, because in fact we almost always granted a first-time three-year renewal to assistant professors, and we did promote people to tenure a little sooner than they would have been promoted in other quality sociology departments. Associate professors also usually spent only a few brief years at that rank before being elevated to full professor with only a cursory review. We preferred to promote people a little early rather than too late.

We were trying to build a reputation as the best place for young assistant professors to go to and begin their careers, and in that we largely succeeded. We were successful in hiring a respectable number of the new PhDs we went after, but we missed on many, for a variety of reasons—sometimes because of family considerations, or our location in the Midwest with cold winters, or our salary scale which was lower than at private universities.

One who got away, but for an unusual reason, was James Loewen, a highly recommended Harvard graduate. I really wanted to have him on our faculty, because I thought he would be a charismatic teacher. He turned us down, however, to take a position at Beloit College, a liberal arts college in Beloit, Wisconsin. He was committed to teaching and thought a liberal arts college would provide a more supportive environment. Within a short time, he moved on to Tougaloo College, a small historically African American liberal arts college in central Mississippi. When he discovered that most of his students, all African American, had swallowed the Southern white myths about Reconstruction, he embarked on a campaign of rectification, debunking the historical misconceptions that students were routinely taught in Mississippi schools. This was a hazardous role for a white Yankee iconoclast in Mississippi at that time, but Loewen was fearless and taught there for eight years. He published a very popular corrective history in 1995: *Lies My Teacher Told Me: Everything Your American History Textbook Got Wrong*.

One of the biggest problems we confronted when I was chair was the relatively high teaching load in our department, which put us at a competitive disadvantage in recruiting new faculty. One of the dirty little secrets of academia is that there is no fairness or justice within most universities with regard to teaching loads. Different departments and fields are treated differently. The sciences are generally in a privileged position at the top of the ladder, the social sciences are on a middle rung, and the humanities are almost always on the lower rungs. At Wisconsin all of the social sciences had a standard 9-hour per semester load—usually three courses, unless a person bought off time with funds from a research grant. The chairmen of the major sociology departments usually got together at the annual ASA meetings to compare notes and discuss problems, and sociology chairmen in the Big Ten (CIC) schools also had an annual meeting at O'Hare International Airport in Chicago. From these discussions I knew that most of these departments had lighter teaching loads than we did. I decided to do a survey of what I regarded as our peers among sociology departments in the country—all the Big Ten universities plus other leading sociology departments, totaling 20 in all. As I suspected, Wisconsin, joined by Minnesota, had the heaviest teaching loads. Most of the departments had 6-hour teaching loads, and some were even lower than that.

I went to Dean Epstein and showed him the results of my survey. He was, of course, quite aware of the problem but was not sure how he should deal with it. I finally persuaded him to let us finesse the problem with “subterfuges.” He said, “Well, I could let people have a six-hour teaching load if one of those courses was a large course, say of 100 students.” Many of the faculty were already teaching a large class, so this gave them immediate relief. I kept pushing on behalf of the rest of the faculty, and he conceded, “If they will do some additional tutorials of students on the side or supervise several theses or dissertations, then we can justify giving them six-hour loads.” We devised a senior tutorial system and used it for a few years until it eventually fell into disuse and withered away. Other social science departments followed our lead and devised their own subterfuges. For example, Political Science changed many of their courses from 3 semester hours to 4 semester hours without actually meeting for the fourth hour. By the time a new dean took office in the College of Letters and Science, it had become generally accepted that the standard teaching load in the social sciences was two courses. This removed one of our most serious handicaps in recruiting new faculty. The humanities, however, were left behind and continued to struggle.

Twenty-eight years later, in September, 2015, David Knoke, the chair of Sociology at the University of Minnesota did a similar survey of the 25 sociology departments ranked highest by *U.S. News & World Report*, plus six others in the CIC (“Big Ten”) group. He reported that the standard teaching load in a majority of the departments was four courses per year, whether in a semester or a quarter system. Of 14 higher-ranked departments, seven had lighter teaching loads than this. Of the 13 lower-ranked departments, only two had lighter loads. Only six of the 31 departments reported recently making an effort to reduce teaching loads (Knoke, 2015).

Democratization and Collegial Relations

Madison is an attractive community, and it appealed especially to faculty with young children. The lakeside campus was also attractive, and we always complained that the university could get away with paying lower salaries than most of its peers because of these two factors. Looking more specifically at academics, there were a number of things about the department in Madison that appealed to new assistant professors, quite apart from the mentoring and good prospects of getting tenure. One of the first things I sought to do as chair was to increase the social links among the faculty, break down the barriers between junior and senior faculty, and increase faculty participation in decision making. I started having monthly department faculty meetings, with all ranks present and participating equally. To

make sure that any member could make a policy proposal and participate in the discussion, I insisted that we use parliamentary procedure, which I believe is necessary for orderly deliberation in a group of 30 or 40 people. Fortunately, in those days the university had not yet adopted *Robert's Rules of Order* as its official code—a set of arbitrary rules devised by an autocratic Civil War Brigadier General in 1876 that can easily be used to frustrate democratic discussion, particularly by the device of tabling motions without further discussion. We used *The Sturgis Standard Code of Parliamentary Procedure*, which is based on the common law, is simpler, and does not lend itself to abuse.

We also began to use a committee structure to parcel out the necessary tasks of the department. People sometimes complained about all the meetings and the committee work, but they realized that they were necessary to have the kind of democratic department that we sought to build.

Informal social links were stimulated in part by a very active social life in the department. The number of parties to entertain visiting job prospects greatly increased when Borgatta was chair and reached a peak during the years of extremely rapid growth when I was chair. For a while the Borgattas were entertaining two or three times a month. Later the Sewells at 6233 Countryside Lane and the Middletons at 6402 Landfall Drive also had many parties, sometimes for job prospects and sometimes just to bring the faculty of the two departments together. Spouses were usually in attendance at general parties. There were boisterous field hockey games in the Middleton basement—I remember Jay Demerath flailing away at the puck in a tuxedo—and musicales at the Alford's and the Middletons with faculty and spouses performing. Who can forget the performances of the lovely and talented Stella Elesh (wife of Dave), who had been a protégé of Richard Rogers on Broadway? Or the deep bass baritone voice of Bert Adams, who turned down an opportunity to pursue a career in opera to become a sociologist? In the 1960s we all knew each other's spouses and children and often socialized together quite apart from departmental functions. When recruitment activities moved into high gear there were numerous smaller recruitment parties at the houses of younger faculty members, and I thought that these were perhaps most effective, for they gave the prospects the opportunity to talk at length with people who were in the early stages of their careers.

Among the most important things building social solidarity among the faculty, both junior and senior, were the informal lunches that happened every school day spontaneously without prearrangement. At first several faculty members would walk down Bascom Hill to have lunch at Paisan's, Porta Bella, or one of the other nearby restaurants. Later, when a cafeteria was opened in Tripp Commons in the Memorial Union with excellent food (including their famous fudge-bottom pie) and low prices, attendance

picked up. Sometimes as many as eight or ten sociologists would congregate at a table there—some regulars and some who came only once or twice a week. Bill Sewell was a regular, and colleagues tried to sit close to him so they could hear him tell his stories. No one minded if he repeated a story he had told before, because they were such good stories and he so obviously enjoyed telling them. It was at these lunches that junior and senior colleagues really got to know each other on a personal basis. Eventually the cafeteria at Tripp Commons was closed. It was the closest thing to an open, functioning Faculty Club that the university has had in recent times, and the faculty mourned the loss of this vital resource. Through the 1990s a few of the older sociology faculty continued to gather for lunch at the Elizabeth Waters Dormitory cafeteria next door to the Social Sciences Building, but it was a feeble remnant of the earlier custom and was almost entirely ignored by the junior faculty.

The University Club at Murray and State Streets was built as a purely private club, opening in 1926, and it flourished in the 1920s with half the faculty as members. It fell on hard times during the Great Depression, however, with declining membership and activities, and the university finally assumed ownership of the club, though dues were still charged for membership. Women and African Americans were at first excluded from membership, but women were later admitted without a serious fight. When an African American PhD student was accidentally accepted for residency in the club in 1942, a real controversy broke out. He was notified that he could not move in. Merle Curti, Helen C. White, and other liberal-minded professors were outraged at the discriminatory policy and waged a campaign to change the rule. They finally forced a referendum of the membership, but only 60 percent voted to end the discrimination. Out of embarrassment about the division, the voting results were not publicly announced, but the discriminatory policy was dropped (Cronon and Jenkins, 1994, vol. 3, pp. 527-550). By the 1960s, however, the University Club had relatively few members, and they were mostly older faculty. Only two or three of the Sociology faculty were members. There were few activities in the University Club apart from food service in the dining room and occasional luncheons for faculty committee meetings. Bill Sewell kept his membership so that he could host committee meetings and social events at the club.

Even though the discriminatory policies were dropped in the University Club, university authorities still supported discriminatory policies in other areas in the early 1940s. When H. Jack Geiger, the distinguished civil and human rights activist and founder of the community health center movement, delivered the Doris Slesinger lecture in April, 2014, he recalled the situation when he arrived at the university in 1941 as a 15-year-old Jewish freshman from New York City. By 1943 he was editor of the *Daily Cardinal*

and in a piece of investigative reporting discovered that much of the private housing appearing in the university's official list of approved housing did not accept Jews or other minorities. When he told President Clarence A. Dykstra of his findings, Dykstra did not want to do anything. After Geiger told him the *Cardinal* would accuse the university of supporting the moral principles of the Nazis, he backed down and agreed to end the policy of approving discriminatory private housing.

With all the hiring going on, the sociology faculty and graduate students came together to hear various job candidates make presentations. We also had a fund that permitted us to bring in speakers from other universities for a monthly colloquium, including such luminaries as Talcott Parsons, George Homans, James Coleman, and Herbert Blumer.

There was something more about the culture that developed particularly among the junior faculty in Sociology during the 1960s. It was highly unusual for an academic environment and probably for any white collar work organization of young adults. Because of rapid expansion, by 1965 16 of the 32 faculty were assistant professors. All were male, white, and young—in their 20s and 30s. In an unpublished paper by David Schmitt and Jerry Marwell (n.d.), they argued that this unusual composition and a supportive and cooperative environment, fostered an intense camaraderie, collaboration, and playfulness with mutual participation in sports, game-playing, and “tom-foolery.”

Marwell arrived in 1962 and Schmitt in 1963, the same year I joined the department. The assistant professors did not feel they were in competition and often cooperated with each other. It was not at all an “Animal House” type of fraternity culture, for most of the junior faculty were married with children and were serious hard-working adults. They spent long hours doing research and preparing lectures and most returned to the office in the evening to finish some tasks, since it was not possible to do quantitative work at home in those days. Most had offices on the eighth floor of the Social Sciences Building, so they were in close contact with one another. They often took breaks from their work, however, to socialize with their colleagues. The culture that developed was characterized by Schmitt and Marwell as a “Boy’s Club,” and it did have some of the characteristics that we usually associate with younger groups of high school and college boys.

Because they were close in age, they shared similar interests in popular music, sports, movies, dancing, politics, and academic gossip. Only one or two were top-flight athletes, but many had a background in intramural sports or youth sports, and this led to the organization of Sociology sports teams. Ed Borgatta, when he was chair, was the initial catalyst of the athletic activity. He had been an excellent college wrestler and was still quite athletic. When I first arrived at Wisconsin he invited me to join a group of

sociology faculty playing two-handed touch football on Sunday mornings at a playing field on Observatory Drive. Ed was a good passer and always wanted to play quarterback, and Jay Demerath usually played quarterback on the other side. Ed also brought along three of his graduate students—George Bohrnstedt, Bob Evans, and Jeff Hadden—probably to provide blocking protection when he was playing quarterback. I first met Mike Aiken, who was also a new arrival, when we were assigned to block each other in “non-skill” positions on the line. Bruce Busching, who arrived from Stanford in 1966 proved to be the most skilled football player and tried to organize the team to run proper plays.

Most of the games were intrasquad, but on a few occasions it was possible to play teams from other departments, and one time we even played the Indiana University Sociology Department at the ASA meetings. At the end of the football season we held a mock athletic banquet at a local restaurant, with wives and girlfriends in attendance. Mike Aiken performed hilariously as a high school banquet MC and speaker, and, as chair, I was assigned to give a scouting report on the next year’s recruits. Later the players switched sports and organized a slow-pitch softball team that participated in an actual league. Most of the players were junior faculty, but several senior faculty members also played. Stan Lieberson was usually the starting pitcher and had an “uncanny knack” of getting players to swing at bad pitches. Afterward he would express mock amazement over postgame beers: “I just don’t know how I do it!”

The department fielded a basketball team in an intramural league, and there were also pickup games in the red brick armory. Ed and Marie Borgatta gave ice skating lessons on an outdoor rink to department members who wanted to learn. Most of the organized team activity had ceased by the early 1970s, but many sociology faculty and graduate students after a quick lunch played volleyball together on a court at the Natatorium.

When short breaks were wanted from work, the junior faculty resorted to games of various sorts. Schmitt convinced Mrs. Voegely, the Department Administrator, that a room was needed for map-reading tables in the small groups labs on the second floor of the research wing. He found two tables in the surplus property warehouse and placed them together to serve as a ping-pong table. A two-person table hockey game was also popular, and after lunch at Tripp Commons, we would play Jarts (Lawn Darts) on a strip of lawn at the rear of the Social Sciences Building. This was a kind of combination of darts and horseshoes involving very dangerous foot-long darts that we pitched about 35 feet toward a target. The Consumer Products Safety Commission later banned the toy after 6000 people had been injured.

Not all the junior faculty were full participants in the “boys’ club” described by Schmitt and Marwell, but most were affected by the culture to



WISOC--SOFTBALL LEAGUE CHAMPIONS, 1966

FRONT (L TO R) KEN LUTTERMAN, JAY DEMERATH, DAVE SCHMITT, JERRY MARWELL
BACK (L TO R) LEO SCHNORE, KARL TAEUBER, BERT ADAMS, KENT GEIGER, STAN LIEBERSON, PHIL HAMMOND, ANTHONY COSTONIS;
NOT PRESENT, RUSS MIDDLETON
 (FRAMED PICTURE ON THE WALL OF THE DEPARTMENT OFFICE)

some degree. Even many of the senior faculty, particularly those in their 30s, were marginal participants. There were no women faculty in the department in the early 1960s, and later when some women did join the department, they were only rarely participants in any of the “boyish” pursuits of the young male members.

Schmitt and Marwell argue that the boyish culture that developed was not distracting or disruptive, but contributed positively to the development and strengthening of the department. They point out that the culture was strikingly similar to what developed at high-tech electronics firms in Silicon Valley a decade later:

The provision for recreation at work, often clandestine in 1965, arose in Silicon Valley a decade later. Clandestine and self-supporting for us, it was now paid for and encouraged by the employers and is now a staple in most large businesses. They must presume that this aspect of the work environment is related to variables such as productivity, job satisfaction, and turnover (Schmitt and Marwell, n.d.).

There is no doubt that the culture that developed spontaneously led to high morale and strong bonding among the faculty, virtually all of whom were men. It made life fun, and most of the men who were at Wisconsin in the 1960s remember the period with great fondness, even though it was also

a period of great political strife and conflict on the campus and nationally. The boyish atmosphere may have been less comfortable and congenial for women faculty, and with the changing gender composition and the maturing of the faculty, the “Boy’s Club” phenomenon largely disappeared in the 1970s.



SOCIOLOGY FACULTY, 1988 (UW DEPT. OF SOCIOLOGY)

By the end of the 1960s the conflicts among some of the senior faculty receded into the background, where they were no longer noticeable. The increased numbers, the growing sense of community, and the changing departmental culture brought about a truly collegial environment. People began to speak of Wisconsin as the only major sociology department that wasn’t bedeviled by faculty conflicts and factions. There were spirited discussions and disagreements in departmental meetings (all within parliamentary rules!), but there were shifting alliances, and the same people were not always on the same sides on every issue. Debates over principles were not meanspirited and did not result in grudges that poisoned relations in other venues.

The changes that were taking place in the department made Wisconsin not just a desirable place for young faculty but also for graduate students seeking a PhD in sociology. Wisconsin generally did not attract many of the top students in the 1960s, but as the prestige of the department grew and it became well known as a supportive training ground for graduate students, the quality of the incoming students increased accordingly. It was a virtuous circle—as the quality of graduate students improved, the department became more attractive to the best young new faculty, which in turn led to even more able students coming to the department.

Over the years since the 1960s the two sociology departments continued to attract some of the best young scholars beginning their careers. Many

departed after their careers were well launched, attracted by higher salaries offered by prestigious universities in the East or the West Coast, but they were replaced by a continual influx of new talent. In the coming decades Sociology and Rural Sociology were able to maintain the gains they made in the 1960s and 1970s.

Gender Inequality

One problem that we shared with all other major departments of sociology was gender inequality. This was the result of a long history of gender discrimination. The University of Wisconsin did not even admit women during its first 15 years. Finally, in 1866 the state legislature passed the Organic Act to comply with the Federal Morrill Land Grant Act of 1863, and it required that all colleges and departments at the university must be open to men and women alike. The university, though, had a hard time finding a new President who would be willing to take the job under this condition. They finally persuaded Paul Chadbourne from Williams College, who was a strong opponent of women's education, to assume the office, but only after the legislature modified the law to permit Chadbourne to set up a segregated Female College at the university that he expected would keep young men and women far apart. The students must have thought this was ridiculous, for the segregation of women quickly dissolved and women and men were soon taught in the same classes. Chadbourne remained at Wisconsin only from 1867 to 1871 and then returned to Williams, where he became President—and continued the males-only policy of Williams.

Ladies Hall, at the corner of University Avenue and Park Street, was the first university women's dormitory in the United States and contained both rooms for the residents and classrooms for the Female College. University of Wisconsin women had their revenge against President Chadbourne in 1901 when Ladies Hall was renamed Chadbourne Hall. Actually, it was Edward A. Birge, who had a mordant sense of humor, who was responsible for the renaming. He was Dean of the College of Letters and Science but served as

Acting President between 1900 and 1903. Birge wrote to an alumnus that he chose Chadbourne as the name for the dormitory for two reasons: "First, President Chadbourne secured the appropriation for the building. . . . My second reason is a private one rather than public. I thought it was only fair that Dr. Chadbourne's contumacy regarding coeducation should be punished by attaching his name to a building which turned out [to be] one of the main supports of coeducation" (Curti and Carstensen, 1949, vol. 2, p. 138n). The building was razed in 1957 and was rebuilt in 1958 on the same site, but still remained a women's dormitory with the name Chadbourne Hall. It became a coed dorm in 1995 when it was opened to men as well as women—an

idea that was anathema to Paul Chadbourne.

There were a few women faculty members in the early years of the Department of Economics and the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, but they remained in junior positions as instructors, lecturers, or assistant professors. Most of them were trained as social workers and were brought in to teach social work courses. There were



LADIES HALL DORMITORY, 1899—ORIGINALLY THE FEMALE COLLEGE, RENAMED CHADBOURNE HALL IN 1901, RECONSTRUCTED IN 1957 (UW ARCHIVES)

also some women in Rural Sociology in the early years, but they were a part of Extension rather than the Madison teaching faculty: Emily F. Hoag (1917-1919), Rosalind Tough (1924-1934), Amy L. Gessner (1931-1937), Marie J. Kellog, (1937-1940), Ruth Hill (1938-1939), and Gwenn Stenehjem (1941-1944) (Wileden, 1979, pp. 60-61).

When I arrived in 1963 there were no women teaching faculty in either Sociology or Rural Sociology and very few women graduate students. Changing the gender balance of faculty in the department was slow going. Of the twelve senior faculty who were given offers in 1965-66, only one was a woman, and she declined.

Women were grossly underrepresented in college faculties but also among sociology graduate students everywhere and thus in the employment pool. Of the 60 faculty who joined the department with the rank of instructor or above in the 1960s, only 4 were women: Berenice M. Fisher (1965), Asst. Prof., joint with Educational Policy Studies; Elaine C. (Walster) Hatfield (1967), Assoc. Prof.; Cora Bagley Marrett (1967), Instr.; and Karen Oppenheim (1968), Instructor. Marrett remained only one year, though she later returned in 1974 as an Associate Professor. Oppenheim remained only two years.

I think we just missed getting Rosabeth Moss Kanter, a Michigan graduate, in 1967, because we could not find a suitable job for her husband. She later became a superstar at the Harvard Business School. She has received 23 honorary doctorates, and has regularly been named to such lists as the "50 Most Powerful Women in the World." Jane A. Piliavin became our third tenured woman professor when she transferred over from the School of Human Ecology in 1976. Other women who joined the faculty in the 1970s, in addition to Marrett and Piliavin, were Sheila R. Klatzky (1970), Maureen

T. Hallinan (1972), Bonnie Svarstad (1976), Diane L. Colasanto (1977), and Elizabeth J. Thompson (1979). The 1980s brought Pamela E. Oliver (1980), Sara S. McLanahan (1981), Annemette Sørensen (1983), Nora Cate Schaeffer (1984), Judith Seltzer (1984), Ann S. Orloff (1985), Lauren B. Edelman (1986), and Karen Barkey (1988). In the 1990s Emily W. Kane (1990), Gay Seidman (1990), Aimée R. Deckter (1993), Nina Eliasoph (1994), Jane L. Collins (1994), Shawn Malia Kanaiaupuni (1995), Szonja Szelenyi (1997), Maria-Giovanni Merli (1999), and Karen C. Swallen (1999) arrived. Since the year 2000 15 of the 44 new faculty joining the department have been women. (See Appendix A.)



RAE LESSER BLUMBERG
(R. BLUMBERG)

Rural Sociology employed a number of women in Extension work prior to 1970 but never in a teaching faculty position. The first to have a regular faculty appointment was Rae Lesser Blumberg, who joined the department in 1970 as an assistant professor. Before completing her graduate studies at Northwestern, she had been a Peace Corps volunteer teaching sociology at Andres Bello University in Venezuela. After she received her PhD in 1970 and joined the Wisconsin Department she did further work in Venezuela as a research adviser to the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare. In 1974 Blumberg moved to the University of California-San Diego as an associate professor and continued to build an outstanding career with a focus on the sociology of development and gender stratification (Blumberg, 1978). In her work she has done research and assessments in 14 countries in Latin America and the Caribbean, 13 in Asia and the Pacific, 8 in the Middle East and Europe, and 10 in Sub-Saharan Africa. After retiring at UC-San Diego, she accepted a position at the University of Virginia in 1998 as William R. Kenan, Jr. Professor of Sociology. She is still exploring the relation of gender to economic development.

Doris P. Slesinger was hired in 1974 after completing her PhD in demography at Wisconsin, and Marta Tienda arrived in 1976. Both also came initially as assistant professors and advanced through the ranks. In the 1980s and 1990s Cynthia J. Truelove (1988), Leann M. Tigges (1993), and Marlene A. Lee (1998) joined the department. Jane L. Collins shifted over from the Department of Sociology to Rural Sociology in 2000 while continuing a joint appointment with Women's Studies. Since then another four women

have joined the department faculty: Jill Harrison Pritikin, 2006; Katherine J. Curtis, 2007; Laura Senier, 2009; and Monica Marie White, 2012. (See Appendix B.) All of them have contributed hugely to the development of our program. By the fall semester of 2014, not counting those with joint appointments in other departments, 10 of the 29 faculty in Sociology were women—34 percent. In Community and Environmental Sociology 4 of the 13 faculty were women—31 percent.

Racial and Ethnic Diversity

Another serious problem was the lack of racial and ethnic diversity in the faculty. In 1963 all of the teaching faculty in both departments were white American men. A number of African American faculty later joined the Sociology Department. Cora Elmira Bagley [Merritt], got her MA in 1965 and her PhD in 1968 in our department, and we were very happy to add her to our faculty, first briefly as an Instructor in 1967 and then as an Associate Professor in 1974, after she had taught a few years elsewhere. She was the first African American and one of the first three women outside the social work specialty to become a faculty member in the Department of Sociology. She eventually moved on to a distinguished career as a top university administrator and as a research administrator at the National Science Foundation. Later African Americans who joined the faculty included Franklin Wilson (1973), Larry D. Bobo (1984), Marino Anton Bruce (1998), and, in Community and Environmental Sociology, Monica Marie White (2012).

Faculty members of Japanese or Chinese descent have included Koya Azumi (1967), Wen-Lung Chang (1972), Ross L. Matsueda (1984), Lawrence Wu (1988), Joan Fujimura (2001), Zhen Zeng (2004), Chaeyoon Lim (2008), and Sida Liu (2009). Helen Isabel Clarke (1921) was of Cherokee ancestry and grew up in Oklahoma. Archibald O. Haller is part Cherokee and has two adopted daughters who are American Indians. Gary D. Sandefur, who has served as Dean of the College of Letters and Science in recent years, is of Chickasaw ancestry and also came from Oklahoma. After retiring as Dean of the College of Letters and Science, Sandefur accepted a position as Provost and Senior Vice President of Academic Affairs at Oklahoma State University in 2013. C. Matthew Snipp (1988) in Community and Environmental Sociology is also a Native American. Shawn Malia Kanaiaupuni (1995) is of Hawaiian ancestry, and Karen Barkey (1988) and Mustafa Emirbayer (1999) are of Turkish descent. I have excluded here other racial and ethnic groups derived from Europe, the Americas, and Western Asia.

Rural Sociology—Growth and Reorientation

Unlike the Department of Sociology and most of the other social sciences in the College of Letters and Science, the Department of Rural Sociology did not go into a period of decline from the 1930s to the late 1950s. In fact, rural sociology entered a period of rapid expansion and development with the influx of money for research and extension from an activist Federal government during the Great Depression. The research that rural sociologists did usually had an applied character, and government agencies found it very useful in dealing with practical problems.

The Rise of Rural Sociology

The Purnell Act had begun the flow of Federal research money to rural sociology in 1925, but the New Deal programs during the depression of the 1930s brought the funding of rural research to a whole new level. The first rural sociologist was added to the Federal Emergency Relief Administration in 1933, and others soon followed. The Cooperative Plan for Rural Research was begun in the FERA in 1934 and carried on by its successor, the Works Progress Administration (WPA). This greatly augmented the flow of dollars for social research into state experiment stations and led many to add sociological researchers to their staffs for the first time. Coordinators for the sociological research were drawn from university centers and included Thomas C. McCormick and John Kolb from Wisconsin in 1935. Much research money was flowing in from other agencies as well—from the Resettlement Administration (RA), the Farm Security Administration (FSA), and the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life of the USDA under the leadership of Carl Taylor. Most of this research had a strong applied emphasis, attempting to find solutions to problems raised by the severe economic conditions of the depression (Fuguitt & Larson, 2001).

Because of these developments, there was a great increase in the number of people who identified themselves as rural sociologists, and the journal *Rural Sociology* was founded in 1936 to publish some of the results of all the research that was being done. Lowry Nelson, a 1929 Wisconsin PhD who had studied with Galpin, Kolb, and Ely, became editor, and T. Lynn Smith

was Managing Editor. Kolb was one of four Associate Editors. A Rural Sociology Section had existed within the American Sociological Society since 1921, but many of the leading rural sociologists became quite unhappy with their treatment at the hands of the ASS program planners. At the ASS meetings the Rural Sociology Section was usually allotted only one panel session, which could accommodate only four papers.

At the business session of the Rural Sociology Section at the 1936 Chicago ASS meetings, members discussed the need for establishing a separate but affiliated organization of rural sociologists, and a committee consisting of Dwight Sanderson (Chairman), John H. Kolb, Carl C. Taylor, B. O. Williams, and O. D. Duncan was appointed to prepare a proposal. At the ASS meeting the next year in 1937 in Atlantic City the committee recommended that a Rural Sociological Society be formed and seek to be recognized as an affiliated organization of the ASS. O. D. Duncan, however, offered a minority report opposing affiliation. He proposed "that this group here and now declare itself to be an independent society and that as an organization its allegiance to the American Sociological Society in all matters of jurisdiction shall be regarded by this action as having come to an end." He spoke passionately in favor of complete independence from the ASS, and to the shock of the other committee members, who really represented the rural sociology Establishment, he carried the day. At a second meeting two hours later, the Rural Sociological Society was founded, complete with a constitution and by-laws, which were probably prepared beforehand by T. Lynn Smith, another proponent of independence (Fuguitt and Sewell, 2001; Fuguitt and Larson, 2001).

It is not surprising that some of the senior rural sociologists wanted to maintain an affiliation with the ASS, for many of them were quite active in the ASS and played leadership roles there. Sanderson later became President of the ASS in 1942 as did Carl C. Taylor in 1946. The predominant feeling of the younger people who were less established in their careers, though, is that they wanted their own organization in which they could play a more important role. They were also quite aware that mainstream sociologists tended to look down on rural sociology as a low prestige field. Bill Sewell, who was a young observer at the meeting, commented

I think they [the rural sociologists] felt that they were second-class citizens. They had reason to think so. A lot of general sociologists felt, in the older group, that rural sociologists had money to do research and they didn't do anything that was outstanding. . . . And rural sociologists were looked down on by them and I think sociologists just didn't figure that they were as competent and so on, except some exceptional ones like Dwight Sanderson and Carl Taylor (Fuguitt and Sewell, 2001, pp. 13-14).

The low prestige of the field may have been due partly to the general prejudice against rural people and rural life as backward and uninteresting and partly to the fact that most of the research in the area was of an applied nature and had little theoretical thrust. Even Lowry Nelson, one of the leading rural sociologists, admitted, "In historical perspective, it would be difficult to show that any basic principles or generalizations resulted from the vast outpouring of funds for research in the sociology of rural life during the 1930s and early 1940s It was research born of crisis and oriented to practical matters of policy formation" (Nelson, 1969, p. 99). There may have been a touch of jealousy involved as well, since most areas of sociology received little or no external funding for research.

It was not unusual to hear mainstream sociologists complain that rural sociologists received substantial grants for research but produced little of significance. I remember one of my professors who huffed, "Rural sociology is a hothouse sociology; it exists only because of government funding in response to rural political pressure." No doubt such criticisms were unfair, and they largely disappeared after other branches of sociology began to receive research funding in the 1950s from the National Science Foundation, other government agencies, and private foundations. Rural sociologists in the early days were always more oriented toward gathering data and doing empirical research than most other sociologists. Olaf Larson commented,

. . . You know . . . in a way they sort of joined us in many ways, so we had more activities in common after World War II. Because they began to get more money supporting research, a lot more, and they began to be much more research oriented than they used to be. In many ways they became more like us in their work and situation, even though there remained some notable differences (Fuguitt & Larson, 2001).

Even though Sanderson had chaired the committee that recommended continued affiliation with the ASS, he was elected President of the new independent Rural Sociological Society, since he was probably the most highly respected rural sociologist at the time. Sewell remembered John Kolb making a little speech saying that he could not serve as President since he was going to be overseas during the next year. Sewell said that this was a little embarrassing, since it was pretty much predetermined that Sanderson would be the first President. Kolb, however, was elected Vice President. (Fuguitt & Sewell, 2001). He later served as President in 1940. He was a tireless promoter of the field of rural sociology throughout his life.

The founding of a separate Rural Sociological Society had the effect of drawing in a much larger group of people who identified with the field. The Rural Sociology Section of the ASS probably never had more than 100

members up to that time. In 1938 the financial statement of the Rural Sociological Society listed 293 members—a tripling of the numbers (Fuguitt & Larson, 2001).

During the early years of the Rural Sociological Society the chief supporter and organizer of rural sociology in the United States was still the USDA Division of Farm Population and Rural Life. C. J. Galpin had retired as head of the Division, but Carl Taylor, who succeeded him, played an equally important role in promoting rural sociology. Olaf Larson said that he did not think Taylor ever missed a meeting of the Rural Sociological Society, and mentioned Conrad Taeuber as a regular attendee as well (Fuguitt and Larson, 2001). Taylor retired from government service in 1952 and was succeeded by Margaret Loyd Jarman Hagood, a rural sociologist, demographer, and statistician from the University of North Carolina who had just finished a year as a Visiting Professor in the Department of Rural Sociology at the University of Wisconsin. In 1953, however, Eisenhower's conservative Secretary of Agriculture, Ezra Taft Benson, abolished the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, and the USDA ceased to be the center of communication and influence for rural sociology. At this point leadership in the field passed to the Rural Sociological Society and to the university centers of rural sociology—particularly Wisconsin and Cornell. Larson commented,

The end of the Division was a very crucial event for me. In looking back, it was a very significant turning point in the transfer of rural sociology leadership to the professional society and the people who were in the states. Yes, to me it's unbelievable to see the development that has taken place since in terms of the resources available, and activities of rural sociologists, and everything else (Fuguitt and Larson, 2001).

The decision to form a society independent from the ASS was made primarily by some of the older rural sociologists, and according to both William H. Sewell and Olaf Larson, who were just beginning their academic careers at the time, the younger rural sociologists played little role in policy discussions. Sewell recalled,

Mr. Sanderson just kind of ran it. . . Carl [Taylor] would involve the young people and was always interested in the young people and what they were thinking and how they were trained. He would appoint people even like me to committees. Then Kolb came and he was more formal and more likely to rely on the older people. . . . I think we all felt we were treated well and welcome but we didn't feel that we were welcome to play an important part, or that that was something we should aspire to (Fuguitt & Sewell, 2001).

Olaf Larson agreed:

. . . When you're at that [beginning] stage of your career, you're not so concerned how decisions are made as long as you get on the program. You accept whatever the organization is, and it is not problematic as far as you're concerned. . . . In the very late 1940s or the early 1950s, the up-and-coming young fellows who had been in military service, who had gotten their PhDs, started coming to me, Archie Haller for example. They became very vocal in the annual meetings, presenting their views, and wanting things done differently, and wanted to consider new aspects of problems, so they had an impact (Fuguitt and Larson, 2001).

The Crisis in Rural Sociology

Sewell began his career as a rural sociologist, and he felt that rural areas provided a superior setting for the kind of rigorous empirical research he wanted to conduct. Growing up in a rural village in Michigan he also felt a greater affinity to rural village and farm people. Sewell was critical of the lack of theoretical orientation in the work of most rural sociologists, however. He believed that their tendency to focus on limited groups in small localities gave them a parochial view that precluded their generalizing to broader segments of society (Sewell, 1965, p. 444 ff). When Fuguitt asked him his views on the tensions that developed between general sociologists and rural sociologists, he commented,

Later rural sociology gave up on me—figuring I was now a sociologist only. But, I always felt loyal, remaining an active member of the Rural Sociological Society, and with an interest in the rural community. . . . I think rural sociologists should be first sociologists. They should meet with general sociology—participate in the ASA meetings, etc. For God's sake, just because you feel you'd get a bum deal you shouldn't stay away. I would today vote against having separate meeting places for the two organizations. Contacts among rural sociologists and other sociologists are very important. In the future I think we should meet together most years, perhaps separately only once every four or five years (Fuguitt & Sewell, 2001).

As Kolb's own research on social change in rural society showed, however, the differences between rural and urban people were becoming progressively less. Kimball Young, commenting in 1968 about the Wisconsin Department of Rural Sociology, mused

Unfortunately, rural sociology is dying out as a field, with the tremendous urbanization of our population. There still are a lot of farmers around . . . but actually, the urbanization has itself reached the rural areas, so that the isolation has disappeared except in these little pockets like still in West Virginia and Kentucky. Some parts of Northern Wisconsin and Minnesota are not unlike this—have been relatively bypassed by this sweeping urbanization. The wheat fields of the Middle West, the great fruit areas of California and Arizona have all illustrated this commercialization of agriculture (Young, Lindstrom, and Hardert, 1989, pp. 391-392).

Kolb's 1959 book, *Emerging Rural Communities*, was a summary of his lifetime of research on rural social change and gave a more nuanced account of the complexities of the process, but it certainly recognized the encroachment of urban ways on traditional rural life. Young's prediction of the death of rural sociology, however, was premature, even though in the late 1950s there was a great deal of pessimism among rural sociologists about the future of the field. When Olaf Larson was President of the Rural Sociological Society in 1956-57, a former president, C. E. Lively of the University of Missouri, wrote him that he thought the Rural Sociological Society should be dissolved, since it had performed its function and no longer had a useful purpose. Larson was taken aback by this and did not agree. In 1959 C. Arnold Anderson, who had been a rural sociologist before shifting to the sociology of education, published an essay that was highly critical of rural sociology in Robert Merton's volume, *Sociology Today* (Anderson, 1959). Larson and a number of other rural sociologists began to seek ways to revitalize the field, and, according to Larson, "At about that time we began to have people like Archie Haller and others who began to really carry much more influence and then so it took a turn and things looked much better. There is no question but that there was a crisis" (Fuguitt and Larson, 2001).

The Department of Rural Sociology at Wisconsin was a leader in the efforts to revitalize the discipline of rural sociology. It adapted to the changes in its constituency partly by emphasizing demographic and social stratification studies, partly by moving toward a greater concern for environmental issues, and partly by developing a greater emphasis on developing countries where people were less urbanized and more likely to be living in poverty.

New Directions

The Department of Rural Sociology began to grow and move in new directions, accommodating young research-oriented sociologists with a broader view of the field. It remained centered in Agriculture Hall. C. J. Galpin's

office the first two years was in room 56 in the basement, but subsequently on the third floor with the agricultural economists. John Kolb's office his entire career was on the third floor, as were the offices of Ellis Kirkpatrick, George W. Hill, and William H. Sewell before he became chair of Sociology. With growth the third floor could no longer accommodate all the rural sociologists, since Agricultural Economics also had much of the space there, so in 1967 the rural sociologists moved down to the second floor. By 1971 even the second floor space became too crowded, and Archie Haller, Gene Summers, and David Featherman moved their offices to the sixth floor of the new WARF Building at the west end of Observatory Drive, though they continued to have some office space in Agriculture Hall. Haller designated the new space as the Rural Sociology Research Lab, but Featherman admits it was "more a paper org than anything special." Tom Heberlein's graduate students also had space in WARF, but he himself preferred to remain in Ag Hall.

In 1982 a building on Henry Mall was refurbished and renamed Henry Taylor Hall, commemorating the founder of the Department of Agricultural Economics—and Galpin's old mentor. It served as a new home for the Department of Agricultural Economics. Heberlein put together a proposal to bring all the rural sociologists back together in the vacated space on the third floor of Agriculture Hall. Since 1982 almost all the sociologists in the Rural Sociology or Community and Environmental Sociology Department have been housed on the third floor. Glenn Fuguitt, who along with Arch Haller had a joint appointment in Sociology, had a second office in the Social Sciences Building.

David Featherman, who was working closely with social stratification researchers in Sociology, also had a second office in the Social Sciences Building in 1977 and 1978 while he was at the same time serving as chair of Rural Sociology. He went on leave to the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences at Stanford in 1978, and on his return to Wisconsin he transferred his tenure home from Rural Sociology to Sociology. He assumed the new title of Professor of Sociology, and also acted as Director of the Data and Computation Center (1980-82) and Director of the Institute on Aging and Adult Life (1982-1989). In 1989 he was appointed President of the Social Science Research Council and he was granted a leave from Wisconsin from 1989 to 1993. It was highly unusual for the university to grant leave for such an extended period, but President Donna Shalala had formerly served on the SSRC Board and regarded the appointment there as an important professional service. He remained at SSRC until 1995, at which time he moved to the University of Michigan as Director of the Institute for Social Research (1995-2005)—the only sociologist ever to serve in this capacity. (<http://home.isr.umich.edu/about/history/timeline>).



DEPARTMENT OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY, 1976
(L TO R) DORIS SLESINGER, DAVID FEATHERMAN, MARTA TIENDA,
GLENN FUGUITT, DON JOHNSON, ARCH HALLER, EUGENE HAVENS,
EUGENE WILKENING, GENE SUMMERS, TOM HEBERLEIN
(UW DEPT. OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY)

Sewell began research on occupational choice and socioeconomic attainment while he was primarily resident in the Department of Rural Sociology. He was interested in young people's decisions to continue farming, but more broadly in the structure of the social stratification system itself. He began a longitudinal study of Wisconsin high school graduates that served as the foundation for major advances in social stratification research. Even after Sewell moved to the Department of Sociology full-time in January, 1958, social stratification and status attainment research were strongly carried forward within Rural Sociology by Archie O. Haller and David Featherman.

Jess Gilbert, Marta Tienda, Matthew Snipp, Dorothy Slesinger, and Monica M. White did research on racial and ethnic minorities, and Summers studied rural poverty. Doris Slesinger and Laura Senier did research on rural health issues. Gender issues and international inequalities were studied by Jane Collins, Cynthia Truelove, Leann Tigges, and Michael Bell. Douglas Marshall restarted demographic research in the department, an initiative that was continued by Glenn Fuguitt, Doris Slesinger, David Featherman, Marta Tienda, and Paul Voss. Gordon Bultena carried out early work in the sociology of recreation in the 1960s.

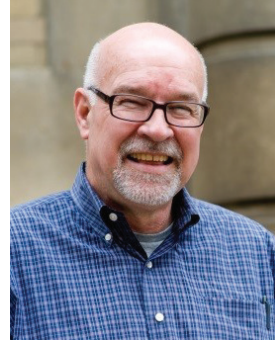
The Department of Rural Sociology did not abandon its traditional concerns with such subjects as farm practice adoption, community organization and development, and rural extension. Eugene Wilkening joined the department in 1951 and did extensive research on farmers' adoption of new



EUGENE WILKENING
(UW ARCHIVES)



GENE SUMMERS
(UW ARCHIVES)



JESS GILBERT
(J. GILBERT)



JACK KLOPPENBURG
(J. KLOPPENBURG)



FRED BUTTEL
(UW DEPT. COMM. & ENV. SCIENCE)

technologies, as well as studies of the farm family and issues related to natural resources. The original focus of Galpin and Kolb on rural community organization and development was carried forward by Keith Warner, Don Johnson, Gene Summers, Gary P. Green, and Randy Stoecker. Economic sociology and the sociology of agriculture and food systems have been developed by many of the staff, including Jess Gilbert, Jack R. Kloppenburg, Frederick H. Buttel, Gary P. Green, Leann M. Tigges, Michael Bell, and Daniel L. Kleinman.

STARE—Environmental and Resource Sociology

One of the biggest shifts in direction involved the development of a capacity in the area of environmental and resource sociology. George W. Hill had done some pioneering work in the area in the 1930s, but interest had largely died out until Thomas Heberlein, who had been one of Borgatta's students in the 1960s, returned to Wisconsin as an Assistant Professor of Rural

Sociology in 1972. His research and teaching specialties were attitudes, conservation behaviors, and outdoor recreation, but he had a strong interest in the general environment and resources area. In 1985 he was joined by Peter Nowak, who specialized in the environmental behavior of farmers.

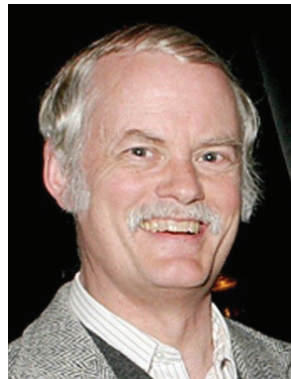
The catalyst for the organizational development of this new area of emphasis was William R. Freudenburg. In this discussion I am following the article by Tom Heberlein written as a tribute to Freudenburg after his death In 2010 (Heberlein, 2013). Freudenburg was lured away from Washington State University through a vigorous recruiting and lobbying campaign that even included a meeting with Governor Tony Earl. He accepted the Wisconsin offer and joined the Wisconsin Department of Rural Sociology as an Associate Professor in 1986. With the arrival of Nowak and Freudenburg, the department's strength in the environmental area was suddenly tripled.

Freudenburg proved to be an enthusiastic organizer with a broad view of the environment, and he sought to bring the sociologists working on issues of science, technology, agriculture, and resources into closer communication with those focusing on the environment. This certainly included Jack Kloppenburg, who was investigating the development of seed technology, Jess Gilbert who was doing research on the history of American agriculture, and Warren Hagstrom, whose specialty was the sociology of science. All of these areas had a bearing on the environment, and Freudenburg wanted to get his colleagues communicating more freely with each other. Soon after his arrival, Freudenburg and his colleagues founded a program with the acronym STARE, standing for science, technology, agriculture, resources, and the environment—the name indicating the broad scope of the program.

The STARE faculty quickly expanded. Donald Field joined the Rural Sociology Department in 1988 and also served as Associate Dean in the School of Natural Resources. The same year Stephen Bunker, who specialized in



THOMAS A. HEBERLEIN
(T. HEBERLEIN)



WILLIAM R. FREUDENBURG
(ERIC ZIMMERMAN UC-
SANTA BARBARA)

the sociology of natural resources and development, joined the Department of Sociology. Fred Buttel, who had earned his PhD at Wisconsin and had carved out a distinguished career at Michigan State and Cornell as an environmental sociologist and theorist, returned to Wisconsin in 1988 to become director of the Agricultural Technology and Family Farm Institute.

Feeling that they now had a sufficient number of committed faculty and a reasonable number of environmental and resource courses, Heberlein and Freudenburg fashioned a training grant proposal that they submitted to the National Science Foundation. In 1992 NSF granted \$550,000 to provide four years of training for four students, with Heberlein and Freudenburg serving as Co-Principal Investigators. Rather than devote all the money to only four students, they decided to support students only for their first year and then shift them to other research projects as they gained experience. With several extensions they were able to stretch the funds to last for almost ten years, and more than twenty students received support at some point in their careers. By 1994 the STARE faculty numbered twelve, including Paul Lichterman, who arrived in 1992 and studied environmental activism and Jane Collins, an anthropologist with interests in development who came in 1994. Cora Marrett, who had served on the Three Mile Island Commission investigating the nuclear environmental disaster, also came aboard. It was, in Heberlein's words, "the country's largest critical mass in environmental and resource sociology."

Like the other principal graduate training programs in sociology, STARE also initiated a training seminar on Friday afternoons after most of the week's activities were done. Freudenburg insisted on providing free food and beer at the seminar as an inducement to attend and to help create a friendly informal atmosphere. He had to secure a special permit each semester from the dean's office to have alcohol at a university event. Each faculty member contributed \$25, and the students did the shopping for the food and beer. To reduce performance anxiety and to encourage students and faculty to be daring and take risks, Freudenburg proclaimed that the seminar was designed for "Half Baked Ideas." The seminars were stimulating and fun, and sometimes as many as 20 students and several faculty attended. To create strong bonds and a sense of camaraderie among the students and faculty, social occasions were frequently arranged, including picnics, overnight campouts, and an annual canoe trip on a Wisconsin river.

The STARE program not only linked scholars within the two sociology departments, but also stimulated linkages with other units in the university, including environmental communications, the Center for Resource Policy Studies, the School of Business, and the Center for Limnology.

In 2002 Freudenburg moved to the University of California at Santa Barbara, where he also had a strong impact on students, colleagues, and

programs before his death in 2010. After Freudenburg's departure and the exhaustion of the training grant funds, the STARE program declined, and the training seminars ended. Many of the faculty with interests in the area remained, however, and their numbers have been augmented by the addition of Michael Bell, Monica M. White, Samer Alatout, and Noah Feinstein. With the change of the name of the department to Community and Environmental Sociology, the concerns of the STARE program are now part of the explicit mission of the department.

International Outreach

George W. Hill began the tradition of Wisconsin rural sociologists teaching, doing research, and providing technical assistance overseas, but it was carried forward by many others. Kolb himself had a world-wide reputation in the field and was invited to provide assistance to the New Zealand government, setting up a standard-of-living index for dairy farmers (1938). He also served as a visiting professor and researcher at the University of Oslo in 1949 and worked in Brazil in 1953-54 and 1960-61. Eugene Wilkening went to the University of Melbourne in 1959-1960 to do research on communication and adoption of farm practices among dairy farmers in Victoria (Nelson, 1969, p. 59; Wileden, 1964a, p. 115; Wileden, 1964b, p. 96).

According to Archie O. Haller, the Brazil connection began when T. Lynn Smith, a rural sociologist at Louisiana State University, taught at the University of São Paulo in the 1940s and selected two students to study in the United States. One of the students was João Gonçalves de Souza, who decided to come to the University of Wisconsin to work with Kolb. He studied at Wisconsin from 1944 to 1946 and received a masters degree in rural sociology with a thesis entitled *Regional Approach in Exploring the Northeastern Section of Brazil*. When he returned to Brazil he served in many important government posts and became a Professor at the Rural University of Brazil—now the Rural Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (*Universidade Federal Rural do Rio de Janeiro*). He later received a PhD from American University in 1956 with a dissertation developing the research of his master's thesis further.

Kolb spent six months in Brazil as a technical assistant to the Government of Brazil for the UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) in 1953-54 (News and Announcements, *ASR*, 1954, p. 94). One of Kolb's students was Howard R. Cottam, who received his PhD in 1940 and served as the Director of USAID in Brazil from 1956 to 1960, en route to a distinguished career in government service. At the urging of de Souza and Cottam, Kolb returned to Brazil in 1960-61 to teach at the Rural University of Brazil. Kolb brought back to Madison two Brazilian students, one of whom was

Edgard Barros de Vasconcelos. Vasconcelos brought with him two sets of data gathered nine years apart from four communities under Kolb's supervision. In 1955 he received a masters degree in rural sociology with a thesis entitled *Differential Contacts Among Welfare Services in Four Brazilian Communities Within a Rural-Urban Situation*, which served as a basis for a publication with Kolb. Kolb asked Haller to assist with the data analysis, and Haller realized that the data showed a significant change in the structure of the stratification system over time. Haller was working at this time with Sewell as a postdoctoral student in developing their research on status attainment, and this discovery that status attainment processes are not fixed and can change rapidly had a major influence on their subsequent thinking and research.

Haller taught at Michigan State University between 1956 and 1965, but Kolb, de Souza, and Cottam encouraged him to go teach and do research at the Rural University of Brazil as Kolb had done earlier. In 1962 he did so as a Fulbright Fellow, learning to speak Portuguese and pursuing an ambitious research program. In 1965 he returned to the University of Wisconsin as a professor and taught there until his retirement in 1994. Even before Haller returned to Wisconsin, more Brazilian students began to come to Wisconsin to study sociology and rural sociology, some of them working with Eugene Wilkening. These included José Pastore (PhD, 1967), Helcio Ulhoa Saraiva (MS, 1965, PhD, 1969), João Bosco Pinto (MS, 1965, PhD, 1967), Renato Simplicio Lopes (MS, 1966), and Fernando Rocha (PhD, 1968). Pastore was a co-founder of EMBRAPA (Brazilian Agricultural Research Corporation) and became probably the best known sociologist in Brazil. He was granted an honorary Doctor of Science degree by the University of Wisconsin in 1989. Lopes was Vice-President of Federação da Agricultura e Pecuária do D.F. and served as mayor of Brasília, the Federal capital with a population of over two million. Saraiva was the founder of the Federal University of Piauí, Chief-of-Staff in Brazil's Ministry of Education, and Administrator in Brazil's Ministry of Science and Technology.

Haller worked with each of these scholars, but the flow of Brazilian students to Madison that had been initiated by Kolb increased after Haller returned to Wisconsin in 1965. There followed a long line of outstanding Brazilian graduate students



ARCHIBALD O. HALLER
(UW ARCHIVES)

who earned PhDs at Wisconsin: Tarcízio Rêgo Quirino (1974), Silvio Marcelo Maranhao (1976), Pedrinho A. Guareschi (1980), João Elmo Schneider (1978), Manoel Malheiros Tourinho (1982), Maria de Saete Corrêa Marinho (1984), Antônio Sérgio Alfredo Guimarães (1988), José Bolivar Viera da Rocha (1989), Salvador dal Pozzo Trevizan (1989), Ramom de Souza Torrecilha (1991), Suzana Maria Valle Lima (1992), Jorge Alexandre Barbosa Neves (1999), Danielle Fernandes (1999), Gianpaolo Baiocchi (2001), Flávia Cristina Drumond Andrade (2006), Jerônimo Oliveira Muniz (2009), and Ana Cristina Murta Collares (2010). Neuma Aguiar, who received her PhD at Washington University in 1973, also came to Wisconsin as a Tinker Visiting Professor in 1980 and 1983. In 2003 the university conferred an honorary Doctor of Science degree on her. The special relationship between Brazil and the Wisconsin Department of Rural Sociology fostered by Kolb and Haller continued after them and played a big part in raising the quality of sociological teaching and research in Brazil—to the extent that today Brazilian graduate students less often feel the need to go abroad to receive first-class training in sociology. During his long career, Haller published some fourteen books and 198 journal articles and chapters.

In the 1960s and 1970s a number of other Wisconsin rural sociologists also worked in Brazil—including Eugene A. Wilkening (1965-1966) and Glenn V. Fuguitt (1968, 1973) (Wileden, 1979, p. 53). The Wisconsin College of Agriculture also had an institution-building project in Rio Grande do Sul in Brazil, and Donald Johnson spent time there working in a research and graduate education institute (1967-1969, 1973, 1976) (*Department of Rural Sociology Comprehensive Program Review*, 1953, p. 16).

Eugene Havens played a major role in the international orientation of the Wisconsin graduate sociology program from the early 1960s until his untimely death in 1984 at the age of 47. He belonged to a new generation of rural sociologists with a radical Marxist perspective, and he became deeply involved in teaching, research, and activism in Latin America. He worked in Bolivia in 1975-1976, but in his last years was focused mainly on Colombia and Sandinista Nicaragua. His approach resonated with many of the sociology graduate students from Latin America, where the dominant paradigm at the time was dependency or underdevelopment theory. William Flinn also joined the department and worked primarily on Latin American issues, spending extensive time abroad before leaving the department in 1975. Marta Tienda (1976-1986) and Cynthia Truelove (1987-1992) also did research on Latin America—joined later by Jane Collins, who did research in Peru, Brazil, and Mexico. Tom Heberlein did extensive research and teaching in Sweden, particularly with regard to environmental issues. Many other rural sociologists have continued to do international research and provide assistance overseas since then.

Change of Name and Mission

The joint faculty of Sociology and Rural Sociology voted on November 7, 1990, to discontinue the PhD prelim in Rural Sociology and replace it with two new prelims in AgroFood Systems and Environmental Sociology. Both were placed in Group B (or II), the more specialized group of prelims. These prelims, in addition to other prelims already available, reflected the new emphases of the Rural Sociology Department and the lesser focus on the purely rural aspects of social life.

In recognition of the changing emphases, the department gained approval to change its name to the Department of Community and Environmental Sociology in 2009. It explained the rationale for the change on its website:

Although many members of the department continue to focus on the issues that motivated our predecessors, our range of activities has expanded over the years, and we realized that the term “rural” no longer captured the array of work in which we are engaged. Moreover, we concluded that “rural” was confusing to many students, citizens, and colleagues. We hope that our new name . . . will allow us to reach students and people from across Wisconsin, the US, and the world who might have overlooked what we have to offer had we retained our previous name (<http://www.dces.wisc.edu/history/index.php>)

Originally, in Galpin’s day and Kolb’s first years, rural sociology had been a part of the Department of Agricultural Economics. For similar reasons, it too changed its name—to the Department of Agricultural and Applied Economics—even before Rural Sociology did. At least eleven other agricultural economics departments around the country made similar name changes, adding “applied” to their formal names. The College of Agriculture at Wisconsin also changed its name to the College of Agriculture and Life Sciences. At least a dozen other Colleges of Agriculture in the United States have made similar changes.

Leadership and Administration

That the Department of Rural Sociology/Community and Environmental Sociology never lost its ranking as one of the top two rural sociology departments in the country and avoided the steep decline that the Department of Sociology suffered from the early 1930s to 1958, was due partly to the availability of some federal and state funding of research through the “hunger years” but also to exceptional leadership in the department. Kolb and Sewell had towering reputations in the field, and they were followed by a

series of other very able chairs. These chairs were able to attract good new faculty and adapt the instructional offerings and research initiatives to meet new challenges. A sequential list of the chairs, all of whom made substantial contributions, is presented in Table 7 below.

Table 7. Department Chairs, College of Agriculture (and Life Sciences)	
Department of Rural Sociology	
John Harrison Kolb	1930-1938
Arthur F. Wileden	1938-1939
John Harrison Kolb	1939-1949
William Hamilton Sewell	1949-1955
Douglas G. Marshall	1955-1956
Eugene A. Wilkening	1956-1959
Douglas G. Marshall	1959-1968
Glenn V. Fuguitt	1968-1970
Archibald O. Haller	1970-1972
Donald E. Johnson	1972-1975
David L. Featherman	1975-1978
Glenn V. Fuguitt	1978-1981
A. Eugene Havens	1981-1984
Gene F. Summers	1984-1987
Doris P. Slesinger	1987-1991
Thomas A. Heberlein	1991-1995
Paul R. Voss	1995-1998
Frederick H. Buttel	1998-2002
Gary P. Green	2002-2005
Leann M. Tigges	2005-2008
Daniel L. Kleinman	2008-2009
Department of Community and Environmental Sociology	
Daniel L. Kleinman	2009-2012
Jess Gilbert	2012-2015
Gary P. Green	2015-

SOURCE: PORTRAITS IN CONFERENCE ROOM, DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNITY AND ENVIRONMENTAL SOCIOLOGY

The faculty of the department continues to change, with retirements, deaths, and departures, replaced by new young scholars. A complete list of all regular faculty who have held appointments in Rural Sociology and Community and Environmental Sociology appears in Appendix B. Most of the faculty as of 2014 are shown in this picture in the department conference room, with the framed pictures of past chairs in the background.



COMMUNITY AND ENVIRONMENTAL SOCIOLOGY FACULTY, SEPT. 8, 2014
FRONT (L TO R) GARY GREEN, MICHAEL BELL, DANIEL KLEINMAN, JESS GILBERT,
KATHERINE CURTIS
BACK (L TO R) LEANN TIGGES, JOSHUA GAROON, RANDY STOECKER, NOAH FEINSTEIN,
JANE COLLINS, MONICA WHITE.
NOT PRESENT: SAMER ALATOUT, JACK KLOPPENBURG
(R. MIDDLETON)

Attacks on Civil Liberties and Academic Freedom (1910-2016)

According to Veysey there was a lull in the battles over academic freedom after the notorious ousting of E. A. Ross at Stanford in 1900, and “. . . Nebraska, Wisconsin, and Cornell, developed into recognized havens for dissent” (Veysey, 1965, p. 416). Perhaps the catastrophic decline in Stanford University’s reputation and fortunes over the next decade may have had a chastening effect on conservative administrations and politicians elsewhere. If so, the lull was not very pronounced or long-lasting, for scholars with progressive political and economic views still believed their position was precarious. Many engaged in self-censorship or at least tempered their public pronouncements. Richard T. Ely largely abandoned his role as public intellectual and became increasingly conservative. Ross, who was always fearless in expressing his views, got into trouble once more at Wisconsin in 1910 after escorting the anarchist Emma Goldman around campus. The same thing happened to John R. Commons for inviting Goldman to speak on campus in 1914. Both were protected from getting fired by President Charles Van Hise. Commons had one more narrow escape in 1919 after introducing William Z. Foster, the Syndicalist and later Communist leader, who spoke on campus. This time he was protected by President Edward A. Birge, who was not very happy about Commons’ judgment in being associated with Foster.

In the early years of the twentieth century socialists were generally not demonized as they were later, except in the case of a few prominent anarchists and syndicalists. Jack London, the largely self-taught young working class writer, who had become the world’s most popular author, was lionized and treated like a modern rock star during his lucrative lecture tours across the country in 1903-1905. He spoke on dozens of college campuses and at women’s clubs, civic organizations, and other groups, usually attacking capitalist exploitation, preaching socialism, and urging social revolution. Even the elite students at Harvard and Yale were mesmerized when he addressed them (Labor, 2013). E. A. Ross did not get into trouble for writing a book and making speeches supporting the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, but he did upset some of the regents for attacking the actions and the hypocrisy of monopoly capitalists in the United States and accusing them of being “sinners.”

World War I—The Search for Sedition

World War I brought greater challenges to academic freedom for university professors, as well as a massive loss of civil liberties. President Woodrow Wilson, for all his sanctimonious “idealism” and support for international democracy, was arguably America’s most racist president and greatest enemy of the free speech guarantees of the Bill of Rights—surpassing even John Adams. In May, 1918, the Espionage Act of 1917 was amended to outlaw “disloyal, profane, scurrilous, or abusive language” about the US government, its flag, or its armed forces or that cast the war effort in a negative light or hindered the sale of government bonds. Before it was finally repealed in December, 1920, some 1500 people were prosecuted and more than a thousand were convicted, generally receiving sentences of five to twenty years (“Sedition Act of 1918,” n.d.)

US participation in World War I was opposed by pacifists, most isolationists, and most socialists, who regarded it as a war among imperialists. Opposition was quite strong in Wisconsin, in part because of the immigration of a great many progressive German “Forty-Eighters” to the state in the 19th century. They were people from the German states and the Austro-Hungarian Empire who had participated in or supported the abortive revolutions of 1848 that swept through Europe. They favored unification of the German people, democratic government, and guarantees of human rights. When the revolutions failed, many emigrated to the United States, especially to Wisconsin, Texas, and Ohio (“Forty-Eighters,” n.d.) My own parents grew up in an area of North Texas where about half of the farm population was German. During World War I, however, Vernon High School, where my mother was a student, quit teaching German due to anti-German feeling. The same happened in most Wisconsin cities.

One of the highly educated Forty-Eighters who settled in Milwaukee was Victor L. Berger, who edited three newspapers, the *Social Democratic Herald*, the *Milwaukee Leader*, and the German language *Vorwärts*. His father was the school commissioner, and he himself taught German in the Milwaukee public school system. Berger’s wife Meta was a socialist organizer in Milwaukee and for many years a member of the University of Wisconsin Board of Regents. Berger was a founding member of the Social Democratic Party of America in 1898 and the Socialist Party of America in 1901. He was considered a “sewer socialist” who emphasized providing clean government and efficient services to the public and was strongly opposed to violence and revolution. He was elected to Congress from Wisconsin’s Fifth Congressional District (then primarily a Milwaukee district) in 1910. He became the first socialist to serve in Congress but was defeated in the next three elections. Berger, like most others in the Socialist Party, opposed US participation in

World War I, and in February, 1918, he and four other socialists were indicted for violations of the sedition provisions of the Espionage Act. In spite of being under federal indictment, he ran for the Congressional seat again in 1918 and was elected. The House refused to seat him, but when Wisconsin held a special election to fill the vacancy, the voters in his district elected him again. He was denied his seat once more, and the seat remained unfilled until 1921, when a Republican won the seat. Meanwhile, Berger was tried and convicted in a trial presided over by Kennesaw Landis, who later became the first Commissioner of Baseball, and he was sentenced to 20 years in federal prison. The conviction was overturned by the Supreme Court in January, 1921, not because the law was unconstitutional, but because Judge Landis had improperly presided over the trial after the filing of an affidavit of prejudice. In 1922 Berger was again elected to Congress and reelected in 1924 and 1926 ("Victor L. Berger," n.d.).

This was not the end of socialist influence in Milwaukee, for socialist Frank Paul Zeidler was elected to three terms as Mayor of Milwaukee from 1948 to 1960. He had become a democratic socialist after reading the works of Eugene Debs and Norman Thomas and was a member of the Socialist Party USA ("Frank Zeidler," n.d.). No socialist has served as mayor of a major American city since Ziedler in 1960.

US Senator Robert M. La Follette from Wisconsin was the most outspoken opponent of US participation in World War I. He was denounced by President Wilson and many of his fellow senators and prevented from answering the charges of his critics on the floor of Congress, but efforts to remove him from office were unsuccessful, and he retained strong support in his home state. Ironically, his former friend and ally, Richard T. Ely, who had himself become a kind of icon representing the cause of academic freedom and "sifting and winnowing," became one of the leaders in the effort to suppress any speech that questioned the war effort. Most Wisconsin professors kept their heads down, not wanting to be indicted for sedition.

In 1924 after war fervor had subsided, La Follette ran for President on the Progressive Party ticket, carrying Wisconsin and receiving 16.6 percent of the popular vote nationally. Both the Republican candidate, Calvin Coolidge, and the Democratic candidate, John W. Davis, were conservatives and both campaigned for limited government, tax cuts, and reduced regulation. Coolidge was reelected with 54 percent of the vote; Davis received 28.8 percent.

The First Red Scare

World War I had another effect that presented the greatest threat to civil liberties and academic freedom yet—the First Red Scare. The Bolshevik

Revolution and the establishment of a Communist government in Russia alarmed conservatives like nothing else since the French Revolution. The Red Scare received its first impetus from events near the end of World War I when President Wilson sent 14,000 American troops, including the son of John R. Commons, to fight against Bolshevik revolutionaries in the Arkhangelsk and Vladivostok regions in northern Russia and Siberia. The fighting continued after the German surrender, but the Allied armies eventually withdrew and the Bolsheviks victoriously established the Soviet Union. President Wilson, without consulting his advisers, ordered the publication of fake documents, secret dossiers purporting to show that the leaders of the Bolshevik Revolution were paid agents of the German government. They were crude forgeries peddled by a conman, but they had an impact on a credulous public. Congress capitalized on inflamed public opinion by authorizing Senator Overman and the Judiciary Committee to collect reports from every agency in government about the Communist threat and then turning over the records to the Justice Department. Tim Weiner, the Pulitzer Prize and National Book Award Winner at the *New York Times*, observed in his monumental history of the FBI that “these files formed a cornerstone for the foundation of J. Edgar Hoover’s career” (Weiner, 2012, p. 17).

The year 1919 was marked by social conflict, and as four million servicemen returned home, four million American workers went out on strike. When 35,000 shipyard workers walked off the job in Seattle, federal troops were called to put down the strike, but strikes then spread to coal mines, steel mills, textile workers, telephone operators, and even the police in Boston. There were hundreds of strikes. Reds were widely blamed for the unrest. President Wilson was involved with peace negotiations in France and was absent from Washington, but he named a close political ally, A. Mitchell Palmer, as Attorney General to deal with the conflicts. Palmer was very ambitious and expected to become the next President, particularly after Wilson suffered a disabling stroke. He saw an opportunity to gain public recognition when in April and May a group of anarchists set off bombs directed toward a variety of public officials and bankers who were regarded as enemies of socialism. Most of the mailed bombs did not reach their targets, but some bombs did destroy property and injure persons, though not the ones intended by the anarchists. Palmer’s own house was bombed and his front parlor destroyed. Palmer was visited by a delegation of Congressmen. Palmer recalled, “They called upon me in strong terms to exercise all the power that was possible. ‘Palmer, ask for what you want and you will get it.’” (Weiner, 2012, p. 21). The next day he went before Congress and asked for funds and new laws to fight the “red menace.” One of the anarchists suspected of planting bombs was deported, but no one was ever charged for

the wave of bombings that had taken place, even though the investigation remained open for 25 years.

Palmer, under increasing pressure to act, ordered one of his junior officers, the 25-year-old J. Edgar Hoover, to organize raids around the country to round up dangerous reds and, if they were aliens, to arrange their deportation. Hoover had been compiling names of suspected Communists, socialists, and other radicals for some time, and he went into action. In October through December, 1919, Hoover's forces conducted raids in most of the cities with large immigrant populations and arrested thousands, most illegally, following Hoover's instructions. The biggest mass arrests in American history took place simultaneously in 25 cities at 9:00 p.m. on January 2, 1920. No Wisconsin city was in the first group of cities targeted. Some 2,585 prisoners were taken the first night, but the raids continued into the next week. Probably 6,000 to 10,000 people were arrested, but there was never any official accounting of numbers. This orgy of lawless arrests came to be called the Palmer Raids by historians, but Palmer did not organize or direct them. Hoover did (Weiner, 2012, pp. 28-35).

The deadliest terrorist attack in the history of the United States up to that point took place on September 16, 1920, when a horse-drawn wagon exploded at the corner of Wall and Broad Streets in New York's financial district just outside the J. P. Morgan bank. Thirty-eight people were killed by the bomb and about 400 were injured. A message found in a nearby mailbox said, "Free the political prisoners or it will be sure death for all of you—American Anarchist Fighters." It was apparently referring to Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti. The bombers were never apprehended (Weiner, 2012, pp. 45-46).

A year after the Bureau's raids, Palmer wrote an essay, "The Case Against the 'Reds,'" for *The Forum* explaining in purple prose the reasons for his actions:

Like a prairie-fire, the blaze of revolution was sweeping over every American institution of law and order a year ago. It was eating its way into the homes of the American workman, its sharp tongues of revolutionary heat were licking the alters of the churches, leaping into the belfry of the school bell, crawling into the sacred corners of American homes, seeking to replace marriage vows with libertine laws, burning up the foundations of society. . . . The Department of Justice will pursue the attack of these "Reds" upon the Government of the United States with vigilance, and no alien advocating the overthrow of existing law and order in this country shall escape arrest and prompt deportation. It is my belief that while they have stirred discontent in our midst, while they have infected our social ideas with the disease of their own minds

and unclean morals, we can get rid of them! And not until we have done so shall we have removed the menace of Bolshevism for good (Palmer, 1920, pp. 173, 180).

As more information about the raids came to be known, they were widely denounced by judges, prosecutors, and law professors. Hoover did not anticipate the growing public revulsion toward his actions. George W. Anderson, a federal judge in Boston, said that the government was concocting conspiracies: “As an aftermath of our ‘war to make the world safe for democracy,’ real democracy now seems unsafe in America. The same persons and newspapers that for two years were faking pro-German plots are now promoting ‘The Red Terror’” (Weiner, 2012, p. 37). Louis Post, the Assistant Secretary of Labor, used his authority over immigration matters to review the arrest files of some 1400 people. He found that the Bureau had violated the law in about three-fourths of the cases and threw out about 1,000 deportation cases. Hoover went to war against Post, but Post acted first, organizing a group of twelve distinguished law school deans and professors to investigate the raids. In May, 1920, they issued a devastating “Report to the American People”:

Wholesale arrests both of aliens and citizens have been made without warrant or any process of law; men and women have been jailed and held incommunicado without access of friends or counsel; homes have been entered without search warrants. We do not question the right of the Department of Justice to use its agents in the Bureau of Investigation to ascertain when the law is being violated. But the American people have never tolerated the use of undercover provocative agents or “agents provocateurs” such as have been familiar in old Russia or Spain. Such agents have been introduced by the Department of Justice into radical movements . . . instigating acts which might be declared criminal (quoted in Weiner, 2012, p. 43)

Palmer’s presidential hopes plummeted, and at the Democratic Convention in 1920 his support collapsed after the 39th ballot. Shortly thereafter James M. Cox was nominated, but the Republican, Warren G. Harding, was elected with 60 percent of the popular vote.

The First Red Scare was directed primarily at European immigrants and labor leaders and not so much at academics. The worst excesses of arbitrary arrests, deportations, and suppression sharply declined after Palmer’s prediction of a massive revolutionary uprising on May Day in 1920 failed to materialize. During the Red Scare several states had adopted special loyalty oaths for teachers, but when the panic subsided little

attention was paid to teachers' beliefs until the start of the Great Depression in 1929.

The Second Red Scare--McCarthyism

Palmer's political career was over, but J. Edgar Hoover's continued to thrive. He was made Deputy Director of the Bureau of Investigation in 1921 at the age of 26 and Director in 1924, when the Bureau had only 650 employees. Today it has over 35,000. He turned the Bureau into a public relations instrument to build his personal reputation and the reputation of the agency in order to amass greater power. He mastered the art of waging political warfare in secret against his enemies to strengthen conservative forces and undermine liberals. He almost lost his job when Franklin D. Roosevelt took office and chose Senator Thomas Walsh of Montana to be his Attorney General. Walsh was an enemy of Hoover and almost certainly would have fired him, but Walsh died while traveling to Washington by train to take office. Hoover kept his job and ingratiated himself with Roosevelt by providing him with a steady stream of political intelligence and innuendo about those individuals who were in opposition to his policies (Weiner, 2012, pp. 69, 89). By the end of Roosevelt's term he had gained immense power over politicians by building secret files containing information about indiscretions and scandals. He became "undismissable" and immune to the control of presidents and his nominal bosses, the attorney generals. He was even permitted to remain in office beyond the mandatory retirement age of the FBI.

Hoover used his immense power generally to support conservative causes, but even a conservative Republican like Richard Nixon feared his unbridled power. Nixon wanted to find some way to remove Hoover from office in 1972 and bring in a former FBI deputy, William C. Sullivan, who had been abruptly fired by Hoover in 1971 because of his criticisms of FBI policy. Nixon procrastinated, however, out of fear of what Hoover might do. Weiner quotes a number of Nixon conversations with Haldeman, Ehrlichman, Mitchell, and Dean, all of whom pushed Nixon to remove Hoover. Nixon said,

If he does go, he's got to go of his own volition. That's what we get down to. And that's why we're in a hell of a problem. I think he'll stay until he's 100 years old. . . . We've got to avoid the situation where he could leave with a blast. We may have on our hands here a man who will pull down the temple with him, including me. . . . We got to get a professional in that goddamn place. Sullivan's our guy (Weiner, 2012, pp. 300-301).

At the same time Sullivan sent a long letter directly to Hoover at his home that enraged Hoover. Sullivan enumerated in 27 numbered paragraph—like a criminal indictment—why Hoover should retire “for your own good, that of the Bureau, the intelligence community, and law enforcement.” He was especially critical of Hoover for the “cult of personality” that he had built:

As you know, you have become a legend in your lifetime with a surrounding mythology linked to incredible power. We did all possible to build up your legend. We kept away from anything which would disturb you and kept flowing into your office what you wanted to hear. . . This was all part of the game but it got to be a deadly game that has accomplished no good. All we did was to help put you out of touch with the real world and this could not help but have a bearing on your decisions as the years went by (Weiner, 2012, p. 302).

The confrontation with Hoover that Nixon dreaded never arrived, for Hoover died May 2, 1972, at the age of 77, still Director of the FBI. When informed, a relieved President Nixon said, “Oh, he died at the right time, didn’t he? Goddamn, it’d have killed him to lose that office. It would have killed him” (Weiner, 2012, p. 307). Hoover’s demise did not save Nixon’s presidency, however. The greater significance of Hoover’s career is that, beginning with the Palmer Raids and continuing for the next half century, Hoover himself was the primary threat to civil liberties and academic freedom in the United States.

The desperate economic conditions of the depression drew increasing numbers of students toward radical groups, including the Communist Party, which had well developed ideologies critical of capitalism. As Schrecker points out, however, “. . . the Party’s single most effective recruiter, by far, was Adolf Hitler” (Schrecker, 1986, p. 35). The spread of fascism in the 1930s and the failure of the Western democracies to take effective action against it, led many students to view the Communist Party and the Soviet Union as the most effective opponents of a growing fascist threat. The Spanish Civil War in particular inflamed student opinion in the 1930s like the Vietnam War did in the 1960s. It was necessary to work with the Communists if one wanted to become a volunteer in Spain or send aid to the Spanish Republicans. The Communist Party downplayed its hardline revolutionary doctrines to emphasize a “Popular Front” approach seeking allies with a wide variety of progressive groups. Communist Party organizations and study groups became very common on college and university campuses in the United States, and becoming a formal member was often a casual act taken with no thought of what difficulties it might cause the individual later. One former member stated, “In 1938, on every campus in America, it was

easier to join the Party than it was to join a posh sorority, and at Wisconsin, well, the best and the brightest were in the CP" (Schrecker, 1986, p. 38).

It was not only the students, but the teachers and professors who came under suspicion. Only a few states required teacher oaths before the 1930s, but by 1936 twenty-one states and the District of Columbia required them. The DC oath required teachers to swear that they were not "teaching or advocating communism," but most were quite vague and only required an oath to support the US, and sometimes state, constitutions. Teachers regarded the loyalty oaths as obnoxious, since they singled out only the academic profession, even though most did not require more than was expected of all citizens. There was an increasing repressive atmosphere, however, and before long there were loyalty investigations directed against specific universities or specific professors (Schrecker, 1986, pp. 68-69).

The first investigation in Wisconsin took place in 1933 when a legislative Special Committee to Investigate the Granting of Legislative Scholarships by the University of Wisconsin was seeking ways to cut the state budget. The committee members felt that too many "foreigners" (i.e., out-of-state students) were getting scholarships, even though the scholarships had been created for out-of-state students in the first place. When the investigation was announced, 200 students came to the Capitol to protest. There had previously been a student protest against ROTC legislation. The legislature quickly amended the resolution creating the committee to authorize it "to investigate the reasons for the presence of so many communists among the students at the University" (Iversen, 1959, p. 181). The committee held one hearing and heard about a dozen witnesses. One witness claimed that eighteen students and one instructor were members of either the National Student League or the John Reed Club, and another thought that 75 to 90 percent of the legislative scholarships were awarded to students with "Communitistic ideologies." It soon became obvious that the intent of the committee, which was dominated by "stalwart" Republicans, was to try to discredit the university's President, Glenn Frank, who had liberal credentials and was a strong supporter of free speech and academic freedom. Since the committee loosely applied the label "communist" to all sorts of progressives, including E. A. Ross, the university felt free to ignore the hearing as a minor nuisance. The committee's report could only make the lame recommendation that "non-taxpaying students residing outside of Wisconsin" should not try to influence the legislature (Iversen, 1959, pp. 181-182).

The committee's 1933 report was regarded as unsatisfactory by conservatives who regarded the University of Wisconsin as a hotbed of radicals and Communists. The leader of the outcry against the University of Wisconsin was John Chapple, the publisher of the *Ashland Press* in the extreme northern part of the state. Chapple had himself been a radical of sorts in

his student days and had joined a student tour of the Soviet Union in 1927. By the mid-1930s, however, he had become a rabid foe of the Reds and had begun waging a crusade against what he considered the “socialism-communism” of the La Follette progressives. Aided by the American Legion and the *Milwaukee Journal*, at that time a Hearst newspaper, Chapple persuaded the legislature to undertake another investigation of the university in 1935. A legislative resolution on January 24, 1935, stated, “Whereas, the American Legion at Wisconsin Rapids has made certain charges of communistic activities in one of our state institutions . . . [and] if these charges are untrue they will work a great injustice and hardship on these institutions. . . . In fairness . . . a thorough and authoritative investigation should be made of these charges” (Iversen, 1959, p. 182). A special committee headed by Senator E. F. Brunette was appointed.

The committee first attacked President Frank for dismissing a dean on the Milwaukee campus who had allegedly denied tenure to a teacher—the son of a University regent—who headed the Milwaukee local of the American Federation of Teachers and who had been accused of being a Communist. The committee members, who were hostile to Progressives, concluded that Frank was harboring Communists at the university, and one senator favored giving him ninety days to “clean up or clear out.” The committee then tried to investigate the proposition that “throughout the United States charges were being made of the University being a hot-bed of Communism.” They reported that one student had addressed a campus meeting of the National Student League that had concluded with the singing of the left-wing anthem “The Internationale.” E. A. Ross, who himself was a suspect of the committee, testified that he did not think anybody was harmed by such meetings. The committee’s report, however, concluded that “for several years past the University was being advertised extensively, both in this state and throughout the nation, as an ultra-liberal institution and one in which communistic teachings were encouraged, and where avowed communists were welcome and allowed to spread their doctrines upon the campus with the permission and connivance of the Administration of the University, its officers and regents” (Iversen, 1959, p. 183).

The committee’s report made it clear that its main target was President Frank, whom they accused of encouraging communism on the campus. Frank had actually made strong and unambiguous public statements attacking Communism, which had caused the Young Communist League of the University of Wisconsin to write in a pamphlet that Frank’s statements were “amazing.” The committee cited this as evidence that their charges were true. Iversen observed, “It was the kind of perverse and self-deluding logic that was to become the stock in trade of one of Chapple’s most illustrious protégés, Joseph R. McCarthy” (Iversen, 1959, p. 183). The Brunette

Committee did not identify a single Communist on the faculty and simply vented their hatred of Frank and the Progressives, who were the real targets of their investigation. Their only specific recommendation was that the university should take a firm stand against un-Americanism and cooperate with groups “whose purpose is the furtherance of Americanism” (Iversen, 1959, p. 184).

The university easily weathered this flagrantly political attack, but President Frank’s real troubles soon came from an entirely different direction. Frank ran afoul of the La Follette family, for his political ambitions were seen by Governor Phillip La Follette and Senator Robert M. La Follette, Jr., as a threat to their own political careers. In 1937 he was ousted as President by a narrow 8 to 7 vote of the Regents, who were mostly appointed by Phillip La Follette. Cronon and Jenkins described it as a “public hanging on Bascom Hill,” though it might more properly be called a political lynching (Cronon and Jenkins, 1994, vol. 3, pp. 293-326). After his dismissal Frank did get involved in Wisconsin politics and sought the Republican nomination for the US Senate seat occupied by Robert M. La Follette, Jr. of the Progressive Party, but he and his son were killed in an automobile crash two days before the primary election.

My colleague Maria Lepowsky was told a curious story by Ward Goodenough concerning Ralph Linton as a possible target of investigation by a Wisconsin legislative committee—presumably the Brunette Committee in 1935. Linton confided to Goodenough in the early 1950s that he was worried about being investigated on charges of immorality by the Wisconsin committee in connection with his recent divorce and remarriage. He said he used one of his “shady connections” to hire someone to lure one of the most aggressive upstate legislators into a tryst with a young woman in a downtown Madison hotel room. “A detective burst in on them, and that was the end of the investigation. It was the best \$800 he ever spent, said Linton” (Lepowski, 2000, p. 154, n. 12). Considering Linton’s reputation, he could have been vulnerable, but I am inclined to regard this as a tall tale told by Linton, who must have been having fun with Goodenough. If he was really referring to the investigation of the Brunette Committee, which was the only legislative probe of the university around 1935, the tale is highly implausible. The committee members were looking for Reds in the university, not for sex scandals. The investigation did not stop. The committee held a hearing and published a report focusing on Communists, radicals, and un-American elements, with no mention of sexual improprieties.

Except for the flurry of legislative activity in the mid-1930s, Wisconsin was relatively free of red-baiting and red-hunts until after World War II, compared with many other states. Soon after the war, however, the Soviet Union was transformed from an American ally fighting against Hitler’s

Germany to the number one enemy of the United States. In 1946 Winston Churchill made his Iron Curtain speech warning against Soviet expansionism, and in 1947 President Harry S Truman announced the Truman doctrine, originally directed against Communist expansion into Greece and Turkey.

The Cold War was officially on, and the Second Red Scare took off. To fend off Republican charges that he was “soft on Communism,” Truman inaugurated a Federal Loyalty Program in 1947 that required an investigation of the loyalty of all federal employees. It considered mere membership or former membership in an allegedly subversive organization as a sufficient ground to question the loyalty of individuals and their fitness for government service. It was a concept that prepared the ground for the later reckless charges that Senator Joseph McCarthy made against government employees, starting in 1950. By 1958 some 4.8 million federal employees were reviewed, 26,236 were referred to departmental loyalty boards for review, and 560 were removed from office or denied employment. Another 6,828 resigned or retired rather than face a review of past associations. The ACLU offered to represent any person who contested the proceedings, but few did so. They usually felt that it was best to avoid attracting attention that might harm future chances for employment. Eleanor Roosevelt was so alarmed by the loyalty reviews that in her newspaper column of Aug. 31, 1948, she advised young people against taking jobs with the government (Walker, 2012, pp. 127, 131-132).

In 1950 President Truman vetoed the Internal Security (“McCarran”) Act, stating that he believed it would suppress opinion and belief and would be “a long step toward totalitarianism” (Walker, 2012, p. 127). His veto message was the strongest statement in favor of free speech and freedom of association ever made by an American president, before or since. Yet it seemed quite inconsistent with the loyalty program he had initiated earlier. It is clear, though, that he did not know how the loyalty program was being administered. He was unaware of the lack of due process in the proceedings and the fact that the accused were not permitted to confront the FBI informants who had accused them (Walker, 2012, p. 132). In a speech in Detroit on July 28, 1951, in celebration of Detroit’s 250th anniversary, Truman made the following remarks:

Now, listen to this one: this malicious propaganda has gone so far that on the Fourth of July, over in Madison, Wis., people were afraid to say they believed in the Declaration of Independence. A hundred and twelve people were asked to sign a petition that contained nothing except quotations from the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights. One hundred and eleven of these people refused to sign that paper—many of

them because they were afraid it was some kind of subversive document and that they would lose their jobs or be called Communists. Can you imagine!—finding a hundred and eleven people in the capital of Wisconsin that didn't know what the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights provided? I can't imagine it. Think of it, in the capital of the State of Wisconsin, on the Fourth of July this year 1951, good Americans were afraid to sign their names to the language of the Declaration of Independence. Think of that, in the home State of two of America's greatest liberal and progressive Senators, Robert M. La Follette, and Robert, Junior. Now that's what comes of all these lies, and smears and fear campaigns. That's what comes when people are told they can't trust their own government. (Truman, 1951).

Joseph R. McCarthy was elected to the US Senate in 1946, defeating Senator Robert M. La Follette, Jr. in the Republican primary, and going on to a victory over Howard McMurray, the Democratic candidate. McCarthy was from Appleton, Wisconsin, and Nathan M Pusey, the President of Lawrence College in Appleton, was regarded by McCarthy as one of his chief enemies, even though Pusey was, in his own phrasing, an "Eastern" Republican. Pusey had taken a public stand opposing McCarthy's re-election in 1952. He also enraged McCarthy that year when he joined with 71 other Wisconsinites in endorsing a 134-page book entitled *The McCarthy Record* (Wisconsin Citizens' Committee on McCarthy's Record, 1952). Carlos P. Runge, a Professor of Law at the University of Wisconsin was chair of the issuing committee, and Charles Bunn, T. C. Erickson, and Oliver S. Rundell were other UW-Madison faculty who were members of the committee and endorsed the book. The book was nominally edited by Morris Rubin, the editor of *The Progressive*, but was actually written by Miles J. McMillin, an editorial writer of *The Capital Times*, and Edwin R. Bayley, a political reporter for the *Milwaukee Journal*, on their own time without the knowledge of their newspapers. It went into detail about McCarthy's record in the Marines, as a judge, and as a politician, and delivered a scathing indictment of his character and his actions. The book was published by Anglobooks and was financed by the AFL-CIO. Some 26,000 copies were sold at a price of one dollar each. McCarthy denounced the book as libelous, but he never sued the authors for libel, and neither he nor any of his supporters ever challenged the truth of any of the statements in the book (Bayley, 1981, p. 10). Once at a political rally Bayley was covering, McCarthy spotted him and in a typical jibe said, "Stand up, Ed. Let the people see what a Communist looks like" (Rourke, 2002). McMillin went on to become editor and publisher of *The Capital Times*. Bayley moved on to become a speech writer and Executive Secretary for Governor Gaylord Nelson, then had several positions in

the Kennedy and Johnson administrations. To cap his career, he became the founding dean of UC-Berkeley's Graduate School of Journalism, widely regarded as the strongest in the country during his tenure. He was famous for reviewing every application and writing frank letters to those rejected specifying the reasons.

McCarthy had a quiet and undistinguished record his first three years in the Senate, but in 1950 he made a sensational speech claiming that he had a list of 257 Communists working in the State Department. He later used other numbers, and, in truth, did not have a list of names at all. The press, however, was credulous and took his charges seriously without demanding the names or proof of his allegations (Bayley, 1981). McCarthy was excited by the amount of publicity the speech generated, and soon began making other wild charges of Communists and homosexuals in government agencies, the army, and the CIA. Many regarded him as a fool and buffoon, but J. Edgar Hoover saw him as a useful tool in his own crusade against Communists and homosexuals and started secretly sending him unverified information about suspects (Weiner, 2012, pp. 183-187).

McCarthy was certainly aware that most of the professors and many of the students at the University of Wisconsin were opposed to him. On May 13, 1951, the Young Republican Club invited him to speak on campus, and he appeared before an audience of 700 students, faculty members, and townspeople. When he called General Douglas MacArthur "the greatest military leader since before Genghis Khan," the audience broke into laughter. When he referred to the *Capital Times* as "the Madison edition of *The Daily Worker*," he was roundly booed. After another statement was met with similar derision, he yelled at the crowd, "You braying jackasses!" When someone in the audience challenged him to name one Communist employed in the State Department, McCarthy stumbled and fumbled and reached into his briefcase for "proof, not just names." He finally gave up in his search and shouted at the crowd, "Naming them won't convince you—I don't go to Communist party meetings—I can't tell you which of them has paid a \$2 fee." The question period abruptly ended. McCarthy announced that he had to catch a plane back to Washington "for an important committee meeting." The audience again broke into laughter (O'Brien, 1980, p. 120). The *Daily Cardinal* wrote, "He reached for eloquent phrases and fell flat on his face" ("The Laughs Were Appropriate for Joe McCarthy," 1951). McCarthy never appeared on the UW-Madison campus again.

Wisconsin professors were generally opposed to McCarthy, because of his anti-intellectualism, his dubious personal ethics, his questionable behavior as a judge, his reckless accusations, and the threat he presented to civil liberties and academic freedom. Many university students felt the same way, but McCarthy was not without supporters among the Wisconsin

students. In a mock election before the 1952 Senate election, 58 percent of the students on the campus favored the Democrat Fairchild and 42 percent preferred McCarthy. In 13 other state colleges in Wisconsin the students were almost equally divided, with Fairchild favored by 50.5 percent and McCarthy by 49.5 percent. The state college students were quite conservative, favoring Eisenhower for President and the Republican Walter Kohler for Wisconsin governor by overwhelming majorities (O'Brien, 1980, pp. 195-196).

Though he had met with a raucous reception when he visited the campus, McCarthy did not mount attacks against the University of Wisconsin, as he did against Harvard and some other universities. It was certainly not because he believed in the principle of academic freedom for educational institutions. McCarthy's Senate committee positions tended to limit his investigations to government bodies, but he urged the public to appoint themselves "to undo the damage which is being done by Communist infiltration of our schools and colleges through Communist-minded teachers and Communist textbooks" (O'Brien, 1980, p. 195). Nevertheless, even though he knew that the University of Wisconsin harbored strong opponents to his actions, he left the university alone. Mark Ingraham, the powerful Dean of the College of Letters and Science, and other university officials believed that he refrained from attacking the university because he knew that many of his wealthy conservative supporters were graduates of the university and were loyal to their alma mater. Indeed, the University of Wisconsin Board of Regents was dominated by some of the most prominent Republicans in the state. He did not want to alienate the loyal alumni who were politically powerful in the Wisconsin Republican Party (O'Brien, 1980, p. 200).

McCarthy was astute enough to realize that he could gain more politically by attacking Harvard and other "effete" Eastern schools. Harvard was a particularly enticing target, for it was now headed by his old enemy, Nathan Pusey. When Pusey was appointed President of Harvard in 1953, Wisconsin newspapers congratulated Pusey and praised Harvard for their wise choice, but when columnist Neal O'Hara of the Boston *Traveler* asked McCarthy what he thought of Harvard's new president, he attacked him viciously. The wire services picked up the story, and the quotation was reprinted in newspapers around the country, including the Appleton *Post-Crescent*:

Harvard's loss is Wisconsin's gain. . . . [Pusey is] a man who has considerable intellectual possibilities, but who has neither learned nor forgotten anything since he was a freshman in college. He appears to hide a combination of bigotry and intolerance behind a cloak of phony, hypocritical liberalism. . . . I do not think Dr. Pusey is or has been a member of the Communist party. However, while he professes sincere

dislike for Communism, his hatred and contempt appear to be infinitely greater for those who effectively expose Communism and injure the Communist cause. What motivates Pusey, I have no way of knowing. He is what could best be described as a rabid anti-anti-Communist. In Wisconsin Pusey endorsed and lent his support to libelous smear campaign material. His legacy to Wisconsin was to help bring campaigning in that state to an all-time low in dishonesty, mud-slinging and smear . . . I am very happy that he has left my home town of Appleton. Regardless of who takes his place, it will be an improvement (“Harvard Loss, Wisconsin Gain,” 1953).

Attacks on Harvard did generate much national publicity, but they also had a political cost, for many influential Republicans in Wisconsin had great respect for Pusey. Pusey had been very popular when he was President of Lawrence University, and they were dismayed by McCarthy’s attacks on him. Charles R. Seaborn, an officer in the Thilmoney Paper and Pulp Company in Appleton, telegraphed McCarthy that his criticism of Pusey was “uninformed and unadvised” and expressed regret that he was “letting down so many old friends.” McCarthy retorted snappishly that he was “curious to know what old friends are being let down by the exposure of bigoted intolerant mudslinging enemy of mine?” (O’Brien, 1980, pp. 149-150).

Senator McCarthy was riding high in the early 1950s, his every move and speech generating publicity in newspapers, radio, and television. He characterized the five consecutive presidential terms of Democrats as “twenty years of treason,” and he described President Truman as “merely the prisoner of a bunch of twisted intellectuals.” Truman retorted that McCarthy was “the best asset the Kremlin has” and charged that his reckless accusations were attempts to sabotage the foreign policy of the US, equivalent to shooting American soldiers in the back in a hot war (“Joseph McCarthy,” n.d.). President Eisenhower was equally opposed to McCarthy, but did not attack him publicly. When McCarthy overreached and threatened to go after the CIA, Eisenhower began to move against him behind the scenes, and Hoover, concluding that McCarthy had become a loose cannon, cut off the flow of information from the FBI. McCarthy’s downfall came in the Army-McCarthy hearings of June, 1954, which were broadcast live on national television. Without the FBI files to guide him, McCarthy ran aground, and the lawyer for the army made him look like a fool and a bully, leading to his public humiliation. After two months of disciplinary hearings McCarthy himself was censured by his colleagues in the Senate in December, 1954, and his power and influence collapsed. He continued to serve in the Senate and rail against Communism, but his colleagues and the press generally ignored him. Eisenhower quipped that “McCarthyism was now McCarthywasm.”

McCarthy started drinking more heavily and began to deteriorate mentally and physically. Three years later he died at the age of 48, probably as a result of alcoholism (Weiner, 2012, pp. 186-187; Joseph McCarthy, n.d.). Nathan Pusey lamented that the unmasking of McCarthy in 1954 was two years too late and that he could have been stopped in 1952 during the re-election campaign if more people had become aware of his true record. When Bayley asked him if he thought Edward R. Murrow's 1954 documentary on McCarthy had been instrumental in bringing McCarthy down, Pusey said bitterly, "I don't give a damn what anybody said about McCarthy in 1954. By 1954 McCarthy was finished. The time to fight him—the only time it mattered—was before the election in 1952, when you could do something about it" (Bayley, 1981, p. 11).

If McCarthy had not been fighting for his life in the spring of 1954, he might have been provoked into some action against Wisconsin sociologists. The University of Wisconsin hosted the Midwest Sociological Society in May, 1954, and Philip M. Hauser, Professor of Sociology at the University of Chicago, was invited to be the keynote speaker at the opening session. Hauser praised the University of Wisconsin but criticized the state as "perhaps the worst example in the United States of the gap between what is known and what is done about the demagogue. We have known for a long time what a demagogue is and how he operates, but despite this, Wisconsin, which has contributed so much to the notable aspects of American politics, has fallen hook, line, and sinker for the most blatant demagogue of our time." (*U.W. News*, 4/16/54; 24/9/3 Box 80, Sociology, 1954-64, University Archives). McCarthy was probably too preoccupied with his investigations of the army and the CIA to pay attention to such attacks, but he was never deterred by criticism. It just made him more belligerent.

McCarthy's rogue solo attacks and later depredations as chair of the Senate Committee on Government Operations were not alone. There were two other Congressional investigating committees involved in the hunt for Communists—the House Unamerican Activities Committee (HUAC) and the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. McCarthy had been primarily interested in attacking government agencies and paid relatively little attention to colleges and universities, except for the special case of Harvard and a few other universities. He helped to create a repressive atmosphere, however, that led other government bodies and colleges and universities to adopt repressive measures limiting civil liberties.

HUAC and the Senate counterpart were much more active in pursuing Communist influences in higher education. HUAC had forerunners in the McCormack-Dickstein Committee of 1934-1937 and the Dies Committee of 1938-1944. It became a standing committee in 1945 and began to investigate any individual they thought might be communistic and in a position of

influence. One of their early targets was the motion picture industry in 1947. Those who were subpoenaed to testify were required to answer questions about their current or prior membership in Communist or Communist affiliated organizations, and also to name others they knew who were members. If the individual invoked his Fifth Amendment rights and refused to answer questions or name others, he was held in contempt of Congress or was likely to be placed on a blacklist maintained by the Hollywood studios. The blacklist made it impossible to find further employment in the American film industry except through subterfuges. Eventually more than 300 actors, writers, directors, producers, and technical workers ended up on the blacklist, which lasted until about 1960. Only about 10 percent of those blacklisted were ever able to return to work in the industry (“House Un-American Activities Committee,” n.d.).

HUAC and especially the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee both sought to investigate colleges and universities as sources of Communistic teaching and indoctrination. The House committee wrote in a report, “Perhaps no other area of American life offers so great an opportunity for the trained and dedicated Communist agent.” The Senate committee declared, “The Communist agents who spun the very real web of conspiracy and intrigue within the framework of the United States Government, in almost all cases, were cradled in our distinguished universities and colleges.” Both committees insisted that they were not investigating education in general or even particular schools. They were only looking for suspected Communists with the object of exposing them to public gaze. However, if their suspects asserted their Fifth Amendment rights to avoid testifying or naming others who might have been members of Communist organizations, they might be discharged by their universities. Like the blacklisted film industry workers, an informal, but not universal, academic blacklist made it difficult for discharged teachers to find a new job in their profession (Iversen, 1959, p. 331).

As a matter of self-protection, one of the first things that colleges and universities did was to remove Communist student organizations from their campuses or, if there were none, to make sure that none was established. Usually the first to be ousted was American Youth for Democracy. It advertised itself as “an inter-racial, inter-faith youth organization, dedicated to character building and education in the spirit of democracy and freedom.” It advocated many objectives calculated to appeal to idealistic young people, including the vote for 18-year-olds, support for the labor movement, full equality for African Americans, government aid to schools and needy students, veterans’ benefits, democratic rights, religious freedom, and opposition to anti-Semitism and anti-Catholicism (“Dust Off Your Dreams,” n.d.) It was no secret, though, that it was the youth wing of the Communist Party USA, which had replaced the more overtly Marxist-Leninist Young

Communist League USA in 1943. AYD was cited by J. Edgar Hoover in testimony before HUAC, and it was assumed it would soon be designated as a subversive organization. It was characteristic of colleges and universities to take measures to suppress activities rather than to target individual student radicals. Still they usually did not want to admit that they were curtailing civil liberties. Harvard and Radcliffe managed to persuade AYD to disband by requiring the filing of a full list of members—a list that would, of course, be subject to subpoena by a Congressional committee. Harvard also required membership lists and faculty sponsors for other student radical groups, and the John Reed Club and the Young Progressives soon disappeared from the campus, unwilling or unable to comply (Schrecker, 1986, pp. 85-89).

In 1956 the Wisconsin Department of the American Legion denounced the University of Wisconsin-Madison for continuing to recognize the Labor Youth League as a student organization and for maintaining its policy of not denying the use of university facilities by a student organization for an invited speaker on the Attorney General's list of subversives. The Labor Youth League had effectively replaced the Young Progressives of America in 1948 and was openly Communist. Edwin B. Fred, a bacteriologist who was President of the university from 1945 to 1958, favored the natural sciences over the social sciences and humanities, but he was a firm believer in the freedom of speech and assembly provisions of the Bill of Rights. The "sifting and winnowing plaque" was on the wall of Bascom Hall, just outside his office, and he took its words to heart. In answer to the American Legion, President Fred sent a letter to the State Commander, quoting the conclusion of a special Legislative Committee on University Policy in 1953. It stated that the "present policy of placing no restrictions on freedom of speech or assembly beyond those established by State or Federal laws" be maintained. Fred went on to review the long history of free discussion in the university and mentioned that a course on American history and institutions was required of all students. He continued with one of the strongest defenses of free inquiry ever made by any university president during the period of McCarthyism:

Instruction alone does not bring understanding. We, therefore, encourage students to conduct their own discussions of political problems. True appreciation of democratic institutions and processes requires direct experience. We encourage students to establish formal organizations, operating under democratic constitutions, in obedience to Federal and State laws, and consistent with University regulations, in the establishment of which student representatives participate. We provide open discussions and formally registered organizations. . . . Because students must be convinced that they have the freedoms and responsibilities

equal to citizens outside the University, we do not enact, and would oppose, restrictions on discussion and inquiry other than those applicable to all citizens in the state (quoted by Fuchs, 1956, p. 705).

For the most part, individual student radicals in American universities did not get into trouble unless they were unusually militant or their administrations were especially authoritarian. Radical faculty members had a much more difficult time, even if they tried to keep their heads down and avoid public controversy. Many were called before investigative committees to testify about their memberships and associations and the names of other members of radical organizations. It was common for them to refuse to testify, taking the Fifth Amendment. Even those who freely testified about their own present and past memberships often balked at naming others who were members. Most colleges and universities did not have established procedures for dealing with faculty who took the Fifth before a Congressional investigating committee, and they scrambled to establish rules and procedures for self-protection. There was no consistency in the approaches, however.

Finally, the Association of American Universities (AAU) decided to take a hand in formulating policy in this area. The organization consisted of the presidents of thirty-seven leading universities in the United States and Canada and had previously been concerned primarily with maintaining standards of graduate education and various practical matters. It commissioned a committee of presidents to draft a statement on "the privileges and responsibilities inherent in academic freedom and tenure." They tried to consult with the AAUP, but the AAUP itself was divided on the issue and did not respond at the time. The first two drafts were rejected by the presidents. A third draft was presented at a meeting of the AAU in February, 1953, just as HUAC was about to launch its investigation of college faculties. In March they released their statement, "The Rights and Responsibilities of Universities and Their Faculties," signed by all 37 presidents, including President Fred of Wisconsin. The statement said that "present membership in the Communist Party . . . extinguishes the right to a university position," and on the vexing question of how to deal with those who take the Fifth Amendment to avoid testifying in a Congressional investigation, it maintained

If he is called upon to answer for his convictions, it is his duty as a citizen to speak out. It is even more definitely his duty as a professor. Refusal to do so, on whatever legal grounds, cannot fail to reflect on a profession that claims for itself the fullest freedom to speak and the maximum protection of that freedom available in our society. In this respect, invocation of the Fifth Amendment places upon a professor a

heavy burden of proof of his fitness to hold a teaching position and lays upon his university an obligation to reexamine his qualifications for membership in its society (Schrecker, 1986, pp. 187-189).

President Fred was not happy with the statement. He consulted with his Wisconsin colleagues and reported to the drafting committee that they thought the key paragraph invoking the professor's obligation for complete candor "proceeds from an impossible premise to a doubtful conclusion." They also argued that the statement was not "consistent with our traditional notions of academic freedom for academic authorities to say to their teachers: You answer when asked, or else!" Fred reluctantly signed the statement with the understanding that his objections would be considered if the AAU issued a revised version (Schrecker, 1986, p. 189). But the AAU did not.

The University of Wisconsin dodged the bullet when none of its faculty were called to testify before the investigating committees, even though some of its faculty had once been members of the Communist Party. At other institutions, however, it is estimated that at least 100 college and university teachers lost their jobs as a result of investigations, and an informal blacklist prevented most of them from obtaining other academic positions (Fried, 1990, p. 173). It is impossible to know how many others were not hired, renewed, or promoted because of their political beliefs. Even guilt by association could be lethal. When I was an undergraduate, I attended a debate between one of the three leftist professors fired by the University of Washington and an anti-Communist spokesman conducted off-campus in the county courthouse. A brilliant young assistant professor of government—one of my all-time favorite professors—volunteered to be the moderator for the debate. The next year he was let go, I suspected because of his participation in the affair, even though he clearly was a liberal and not a Communist.

During the McCarthyism period and for some years after there was strong pressure for universities to institute loyalty oaths, like the one at the University of California, and to dismiss professors who were Communists or former Communists or those who pled the Fifth Amendment to avoid testifying. The presidents of three Big Ten universities in states neighboring Wisconsin—Minnesota, Northwestern, and Michigan State—sent messages to the University of Washington Board of Regents supporting their action in firing three professors for their political beliefs. When three University of Michigan faculty members refused to testify before a state legislative committee, they were suspended, and a review committee recommended the dismissal of two. In Illinois the legislature created a Seditious Activities Investigation Commission, which tried to get the tax exemption withdrawn from the University of Chicago and Roosevelt College, but none of its proposals were enacted into law. Even Harvard, which tried to create a public

image of defying McCarthy, had a mixed record in defending academic freedom. There is evidence that Harvard pressured faculty members who were ex-Communists to inform on their former party associates when asked to do so by the FBI. Harvard defended the academic freedom of tenured faculty, but did not extend the same protections to nontenured faculty, administrators, or graduate students (O'Brien, 1980, pp. 194-195). When James B. Conant was President of Harvard, he had a policy of not hiring Communist professors, and this policy was endorsed by a 2-to-1 vote of the faculty. When Pusey succeeded him in 1953, he continued the same policy and also expressed strong disapproval of taking the Fifth Amendment to avoid testifying in investigations (Lipset and Riesman, 1975, pp. 193-194).

In Wisconsin various groups also sought to impose policies that would impair civil liberties and academic freedom, but the University of Wisconsin-Madison was successful in repelling almost all assaults. No censorship was imposed by the state, and no loyalty oath was required of professors. No legislative investigating committee called any faculty member to testify. No faculty members were discharged for their political beliefs or memberships. Its success in withstanding numerous attempted assaults on academic freedom and freedom of speech was due in large part to the shrewd and skillful management of E. B. Fred, who was President from 1945 to 1958—all through the McCarthyism period. He successfully defended the right of the Labor Youth League, a Communist youth organization, to have a chapter on campus, and the right of student organizations to invite any speakers of their own choosing to appear on campus—including Communists. A resolution to investigate the university was passed by the legislature but only after there was an understanding between Fred and moderate Republican Governor Warren Knowles that it would be diverted to analyze the university's overall needs. When Frank J. Sensenbrenner, a McCarthy supporter on the Board of Regents, proposed to reprint and distribute several thousand copies of a speech by the ultra-conservative Clarence Manion at his own expense, Fred pointed out Manion's biased interpretation of the Bill of Rights, but cordially agreed that it was a good idea to distribute important speeches. He suggested, however, that a better idea might be to distribute pamphlets of the "best speeches given by some of our own staff members," for which funds were not currently available. Sensenbrenner dropped the subject (O'Brien, 1980, pp. 196-199).

The University of Wisconsin also stood up to the US Armed Forces in rejecting some stringent loyalty measures. The US Armed Forces Institute held contracts with many universities to provide correspondence courses for servicemen, but during the McCarthyism period it added a clause to the contract in 1953 requiring that the "contractor shall not employ or retain . . . such persons as are disapproved by the government." Thirty-two

universities agreed to the new stipulation, but Wisconsin was among fourteen that refused to sign.

At that time service in the Reserve Officer's Training Corps (ROTC) was compulsory for male students in land-grant universities for two years, and in 1954 the Defense Department required a loyalty oath for all entrants. At Wisconsin the army excluded a sophomore student because he admitted he once knew a man who had been investigated by the FBI. The army refused to issue him a uniform and even suggested that he might train in civilian clothes. The university and the ACLU protested vigorously, and after several weeks of controversy, the embarrassed army retreated and issued the student a uniform. With pressure from Wisconsin and other universities, the oath was changed simply to affirm support of the government and the constitution (O'Brien, 1980, pp. 199-200).

Extra-legal Federal "Intelligence" Activity

With the fall of McCarthy, the Second Red Scare began to subside, but it did not disappear as the Cold War gained momentum. President Truman had wanted the CIA to be merely an intelligence gathering service that would prepare an intelligence digest for the President each day. President Eisenhower, however, appointed as Director of the agency Allen Dulles, who had little interest in intelligence and devoted most of his efforts to mounting covert operations against other nations. Most were unsuccessful, but the CIA had notable successes in overthrowing democratic governments in Iran, Guatemala, and Indonesia and installing anti-Communist dictatorships. Joseph McCarthy had been a close family friend of the whole Kennedy family, including John F. Kennedy and Robert Kennedy. John believed that half of his Catholic constituents were strong supporters of McCarthy, and he defended him. His brother Robert served as minority counsel on McCarthy's investigating committee. When John F. Kennedy succeeded Eisenhower as President, he and his younger brother Robert were even more enthusiastic about covert black operations than Eisenhower had been, showing little regard for international law. Eisenhower had authorized 170 major CIA covert operations in eight years; the Kennedys launched 163 in less than three years (Weiner, 2007, p. 180).

In 1975-76 the Church Committee investigation of intelligence activities revealed the sordid record of US attempts to assassinate foreign leaders and covert actions to subvert foreign governments. On its recommendation President Ford issued a ban on extralegal murder and assassinations by the intelligence agencies, but after the Sept. 11, 2001, terrorist attack on the World Trade Center, President George W. Bush removed the restriction. The Bush Administration came under attack for the use of torture in

interrogating suspected terrorists and detaining them in secret “dark” prisons in other countries and in Guantanamo Naval Base, beyond the reach of US judicial processes. The Obama Administration preferred to use armed drones remote controlled from a base in Nevada and cruise missiles to carry out extra-judicial killings of suspected terrorists, even in countries such as Pakistan, Somalia, and Yemen, with which we were not officially at war, apparently in preference to capturing and interrogating them. This avoided the problem of finding countries willing to detain the suspects and protected US officials from charges of using torture. The US military started asserting that the whole world is our battlefield, and it was prepared to kill suspected terrorists wherever they might be found. The CIA and JSOC (Joint Special Operations Command) were “unleashed” by President Obama. The CIA became almost entirely a combat arm, largely abandoning its statutory purpose of gathering and evaluating intelligence. It was frequently at odds with the State Department, which worried that the drone attacks created more terrorists than they killed, but President Obama usually sided with JSOC and the CIA (Mazzetti, 2013). A similar charge was made by Jeremy Scahill in his scathing book, *Dirty Wars*:

Using drones, cruise missiles and Special Ops raids, the United States has embarked on a mission to kill its way to victory. The war on terror, launched under a Republican administration, was ultimately legitimized and expanded by a popular Democratic president. Although Barack Obama’s ascent to the most powerful office on earth was the result of myriad factors, it was largely due to the desire of millions of Americans to shift course from the excesses of the Bush era. Had John McCain won the election, it is difficult to imagine such widespread support, particularly among liberal Democrats, for some of the very counterterrorism policies that Obama implemented. As individuals, we must all ask whether we would support the same policies—the expansion of drone strikes, the empowerment of JSOC, the use of the State Secrets Privilege, the use of indefinite detention, the denial of habeas corpus rights, the targeting of US citizens without charge or trial—if the commander in chief was not our candidate of choice (Scahill, 2013, p. 516).

The Cuban Revolution

The overthrow of the dictator Fulgencio Batista in Cuba by revolutionary forces directed by Fidel Castro presented one of the major crises of the Cold War. Batista had been an elected President from 1940 to 1944 and was then supported by the Communist Party in Cuba, but after he seized power in 1952 in a military coup, he turned fervently anti-Communist and thereby

gained political and military support from the United States. He and his cronies were utterly corrupt and profited greatly from opening up the country to economic domination by American corporations and American gangsters, who controlled the extensive gambling and vice operations. Castro, a young lawyer, organized a guerilla revolutionary group to overthrow Batista, starting in 1953. It was unsuccessful in the early years, but because of the unpopularity of the Batista regime, it gradually gained greater support. The United States even helped out by imposing an embargo on the shipment of military equipment and aid to Cuba. The revolutionary forces triumphed in January, 1959, and Batista fled the country.

Castro visited the United States and insisted that he and his associates were not Communists, and the new government embarked on an ambitious program of agrarian reform and the promotion of literacy. When Cuba nationalized all foreign property, all church property, and the private property of the wealthiest Cubans, the United States turned savagely against Cuba. Eisenhower froze all Cuban assets in the US, severed diplomatic relations, and tightened its embargo of Cuba. If the regime was not Communist initially, it soon became so, pushed by economic necessity into the arms of the Soviet Union. Fearing that the Cuban revolution might ignite similar movements in other Latin American and African nations, Eisenhower approved a plan by Allen Dulles for the CIA to organize a counterrevolutionary invasion by Cuban exiles. He left office before it could take place, but John F. Kennedy approved the plan shortly after taking office. On April 17, 1961, with help from the CIA over 1400 paramilitaries departed from Guatemala and invaded Cuba at the Bay of Pigs. The invaders were defeated within three days by the Cuban army, and most of the invaders were captured. After the debacle Kennedy fired Dulles and at first wanted to abolish the CIA, but instead he put his brother Robert in charge of its covert activities.

Cuba became a preoccupation of the American government after that. The greatest crisis came, however, in October, 1962. Although the US did not announce it publicly, it had placed intercontinental ballistic missiles capable of reaching Moscow in Italy and Turkey, and in retaliation Nikita Khrushchev reached an agreement with Fidel Castro to place Soviet missiles capable of reaching Washington DC in Cuba. During a 12-day standoff the US and the USSR stood on the brink of nuclear war, since the Kennedys were determined to use force to prevent the installation of missiles in Cuba. During the confrontation nuclear bombs were secretly set off in the atmosphere, a fact that might have created panic if it had been disclosed to the public (Jacobsen, 2015). My family and I were in the San Francisco Bay area at the time, not far from a number of prime nuclear targets, and I well remember the palpable fear that gripped everyone. We, like most other people, stocked up on groceries to prepare for the worst. Fortunately, the

crisis ended when Khrushchev agreed to dismantle and remove all offensive missiles in Cuba in exchange for Kennedy's promise not to invade Cuba again and to remove the Jupiter medium-range ballistic missiles from Italy and Turkey, the presence of which was still unknown to the American public ("Cuban Revolution," n.d.; "Cuban Missile Crisis," n.d.).

The Cuban Revolution had an impact on the careers of only a handful of American scholars, but one of them was our own Maurice Zeitlin. Zeitlin received an M.A. in sociology at the University of California-Berkeley in 1960, where he was an activist involved in campaigns against capital punishment, rallies against HUAC, picketing in support of the civil rights movement, producing leaflets supporting the Cuban revolution, and making many long speeches in defense of Cuba at Sather Gate on the Berkeley campus. While still an ABD he was appointed an Instructor in Sociology and Anthropology at Princeton University in 1961 and Research Associate in Princeton's Center of International Studies in 1962. During the summer of 1961 he went to Cuba to do research for his dissertation on the revolution and workers' consciousness. He completed his research in Cuba the next summer and returned to Princeton just before the Cuban missile crisis erupted in October, 1962. Soon after, Zeitlin was notified that Princeton was terminating his employment, effective at the end of the 1963-64 academic year. Zeitlin later wrote in an autobiographical account for the Berkeley Alumni Organization,

If the interpretations of my being "let go" vary, the facts are not in dispute: the president of the university [Robert F. Goheen] had called the department's chairman [Charles H. Page], as he later told me, to evince "concern" about my frequent public criticism of American foreign policy toward Cuba (my first book, with Bob Scheer, *Cuba: Tragedy in our Hemisphere*, came out in the summer of 1963), and the *Daily Princetonian* and some alumni letters had publicly urged that Princeton fire me ("Maurice Zeitlin (1958)," n.d.).

Zeitlin did receive his PhD from Berkeley in 1964 with a dissertation on "Working Class Politics in Cuba: A Study in Political Sociology," with Seymour Martin Lipset as his advisor. Zeitlin also confided in his alumnus account,

I'd have been out of a job and out of a career if not for the fact that among the burgeoning faculty of sociology at UW-MSN were three UCB alumni [Bob Alford, Jay Demerath, and Warren Hagstrom] who managed to convince a skeptical Ed Borgatta, then chairman, to hire me as an assistant professor in the fall of 1964. So I say two cheers for the Old Boy network. I got promoted to assoc prof in 1968 and to full professor

in 1970. But I often wonder how, since those were years, in Madison, of my deep involvement in the intensifying anti-Vietnam war movement, in rallies, protests, and demonstrations on campus, which were met at their high point by massed helmeted police with billy clubs and shields and national guard troops armed with live ammunition and bayonets, buttressed by a tank that sat high on a hill overlooking the campus (“Maurice Zeitlin (1958),” n.d.)

I doubt if Borgatta was really reluctant, for most of his political views were leftist. I never knew him to be concerned about the politics of a candidate. He only wanted to make sure that a prospect was likely to be a sound, productive scholar, and Zeitlin showed all the signs. His lecture at his job interview was enthusiastically received, and I immediately became a strong supporter. Given his sense of wonderment that his career thrived at Wisconsin, I think he underestimated the commitment of our department to Wisconsin’s tradition of “sifting and winnowing,” even if some other departments were less committed. When I was department chair the Dean of Letters and Science once asked me about Zeitlin’s objectivity in his writing about Cuba, but I assured him that though Zeitlin did not believe that value-free sociology was possible or desirable and never hid his own value commitments, he was an impeccable scholar who always respected the facts. I regarded him as one of our best and most productive researchers as well as one of our most charismatic teachers. The dean never again raised any question about Zeitlin. Zeitlin was very much in the public eye as an activist and participant in rallies and demonstrations against the war in Vietnam, but his political activities were never a consideration when he was considered for promotion to associate professor and full professor. His progress through the ranks was very rapid—from assistant professor to full professor in only six years. His radical views and activism were accepted with equanimity and good humor within the department. George Bohrnstedt remembers twitting Zeitlin at one of Ed Borgatta’s parties: “Maurice, don’t you think it is a bit incongruous that you embrace socialism but you’re driving around in a Mercedes?” He replied, ‘Absolutely not, I think everybody should drive a Mercedes!’ I loved his response and never forgot it” (George W. Bohrnstedt, personal communication, June 5, 2016).

The Golden Fleece Awards and Attacks on Human Sexuality Research, 1975-2015

A new threat to academic freedom emerged from a completely unexpected source in 1975—Wisconsin’s Senator William Proxmire. Proxmire was for the most part a liberal Democrat, but at the same time a fiscal conservative.

After earning a bachelor's degree from Yale and two master's degrees from Harvard and serving in counterintelligence in the Army during World War II, he was elected to the Wisconsin State Assembly. He ran unsuccessfully for governor of Wisconsin in 1952, 1954, and 1956. When Joseph McCarthy died he ran for the unfinished US Senate term and was elected in 1957. He is reported to have called McCarthy "a disgrace to Wisconsin, to the Senate, and to America," but he was still able to win the support of many conservatives because of his fiscal conservatism. He refused to take any campaign contributions and spent less than \$200 out of his own pocket in each of his election campaigns—largely for filing fees and return postage for unsolicited contributions. He was an early advocate of campaign finance reform, and he irritated his colleagues by voting against every bill to raise their own salaries. Over the years he returned \$900,000 from his Senate office allowance to the US Treasury. He wore inexpensive suits and declined to seek reimbursement for travel or limousine service. He was a diligent senator and holds the record for consecutive roll call votes, which were cast over a 22-year period.

Early in his term he clashed with Senate majority leader Lyndon Johnson, because he thought Johnson was compromising too much on civil rights legislation. He was always the strongest Senate opponent of "corporate welfare" legislation, and led the fight to force lenders and credit card companies to disclose their true interest rates. He was an outspoken opponent of the war in Vietnam, and for 19 years made a daily speech in the Senate urging ratification of the Convention on Genocide. After making 3,211 speeches on the subject, the Senate finally ratified the convention by a vote of 83-11 in 1986. He was devoted to personal fitness, writing a book on the subject, and in his prime jogging ten miles a day and doing 100 push-ups. Proxmire never ceased to engage in personal press-the-flesh campaigning, and with his maverick image became very popular in the state, winning reelection to five 6-year terms by commanding majorities, as high as 73 percent (Sivero, 2005; "William Proxmire," n.d.). When he was first elected to the Senate to replace Joseph McCarthy, he was also popular and welcomed by most Wisconsin sociologists.

In the early 1970s Senator Proxmire was Chair of a Subcommittee of the Senate Appropriations Committee that oversaw the National Science Foundation. In keeping with his propensity to cut budgets, he asked Congress to deny a proposed 30 percent increase in the NSF budget for fiscal year 1974. He described the proposal as "capricious budget planning which is simply an attempt to supply more chips for a great many academic congames" (quoted in Shaffer, 1977, p. 816). The next year he intensified his scrutiny of NSF grants in the social and behavioral sciences and initiated what he called "Golden Fleece Awards" to individual projects and investigators. In

his press releases he described the research as unneeded, frivolous, and an outrageous waste of taxpayers' money.

The very first Golden Fleece Award was bestowed on our own Elaine Hatfield, a social psychologist in the Wisconsin Sociology Department. Hatfield, with her colleagues Mary Utne O'Brien and Jane Traupmann Pillemer, had received an \$84,000 grant from NSF to investigate the importance of equity in romantic relationships—for example, are couples more likely to get involved if they perceive themselves to be similar in looks, intelligence, education, and other desirable qualities? Proxmire issued a press release on March 11, 1975, attacking the project:

My choice for the biggest waste of the taxpayer's money for the month of March has to be the National Science Foundation's squandering of \$84,000 . . . to find out why or if or how long people fall in love. I object to this not only because no one—not even the National Science Foundation—can argue that falling in love is a science, not only because I'm sure that even if they spent \$84 million or \$84 billion they wouldn't get an answer that anyone would believe. I'm also against it because I don't want the answer. I believe that 200 million other Americans want to leave some things in life a mystery, and right on top of the things we don't want to know is why a man falls in love with a woman and vice versa. So National Science Foundation—get out of the love racket (quoted in Shaffer, 1977, p. 816, and Hatfield, 2006, p. 5).

In the following weeks Proxmire heaped ridicule on thirteen researchers on love and sex, including a number of eminent scientists, for their “scientific boondoggles” and “con games.” Proxmire got the reaction he wanted, creating a feeding frenzy in the press, with stories picked up by newspapers around the world. The public was also aroused. The tabloid *Chicago Daily News* ran a contest in which readers could call up and vote whether Proxmire or Hatfield was right. Proxmire won, 87.5 percent to 12.5 percent (Hatfield, 2006, p. 7). Many prominent voices, however, defended the love and sex research and NSF's peer review system, including Barry Goldwater, James Reston of the *New York Times*, three University of Chicago Nobel Prize winners, and the editor of *Science*.

At a Wisconsin Faculty Senate meeting on April 14, 1975, the four Department of Sociology senators (John DeLamater, Richard Schoenherr, Gerald Marwell, and Hal Winsborough) introduced a resolution criticizing Proxmire's attacks on social scientists:

That the UW-Madison Faculty Senate deplores the damage that is being done to basic research and to freedom of scientific inquiry by

irresponsible and inaccurate attacks of the kind Senator William Proxmire recently made on research supported by the National Science Foundation including research conducted by one of our colleagues, Professor Elaine Walster [Hatfield]. . . . To instead make attacks on individual scientists' projects, through the mass media and on insufficient knowledge, is a threat to freedom of scientific inquiry which the Faculty Senate can only view with deep dismay (quoted in Shaffer, 1977, p. 817).

William H. Sewell also spoke in favor of the resolution:

I consider Senator Proxmire's attack in the public press against Professor Elaine Walster's research not only to be unfair to a valued member of this faculty but more importantly to constitute a serious menace to basic research and the freedom of scientific inquiry which all academic bodies must do their utmost to protect. It is important to realize that this threat is not simply to social scientists but, on the basis of what we now know, to basic research in the biological and physical sciences and humanities as well. . . . I see the Senator's current newspaper campaign, which so far has been concentrated on social science projects, to be primarily an attack on the peer review system of the National Science Foundation and indirectly on this system as it operates in other federal agencies. . . . This system, although not perfect, is the best yet devised for determining the merit of research proposals. . . . My second point is that I believe the Senator's attack to be directed against, and to the degree that it succeeds, damaging to the whole concept of basic research. . . . Finally, I believe that it is both irresponsible and unethical for a U.S. Senator to use his office and his access to the mass media to misrepresent an individual scholar's work by quoting selected phrases and words out of context. . . . No word except demagoguery can describe such actions, and they must be condemned by serious people in all areas of scholarship (UW Archives 24/9/3, Box 224, Sociology).

The resolution passed by a vote of 84 to 1.

Proxmire was delighted with the response he got with his Golden Fleece awards and redoubled his efforts. He received a lot of free publicity, keeping his name before the public and making it unnecessary to depend on campaign contributions to purchase media advertising. In spite of his pose as a defender of the public purse, he also made record use of the franking privilege (free postage), and was the Senate's most prolific issuer of press releases, which he distributed to more than 250 media outlets as well as inserting them in the *Congressional Record* (Hutchinson, 2006). The *Washington Post* called the Golden Fleece Awards "the most successful public

relations device in politics today” (“Golden Fleece Award,” n.d.). Sensing a good thing, he continued his attacks on Hatfield’s research. She recounted,

This silliness went on for many years. The news stories began to swirl around like some kind of toxic cosmic dust. Senator Proxmire would return to Madison on a Sunday (to attend a Badgers’ football game), he’d take that opportunity to appear on a local TV show denouncing (sigh!) love research. I would be asked to reply. On Monday, one of Senator Proxmire’s comic writers would issue a devastatingly funny press release (inaccurate but beguiling) about the inanities of our love and sex research. By Tuesday morning, I’d be reeling from its aftershock. On Wednesday, the fallout would be settling in near Tokyo (Hatfield, 2006, pp. 7-8).

Each attack generated a deluge of hostile mail, delivered by the bagful—including letters with angry and abusive comments, bizarre calligraphy, “blood curdling threats,” and just plain craziness. Being a somewhat shy person, she found the whole affair very painful, and she says she did not cope very well. The hate mail she received, however, inspired her to write her first novel, *Rosie*—the first of a dozen books of fiction. Proxmire’s attacks led NSF to revoke Hatfield’s \$84,000 grant (“Elaine Hatfield Collection,” 2005). The Program Director for Social Psychology at NSF suggested that she not submit any grant proposals to NSF for a while until things cooled off. She took his advice, and from that time on sought only nongovernment funding for her research (Hatfield, 2006, p. 7).



ELAINE C. HATFIELD
(UW ARCHIVES)

Hatfield left the University of Wisconsin a year later and took a professorship in the Department of Psychology at the University of Hawaii. At Hawaii she continued to build a stellar career, and came to be recognized as one of the nation’s top scholars in relationship science. She has been President of the Society for the Scientific Study of Sex and has received Distinguished Scientist Awards from the Society of Experimental Social Psychology, the Society for the Scientific Study of Sex, and the University of Hawaii. She has also received the Alfred Kinsey Award from the Mid-Western Region of SSSS and the William James Award for a lifetime of scientific achievement from the Association for Psychological Science. Two of her books

have won the American Psychological Association's National Media Award ("Elaine C. Hatfield," 2011). She who laughs last, laughs best.

Proxmire did not limit himself to ridiculing love and sex research. His second Golden Fleece was awarded in April, 1975, to Ronald R. Hutchinson, a psychologist at Kalamazoo State Mental Hospital. He had been doing highly respected research on biological markers of tendencies toward aggression under stressful conditions, such as jaw-clenching, primarily through studies of animal behavior patterns. Over the previous seven years he had received some \$500,000 in grants from NASA and the Navy, which were both concerned with finding ways to alleviate problems caused by confining humans in close quarters for long periods of time. Proxmire's press release contained ridicule, misrepresentations, quotations out of context, caustic humor, and *ad hominum* arguments—features that characterized nearly all of his attacks on science projects:

Dr. Hutchinson's studies should make the taxpayers as well as his monkeys grind their teeth. In fact, the good doctor has made a fortune from his monkeys and in the process made a monkey out of the American taxpayer. It is time for the Federal Government to get out of this "monkey business." In view of the transparent worthlessness of Hutchinson's study of jaw-grinding and biting by angry or hard-drinking monkeys, it is time we put a stop to the bite Hutchinson and the bureaucrats who fund him have been taking of the taxpayer (Benson, 2006).

Print, radio, and television media found this story irresistible also. Hutchinson assumed at first that the irresponsible attack would soon "blow over," but it did not: "My children were harassed at school for having a crook for a father, my fire insurance was cancelled as the company sought distance from an unsavory character, and anonymous death threats came in the mail" (Hutchinson, 2006). Over the next nine months he was contacted almost weekly by an official from a federal agency reporting that Proxmire and his staff were pursuing their attack on him. They characterized the harassment as "angry, confrontational, and involving implicit threats of further media attacks." Soon Hutchinson's research grants and contract support were terminated by all the agencies, and all support for his research and for his own salary was ended. He found it difficult to get new grants from government agencies for the next few years.

Proxmire had assumed that as a US Senator he could attack and ridicule government-funded science projects with impunity, but Hutchinson decided to fight back. He filed an \$8 million libel suit against Proxmire and one of his staff charging them with defamation, invasion of privacy, loss of income, and infliction of mental cruelty. Proxmire responded seeking a summary

judgment and dismissal by the Federal district court in Wisconsin, which was granted. An appeal to the US Court of Appeals was also dismissed, again with little apparent consideration of the legal arguments from Hutchinson's lawyer. When Hutchinson appealed to the US Supreme Court, however, it granted certiorari, meaning that it would review the lower court's decision. Leadership in the US Senate and House, as well as the American Society of Newspaper Editors and National Newspaper Association submitted amicus briefs supporting Proxmire. Fellow scholars raised over \$90,000 for a legal defense fund for Hutchinson, and the American Psychological Association and the American Association for the Advancement of Science filed amicus briefs with the Supreme Court. Elaine Hatfield and Robert Barron of Purdue University also submitted affidavits detailing their experiences after receiving Golden Fleece awards (Hutchinson, 2006).

In 1980 the Supreme Court issued its ruling, and Hutchinson won by an 8-1 vote of the justices. They created new precedents, ruling that a Senator is not immune from liability for defamatory statements made outside of formal Congressional proceedings. They also ruled that mere receipt of a research grant or publication of scientific work does not make one a public figure without the right of privacy. Hutchinson then offered the same terms for a settlement that he had originally offered Proxmire, and this time the offer was accepted. After negotiations, Proxmire agreed to pay all court costs, pay \$10,000 to Hutchinson, make an apology on the floor of the Senate, which would be distributed to his original 250 media outlets, and write personal letters to two dozen federal agencies "promising not to interfere in the executive deliberation of grant proposals nor attempt to intercede in opposition to them" (Hutchinson, 2006).

After that, Proxmire omitted the names of the investigators in projects that received Golden Fleece Awards. The pace of awards to science projects also slowed, from about four a year in the 1970s to one a year in the 1980s. Of the 168 Golden Fleece Awards issued monthly between 1975 and 1988 only about two dozen were given for scientific research projects and an even smaller number for behavioral science projects, though the latter received the most media play. A majority skewered egregious costs in government procurement, financial mismanagement, and pork-barrel development projects. These may have had some socially beneficial effects, but the same cannot be said for the attacks on science projects.

The science awards clearly had a chilling effect on science in general and hobbled the careers of a number of able scientists. Ellen Berscheid, a University of Minnesota psychologist and frequent collaborator with Hatfield was a co-recipient of the first Golden Fleece Award for love research. She blamed the Fleece award for a number of calamities—the loss of her marriage, her car, her dog, and the dream of an early retirement (Benson,

2006). Sociologist Pierre van den Berghe of the University of Washington had a \$97,000 NIMH grant to study cultural friction in Peru, but he was given a Golden Fleece Award in 1978 when Proxmire singled out a tiny portion of the study involving a brothel in Peru that involved an expenditure of no more than \$100 and was covered in a single paragraph in a 325-page final report. The press release created the impression that the entire study was about Peruvian brothels. Van den Berghe claimed that his subsequent proposals to return to Peru were rejected by NSF and the Fulbright Foundation for political reasons. He was bitter about Proxmire's use of anti-intellectual politics for personal advantage (Irion, 1988).

Senator Proxmire retired from the Senate in January, 1989, and did not continue the Golden Fleece Award as a private citizen, though he was asked to do so by many people. He later developed Alzheimer's disease and died in a nursing home in Virginia in 2005 at age 90.

Perhaps the most long-lasting effect of the Golden Fleece Awards that were bestowed on science projects is that they served to create a greater public distrust of basic science and scientists. Joel Widder, a senior analyst for legislative affairs at NSF commented, "Making fun of science in general, especially when it's taken out of context, seems detrimental to what might be a long-term national goal: To try to develop, educate, and train additional people in scientific fields" (Irion, 1988).

Proxmire's legacy lives on, however, though subsequent efforts to deny funding for research on human sexuality have been prompted more from religious moral grounds, whereas Proxmire relied on secular arguments. Almost three decades later John DeLamater ran afoul of the new Puritanism embraced by socially conservative Congressmen. A social psychologist, he succeeded Elaine Hatfield as the department's primary specialist on human sexuality and intimate relationships, and he came to be recognized as one of the nation's most eminent researchers in the field. In 2002 he put together a group of human sexuality researchers at the University of Wisconsin, the University of Chicago, and Indiana University who submitted a proposal to the Eunice Kennedy Shriver National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (NICHD) for a \$200,000 doctoral program to train researchers in human sexuality. It was to be a multidisciplinary and multi-institutional program that would accept two doctoral students each year and require that they complete portions of their training at two of the three campuses. Students would enroll in doctoral programs in sociology or psychology and would take some courses from the program staff that were taught by multidisciplinary teams. Students would specialize in some aspect of human sexuality, such as HIV prevention or teen pregnancy prevention. Several scholars representing different disciplines on each campus agreed to participate in the training. Officials at NICHD were strongly interested in

the proposal and were encouraging.

The Wisconsin State Journal's education reporter interviewed DeLamater about the proposal and quoted him as saying, "Scientists don't have enough impact on decisions being made by bureaucrats and politicians." He cited as an example the government's continued funding of abstinence-only sex education programs and stated, "We absolutely know that doesn't work" (Rivedal, 2002). He went on to say that the participants in the project chose to tie the training program to departments of sociology and psychology, since there were no recognized departments of sexology in American universities, unlike in Europe. DeLamater said that he did not want to fight that battle, but he emphasized that research in the area was very much needed. He pointed to the millions of dollars spent on HIV prevention and AIDS research, abortion, and infertility treatments. "People's attitudes and decisions about sexual activity have tremendous social and economic results."

A Republican Congressman saw DeLamater's statement about abstinence-only education, and began organizing opposition to the grant. Within two weeks 30 Republican Congressmen signed a letter of protest sent to Tommy Thompson, the Secretary of Health and Human Services (HHS)—and former governor of Wisconsin. They asked the Secretary to prevent NICHD from approving the grant, because the training program would not be "fair and balanced" since it would not discuss abstinence-only sex education.

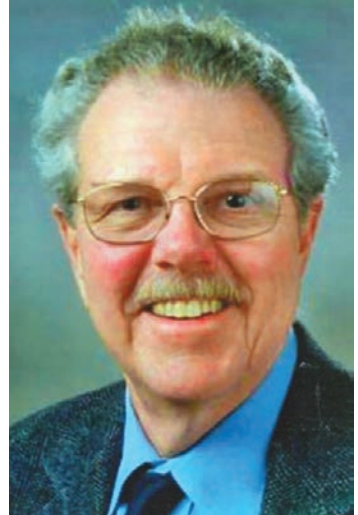
We are writing to express our deep concern that the National Institutes of Health may be asked to provide \$200,000 of federal grant monies to fund a program that could have the unintended consequence of harming the health of our nation's youth. . . . Certainly, [DeLamater] the director of this program has made his agenda quite clear and it ignores the science in regards to the positive impact of both promoting and practicing sexual abstinence. We therefore have no other conclusion than to believe that this program would not produce fair and balanced work. The health of our children is too important to entrust to those who put personal biases above sound public health science. . . . Contrary to the opinion of Mr. DeLamater, abstinence education programs have been effective in reducing the sexual activities of America's youth. . . . Because of the overwhelming evidence demonstrating the effectiveness of abstinence education, we respectfully disagree with Mr. DeLamater's dismissal of their effectiveness. We ask that the National Institutes of Health reject the University of Wisconsin's request for funding of their graduate fellowship program (letter reproduced in DeLamater, 2003).

They then asked that HHS instead increase funding for research “to better understand the value of abstinence-only education in terms of prevention of STDs, unwanted pregnancies and other negative health consequences that result from becoming sexually active at a young age.” Among the signatories were Reps. David Weldon (R-FL), Jim Ryan (R-KS), Joe Wilson (R-SC), Steve Chabot (R-OH), Melissa Hart (R-PA), Chris Smith (R-NJ), Sue Myrick (R-VA), Randy Forbes (R-VA), Jim DeMint (R-SC), and Joe Pitts (R-PA). Under strong political pressure, NICHD asked for the withdrawal of the training proposal.

Unlike Elaine Hatfield, Delamater has not completely abandoned federal agencies as a possible source for support of research on sexual and intimate behavior, but with dwindling support for research on many important topics in the field, he has turned more and more to funding his research from his own personal funds.

It did not matter that DeLamater was correct and was merely citing the objective research in the field. Federal funding of abstinence-only education began in 1982, but was greatly accelerated when conservative Congressmen slipped a little noticed provision into the Clinton welfare reform bill in 1996 providing much greater funding. It became a part of the Social Security Act, giving it a long livelihood. Since 1998 over \$1.5 billion in state and federal funds have been appropriated for abstinence-only and abstinence-only-until-marriage programs, which are geared to preventing teens—or sometimes all unmarried people—from engaging in all sexual activity. The federal government even specified that these programs must have as their “exclusive purpose” the promotion of abstinence outside of marriage and that they must not in any way advocate contraceptive use or discuss contraceptive methods, except to emphasize their failure rate. It is transparently a program to indoctrinate young people with certain religious values in the guise of a public health measure.

Government funding for such programs continued year after year, justified by questionable studies that do not meet accepted standards of research (Kirby, 2002). The ten studies identified by the Heritage Foundation that were cited in the Congressmen’s letter were among those dismissed by Kirby as inadequate on methodological grounds. Since 2002 a large number of new studies carried out with adequate research procedures have also shown



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convincingly that abstinence-only programs are not effective in achieving their goals, and they leave students in ignorance about contraceptives and other topics of vital importance for their sexual health (D. Hauser, 2004; Trenholm, 2007; Kirby, 2007). Some advocates of abstinence-only programs maintained that providing comprehensive sex education increased sexual activity among teens, but research studies show overwhelmingly that comprehensive programs do not hasten onset of intercourse, increase the frequency of sexual activity, increase the number of sexual partners, or decrease the use of condoms and contraceptives (DeLamater, 2003).

In Wisconsin the struggle over the nature of sexual education in the schools has continued. The federal Special Projects of Regional and National Significance (SPRANS) program began in 2001 to fund abstinence education programs for young people, ages 12 to 18, across the country. Recipient schools or organizations had to agree not to provide any other education regarding sexual conduct in the same setting. In 2007 the Wisconsin Family Planning and Reproductive Health Association sent the Wisconsin governor, James Doyle, a letter outlining the limitations of the SPRANS programs and asked him to “do no harm” and turn down the funds. Stephanie Marquis, a spokesperson for the Wisconsin Department of Health and Family Services, also said, “The issue is it requires abstinence only education, and really the best model for preventing pregnancy and STDs is having multiple approaches. It’s not really a moral decision for us, it’s about health.” Governor Doyle, a Democrat, did refuse SPRANS funds, joining California, Connecticut, Maine, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania in this action (Fox, 2007).

There was growing concern about the failure of existing sex education programs in Wisconsin, for in 2008 there were 6,096 babies born to mothers under the age of 20, with over 90 percent in the Wisconsin Medicaid program. The rate of sexually transmitted diseases among teens 15 to 19 increased 53 percent between 1997 and 2007. In 2010 Doyle signed into law the Healthy Youth Act, which prohibited an abstinence-only curriculum in the state. A school district was not required to have a sex education program, but if it did, it had to be a comprehensive program that included age-appropriate, medically accurate information about sexually transmitted diseases and birth control. Madison and Milwaukee schools already had comprehensive programs, but such programs were less common in other parts of the state (Vanegeren, 2011).

When Scott Walker became governor and Republicans captured both houses of the legislature, the clock was turned back. They introduced a bill, entitled Strong Communities . . . Healthy Kids, to dismantle the Healthy Youth Act. It did not require school districts to have abstinence-only programs, but it permitted them to do so if they so chose. Sen. Glenn Grothman (R-West Bend) said, “We are trying to back away from the bill passed last

year that we feel mandated sex ed that was too nonjudgmental, too explicit and at too young an age.” Sen. Dave Hansen (D-Green Bay) spoke of a school district in northern Wisconsin that had an abstinence-only program and had the highest rate of teen pregnancy in the state—“It did not work,” he said (Spicuzza, 2011). In November, 2011, the measure passed the Senate on a 17-15 party-line vote, with the Republican members solidly for it. In March, 2012, the Assembly passed a companion bill by a 60-34 vote, and Governor Walker signed it into law.

The CDC’s 2013 Wisconsin Youth Risk Behavior Survey showed that 35 percent of Wisconsin high school students had already had sexual intercourse, and 10 percent had had intercourse with four or more persons. Corresponding national figures were 47 and 15 percent. It also found that 38 percent of Wisconsin students had not used a condom during their last sexual intercourse, and 11 percent had not used any method to prevent pregnancy during their last sexual intercourse. Risk was enhanced for 22 percent who drank alcohol or used drugs before their last sexual intercourse. Thirteen percent had never been taught in school about AIDS or HIV infection (CDC, 2013). Sex educators believe that when a substantial number of students in a class are already sexually active, an abstinence-only program is almost certain to fail. Most of the students tune-out the instruction, regarding it as out-of-date and irrelevant.

There have been other efforts by Congressmen to deny funding for science projects that they found objectionable. In 2003 Rep. Patrick Toomey (R-PA) proposed an amendment to defund five NIMH projects that dealt with sexual behavior and to deny future funding for similar projects that had already been approved. It was defeated by a narrow margin. Since then Rep. Randy Neugebauer (R-TX) won passage of similar amendments in the House, but these did not become law (Benson, 2006). When such bills are proposed, the American Sociological Association mobilizes lobbying activity in support of the peer review system for determining grant awards. An anti-intellectual current has become increasingly strong in politics, however, that is often described today as a “war on science.” *US News* asks, “Is the GOP Waging a War on Science?” (Jan. 22, 2015), and even the business magazine *Forbes* expresses concern about “how the war on science affects us all” (Jan. 10, 2015). Katrina vanden Heuvel in a *Washington Post* column charged that “the very notion that facts and evidence matter—are being rejected, wholesale, by the 21st-century Republican Party. The contempt with which the party views reason is staggering. Republicans have become proudly and unquestionably anti-science” (Oct. 25, 2011).

Wisconsin Student Protests and Demonstrations, 1960-1974

The University of Wisconsin-Madison was relatively free from assaults on academic freedom from the 1930s to the 1950s, but the rise of student protest movements against the war in Vietnam and in support of rights for African Americans, women, teaching assistants, Native Americans, and other minorities presented new challenges. Student demonstrations became a regular feature of campus life between 1960 and 1974. Most of them were peaceful and nonviolent, not in violation of the law, though they were nevertheless sometimes harassed by the city police, sheriff's deputies, or National Guardsmen. A smaller number of demonstrations involved civil disobedience, such as blocking doors or classrooms and offices or disrupting classes or the normal business of the university. Some involved outright violence—rampaging through the campus or nearby commercial areas breaking windows or firebombing buildings. And in a climactic episode a powerful bomb was set off that did tremendous physical damage, tragically killed a post-doctoral researcher, and injured others. All students, faculty, and staff who lived through the 1960s were indelibly marked by the events. Some became radicalized; others, like graduate students Richard and Lynne Cheney, started on the road toward hard-line conservatism. Some remembered the 60s as a time of excitement and personal growth, others just wanted to forget the dissension and conflict and put it all behind them.

A listing of selected demonstrations from this period is presented in the chart below, containing some of the more significant events from a compilation made by Tyler C. Kennedy and David Null from records in the UW Archives.

Selected Student Demonstrations, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1960-1974	
Feb./March 1960	Students picket Woolworth store on the square for not serving African-Americans at many stores in the South. 500 students demonstrate on the Library Mall March 3.
March 26, 1962	Over 300 students demonstrate against US nuclear testing.
August 1, 1963	Wisconsin students depart from Memorial Union for the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom in a chartered bus, holding a streamer saying "Wisconsin to Washington, Rights—150 Years Overdue."
April 1, 1965	29 Wisconsin faculty members hold a "Teach-In" about the Vietnam War in the Social Sciences Building, with about 1500 students attending.
May 14-16, 1966	Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) organizes a protest against the draft test being administered in the Field House on May 14. On May 16 250 students stage a sit-in at the Peterson Administration Building to protest UW's cooperation with the draft.
Oct., 1966	Dow Chemical Co. conducts employment interviews on the engineering campus. Students protest, and police intervene.
Late Feb., 1967	SDS organizes demonstrations against recruiters from Dow Chemical in Engineering, Chemistry, and Commerce Buildings. Demonstrators blockade Chancellor Fleming's and other offices in Bascom Hall. Madison police arrest 19 who are obstructing students. Fleming posts bail to release them from jail.
April, 1967	Students protest against CIA recruiters on campus, lining both sides of the hall outside the chancellor's office and yelling "Murder!" every time the door opened. After this the CIA advertised in the student newspaper and interviewed off campus.
Oct. 18-19, 1967	Students conduct a massive demonstration blocking the halls of the Commerce Building and preventing students from interviewing for jobs with Dow Chemical and disrupting classes in the building. Campus police are unable to control the crowd and Chancellor Sewell reluctantly calls in the city police, who overreact and charge into the building beating students over the head with billy clubs. Protest leaders call a general strike the next day, and 3000 students rally on Bascom Hill.

April 5, 1968	The day after Martin Luther King, Jr. is assassinated, a huge crowd masses on Bascom Hill and marches up State Street as a memorial. Afterward minority and white students meet and talk together in several classroom buildings.
May 19, 1968	South Hall, the second oldest building on campus, is fire-bombed and gutted. No one claims responsibility.
Mid-Sept., 1968	Freshmen organize a week of protests against compulsory ROTC orientation.
Feb.-March, 1969	The Black Peoples Alliance organizes a strike to demand recruitment of more minority students and faculty and creation of a Black Studies Department. On Feb. 12 Gov. Knowles calls out the National Guard to keep the campus open, and they remain on campus for a week.
May 3, 1969	The Mifflin Street block party turns violent and police move in. Over 80 people are injured and protests continue for several days.
Jan. 2-4, 1970	The Red Gym and the Primate Lab are firebombed. The ROTC Building, the Army ammunition plant near Baraboo, and other buildings are also attacked.
Feb. 12, 1970	2500 people march from the Library Mall toward the Engineering Building to protest GE recruiters on campus. When turned back by police, the crowd rampages through State Street and University Avenue breaking windows.
Feb. 19, 1970	Over 1000 people rampage around campus breaking windows and confronting police after the conviction of the Chicago Seven—including Yippies Abbie Hoffman and Jerry Rubin.
March-April, 1970	The Teaching Assistants Association goes on strike on March 15 and accepts the university's contract offer in early April.
Early May, 1970	The killing of students protesting the Vietnam War at Kent State and Jackson State provokes a week of protests and violence on campus, including several firebombings. The National Guard again occupies the campus and uses tear gas against protesters.
Aug. 24, 1970	Four anti-war protesters set off a powerful bomb at Sterling Hall in a failed attempt to destroy the Army Mathematics Research Center. Robert Fassnacht, a postdoctoral researcher in physics, was killed, and \$2.6 million of damage was done to six buildings.
Feb. 14, 1971	An anti-war rally at Camp Randall Memorial Shell attracts over 2500 people. They attempt to march to the Capitol, but most are stopped by the police.

STUDENT PROTESTS AND DEMONSTRATIONS

April 5, 1971	The Mifflin Street block party again turns violent with clashes between students and police.
May 5, 1971	Students and police clash during demonstrations marking the anniversary of the Kent State killings.
March 20, 1972	About 3000 students demonstrate, boycott businesses, and clash with police in a 10-hour protest over making the lower part of State Street into a mall—a Paul Soglin project.
April 19, 1972	1500 people gather at the Capitol protesting the escalation of bombing in North Vietnam. Police use tear gas to disperse the crowd.
May 1-10, 1972	Around 10,000 people march from the Library Mall to the Capitol to protest US mining of North Vietnamese harbors and continued bombing.
Jan. 20, 1973	About 1500 people march from the campus to the Capitol on the eve of President Nixon's second inauguration.
Sept. 13, 1973	400 students demonstrate against US involvement in the military coup in Chile and the assassination of President Salvador Allende. Two sociology graduate students are imprisoned in the soccer stadium in Chile where executions are being carried out.
Sept. 9, 1974	2000 gathered to protest the pardon of former President Nixon by President Ford after Nixon resigned to avoid impeachment.

SOURCE: "PROTESTS & SOCIAL ACTION AT UW-MADISON DURING THE 20TH CENTURY," COMPILED BY TYLER C. KENNEDY AND DAVID NULL, UW ARCHIVES. ([HTTP://ARCHIVES.LIBRARY.WISC.EDU/UWARCHIVES/EXHIBITS/PROTESTS/1960S.HTML](http://archives.library.wisc.edu/uwarchives/exhibits/protests/1960s.html))

Probably the most significant demonstration was what came to be called the "Second Dow Riot" when protesters obstructed the access of students trying to interview for jobs with the Dow Chemical Company, the manufacturer of napalm, in the Commerce Building on October 18, 1967. For this account I am relying mainly on the book *They Marched Into Sunlight* written about the protests and parallel events in Vietnam almost four decades later by the *Washington Post* journalist David Maraniss. His detailed presentation was based on the examination of thousands of primary documents and 180 on-the-record interviews.

The precursor "First Dow Riot" took place eight months earlier when protesters attempted to surround Dow interviewers in the Chemistry, Engineering, and Commerce Buildings. Signs attached to sticks had been banned inside buildings, and three demonstrators were arrested when they attempted to enter with signs mounted on sticks displaying color photographs of

Vietnamese children burned by napalm. They were bailed out in the evening and the next day they led a group of demonstrators to Bascom Hall to blockade and occupy the offices of Chancellor Robben W. Fleming and Dean of Student Affairs Joseph Kauffman. They demanded that all charges against demonstrators be dropped and Dow be banned from the campus. The siege lasted several hours with Fleming and Kauffman subjected to much verbal abuse. When they called Kauffman a fascist, he angrily retorted that he was one of “only two people in the room who had actually fought fascists. He was opposed to the war in Vietnam and had once expressed the wish for greater student protest against the war (“Two Days in October: People and Events,” 2005). Eventually sixteen more students were arrested. Fleming was a former law professor specializing in labor relations and conflict management, and he knew that students did not like to see regular police on campus. In a strategic move to try to win the goodwill of the demonstrators so that he might reason with them and persuade them to desist, he spent \$1,260 out of his own pocket to post bail for them. It was a “pillow” strategy (Maraniss, 2003, pp. 106-19). The press and Governor Warren Knowles, a moderate Republican, disapproved and demanded that students who acted this way in the future be expelled.

Fleming called a special meeting of the whole faculty on February 23 and announced that he would not hesitate to call the police under similar circumstances in the future. The faculty voted overwhelmingly to reaffirm Chapter 11.02 of university regulations, which prohibited students from disrupting university functions or interfering with the activities of corporations invited to interview job candidates on campus. Maurice Zeitlin introduced a motion to prohibit firms that make war materials from interviewing and recruiting on campus. The motion was defeated by a vote to 249 to 62. Many liberals who opposed the war in Vietnam voted against the motion, believing that it was an infringement on free speech. William H. Sewell, however, voted for the motion, believing that practical considerations made a fight over principle not worthwhile. He knew that Dow routinely conducted interviews with student job candidates in hotels in New York City and other large Eastern cities, and he did not see why they could not do the same in Madison (Maraniss, 2003, pp. 136-137).

Fleming resigned shortly afterwards to become President of the University of Michigan, and Sewell was chosen to replace him as UW-Madison’s Chancellor in the summer of 1967. Sewell hesitated to take the job. He was attracted to the opportunity to make changes in educational policy, but he was afraid that he would have to spend too much time dealing with student protests and demonstrations, like UC-Berkeley’s first chancellor, Clark Kerr, who was fired in 1966 for being too lenient with demonstrators in the Free Speech Movement and subsequent demonstrations. Both Fleming and

President Fred Harvey Harrington strongly urged Sewell to take the job. They told him that the student troubles had peaked and that they had learned how to deal with them. Besides, if there were student demonstrations, Dean of Student Affairs Joseph F. Kauffman could handle them effectively. Kauffman, a liberal who opposed the war, had a national reputation on student affairs and was a frequent consultant at other institutions (Maraniss, 2003, p. 120). This was a gross misunderstanding of the level of student unrest and the emergence of a group of more radical student leaders, but Sewell consented to move across Observatory Drive to the Chancellor's office.

Sewell had no honeymoon at all at the beginning of his chancellorship before trouble erupted. Some members of the radical group of students happened to notice a story in the registration issue of the *Daily Cardinal* that Dow Chemical recruiters would be back to recruit again on October 17 and 18, 1967. They immediately began to plan to make an anti-Dow protest the centerpiece of their fall campaigns. There were predictions in the *Cardinal* that there would be a blow-up when Dow appeared, and radical speakers in the Memorial Union and on the Library Mall proclaimed that the time for resistance had arrived. In his first appearance before an all-campus faculty meeting on October 2, Sewell felt obligated to make a statement concerning the expected demonstration. He began by recognizing that students were greatly concerned about what they perceived as injustices and sometimes mounted protests and demonstrations. He said that great universities have always been the site of "energetic contention and dispute," which shows how seriously students take ideas and respond to issues:

Would we have it otherwise? We have, however, held that support of causes must be by lawful means which do not disrupt the operations of the university, even as we are prepared to examine and to discuss with students the purposes of university operations which they question. My predecessor laid down general guidelines for the enforcement of this principle which this faculty accepted and I believe are fair to all. Until such time as the faculty acts to change these guidelines they will be followed. We will continue to protect the integrity of the university as an educational institution in an open, democratic society (Maraniss, 2003, p. 171).

Joseph Kauffman, after consulting with professors in the law school, believed that the students should be given a specific advanced warning of what consequences could be expected if they broke university rules during a demonstration. Sewell was reluctant to issue an additional warning, but Kauffman believed it was legally necessary before arresting students for violations, so he drafted a statement, that was approved by Sewell, and

delivered it to the *Cardinal*, which printed it on October 11. The Kauffman statement repeated university regulations and concluded with the warning, "If any student obstructs scheduled placement interviews, or otherwise disrupts the operations of the University or organizations accorded the use of university facilities, the University will not hesitate to invoke university discipline, including disciplinary probation, suspension or expulsion whether or not arrests are made" (Maraniss, 2003, p. 174).

The students had formed an Ad Hoc Committee to Protest Dow Chemical, which held a meeting in the Social Sciences Building on October 13 to plan tactics for the demonstration. Representatives from a number of groups were present, including Students for a Democratic Society, the Young Socialist Alliance, the Committee for Direct Action, staff of the alternative newspaper *Connections*, and, most numerous of all, the University Community Action Party led by Paul Soglin. The contentious meeting lasted some five hours, with about 300 in attendance at the beginning, dwindling to 100 or so by the end. Some favored obstruction of the Dow interviews, others favored peaceful educational picketing. They seemed to reach a compromise finally with educational picketing the first day and obstruction the second day. The campus police chief Ralph Hanson was ejected from the meeting, but an undercover officer from the city police was able to attend and report on what happened to his chief, Wilbur Emery. A reporter from the *Daily Cardinal* also attended and reported on the meeting, so its proceedings were no secret (Maraniss, 2003, pp. 176-179).

A second meeting of the Ad Hoc Committee was held on October 16 at the Great Hall in Memorial Union to develop final tactical plans. Evan Stark, a graduate student in Sociology, and Robert Cohen, a graduate student in Philosophy, stood in front but did not attempt to dominate discussion. They had emerged as leaders of the group because of their fluent oratorical skills. Paul Soglin attended but did not speak. According to the plan that emerged, demonstrators would gather at the bottom of Bascom Hill at 9:10 on the morning of the 17th and then decide which of three buildings where Dow was scheduled to interview would be targeted for the demonstration. Monitors would lead the protesters, instructing them when to walk and when to sit, with Evan Stark in overall charge. The group was told that no faculty would be participating, since "the rally was far too radical for them." Maurice Zeitlin was mentioned specifically as a professor who was opposed to obstruction as a tactic. Stark told the group, "You can bet the university will not be brutal by bringing in the police." He did not expect violence, but said there was "no reason at all that if you are hit by the police that you can't hit back." An assistant dean at the meeting reported that Stark said he "felt very strongly that the University would not even drag people out of the building." This was based on his experience in a previous anti-draft sit-in when

Madison police chief Emery declined to make mass arrests to avoid a violent confrontation (Maraniss, 2003, pp. 109, 240-242).

On the first day, October 17, the demonstration started at 9:30 a.m. with about 20 picketers in front of Commerce. The number of picketers waxed and waned during the day, but a large crowd of students gathered near the Commerce Building to observe or join in the protest. Most of the demonstrators remained outside, but one group entered the building and went down the east-west hall to the room where interviews were taking place. They did not enter the room or try to obstruct the entrance, and the university police in the hall did not interfere, since the indoor picketing was peaceful. Just before noon the demonstrators paused for an hour to listen to speeches in the plaza area between Commerce and Bascom Hall. Stark and Cohen spoke at length. The day closed peacefully, but in the evening the visiting San Francisco Mime Troupe, with its West Coast counter cultural sensibility, gave a performance in the packed Union Theater. At the end of the performance Ronald Guy Davis, the leader, made an announcement from the stage that energized the protest leaders and may have encouraged more people to join the protest:

We were told you will be demonstrating against the Dow recruiters tomorrow and we thought that you and we might all be there. We have learned through our experience that, after all, this country is our country and if we don't like it, then we should try to change it. This is your school, and if you don't like it, then you should try to change it. And, if you can't change it, then you should destroy it. See you at the demonstration (Maraniss, 2003, p. 329).

The next morning on the 18th the demonstrators marched up Bascom Hill to the Commerce Building again, accompanied by the San Francisco Mime Troupe in hippie garb playing a motley collection of simple instruments. Also present were some members of the local guerrilla theater group Uprising painted in whiteface and dressed as symbols of the university and the military-industrial complex. The demonstrators were divided into two groups—those who intended to disrupt the interviews and those who planned only to engage in educational picketing outside. Twenty University police, instructed not to use violence, supplemented by twenty off-duty Madison police, were stationed at various points around the campus, with fourteen inside the Commerce Building. A mass of protesters entered the building and filled the east-west hall where the interviewing was taking place. The hall was only ten feet wide and about fifty yards long, so it was quickly filled to a density that made it impossible for any job candidate to reach the Dow interview room. The police inside were unable to move

through the crowd or clear a way for students. A professor tried to teach a class at the other end of the hall, but many of his students were not able to get to the classroom, and there was too much noise to continue. Chief Hanson tried to arrest three students who were blocking the doorway of the room where he was stationed, but other students grabbed them and helped them resist arrest, and Hanson desisted. He then called Kauffman's office and spoke to Sewell. Hanson said that things were out of control and he needed more help from the Madison police. After conferring with Kauffman and other aides, Sewell authorized calling the Madison police. Chief Emery was expecting such a call and had 30 officers waiting. They donned riot gear with helmets and billy clubs, removed the bullets from their guns and put them in their pockets, and drove to the Commerce Building in squad cars, accompanied by a paddy wagon (Maraniss, 2003, pp. 349-356).

Kauffman turned hawkish and wanted the police to go in immediately and clear the corridor, but Sewell and Hanson wanted to give the students one last chance to leave before facing sanctions. Hanson issued bullhorn warnings inside the corridor to no effect. He then persuaded a delegation of protest leaders, including Evan Stark, to go with him to Bascom Hall to speak with Sewell, Kauffman, and several assistant deans. Stark delivered what was essentially an ultimatum. Sewell recalled,

And Evan Stark and two or three other guys came to Joe's office to meet with us. . . . All of us . . . sat around the table. And they said that they'd come out of the building only if I would promise to never again allow any interviewers to come on this campus. . . . Well, Dow or any other company that they said shouldn't come and so on. And I told them there was no way I could make that promise. . . . If you're present chancellor of the university, you don't--you can't run the university on the basis of your beliefs if there's already rules of what you've got to do. . . . If Bobby Cohen and Evan Stark and those guys could dictate to me what I had to do, I figured that would be the end of my administration anyway. I just didn't believe they had the right, nor should I give in to it. So anyway, I just told them, "You guys better get out of that building because people are going to come in and get you out if you don't" (Sewell Oral History Interview 1, 1977).

Sewell told them that he would not capitulate to an illegal action. If he did so, he knew he would not long be Chancellor. Stark left, warning of a possible bloodbath. Sewell then informed Chief Hanson and Chief Emery that it was now a police matter (Maraniss, 2003, pp. 369-362).

By now there were more than a thousand people in the throng outside the Commerce Building, some supporting the protest and others mere

curious bystanders. The police did not attempt to disperse the outside crowd before entering the building, a strategic mistake. While the police were assembling near the bell tower, Vicki Gabriner, an Education graduate student from Brooklyn, who was married to the editor of *Connections*, approached them in whiteface makeup dressed as Miss Sifting and Winnowing. She danced around the police, teasing and taunting them. She was one of the first demonstrators to be arrested. She went limp and then resisted as the police pulled her off to the paddy wagon.



VICKI GABRINER, DRESSED AS MISS SIFTING AND WINNOWING AT THE DOW RIOT, PULLED AWAY BY POLICE TO THE PADDY WAGON, OCT. 18, 1967 (UW ARCHIVES)

Most of the police had had no training in riot management, and did not know the proper way to use a billy club. Chief Emery thought the protesters would follow the usual practice of civil disobedience by going limp and permitting themselves to be carried or dragged off to the paddy wagon. Many of the protesters expected this also, but most linked arms to resist being carried out, and a few were prepared to fight the police. When the Madison police entered, they were unable to move forward, and the crowd surged against them. Instead of using their billy clubs properly to push back the demonstrators, they started flailing away, swinging their clubs wildly to hit the heads of the protesters, opening gashes in the scalp from which blood flowed freely. Panicking students tried to escape but were hindered by the massed bodies. Some, like Paul Soglin, were knocked to the floor where they continued to be beaten before finally escaping.

Evan Stark said he issued orders for everyone to leave after the police started beating people, but, if so, few heard him. He managed to slip out safely past the police and disappear into the crowd (Maraniss, 2003, pp. 363-369). He watched events from the outside until he was engulfed in tear

gas that the police had released. After washing his eyes in a restroom in the Social Sciences Building, he checked his mailbox on the top floor and then visited the hospital briefly to see the injured students. Fearing arrest, Stark put on a disguise and drove quickly away from the campus and out of Madison, fleeing all the way to Canada. He was suspended from the university the next day, along with Robert Cohen and eleven other students, but Stark maintained he had already voluntarily quit the university before he was suspended (Maraniss, 2003, pp. 390-391; McCall, 2012). He later went to the University of Minnesota to try to finish his PhD, but he claimed the FBI tracked him down and kept him from getting any kind of employment. After working at nonacademic jobs he finally earned a PhD at SUNY Binghamton in 1984 and a MSW from Fordham in 1991. He taught at Rutgers University in Newark until his retirement.

As bleeding students stumbled from the building, Sewell was horrified. His son Chip, a graduate student at the university, rushed to find him and cried, "Dad! Look at those cops going into the building. They're going to beat the hell out of those kids!" Sewell said it was now out of his hands since they were not listening to him (Maraniss, 2003, p. 369). Maurice Zeitlin, Sewell's colleague in Sociology, also frantically appealed to him. As Zeitlin recalled for the television documentary "Two Days in October" in 2005,

I was in my office, working on my research when a number of students barged through the door and said, "Professor Zeitlin, Professor Zeitlin, you've got to come, the police are massing outside of the Commerce Building. It looks like they're going to go in there and they're going to start beating up students. "So I dash across the street to the Commerce Building. Standing there, wearing helmets and carrying billy clubs, really prepared for war, were the police from the city of Madison. I dashed to Bascom Hall to see my senior colleague, the new Chancellor of the University of Wisconsin, a man for whom I had the deepest respect, a close friendship, William Sewell. I dashed in there and I said, "Bill, you don't know what's happening! The Poli...!" He says, "I do know what's happening and I can't do anything to stop it." I said, "But who called the police?" And he said, "I called the police." And that was a profoundly, that was a profound shock ("Two Days in October," 2005).

Zeitlin rushed back to the site of the confrontation and made a futile attempt to stop the violence:

Police were yelling and they were smashing the kids. It was horrendous, you know, and I'm standing outside of the building and, and I was naive enough to say to them, "I'm a member of the faculty, my name is

Professor Maurice Zeitlin” and while I’m giving this silly speech to the police, a police officer swung at me, students jumped on the police officer, there was a melee, I was on the bottom of this. And I could actually hear the thud of club on body (“Two Days in October,” 2005).

Others inside the Commerce Building described the sound of clubs hitting heads as a kind of “thunk.” Zeitlin then positioned himself in the declivity of a basement entrance near the front door of Commerce to try to break the fall of any student who might be pushed by the crowd over the railing. He also got his car and began to ferry wounded students to the Emergency Room at the hospital about three blocks away. The police managed to clear the halls of the Commerce Building, but student protesters, some standing on the roof of Bascom Hall, continued to throw bricks and stones down on the police standing in the plaza beside the Commerce Building. A brick thrown from a rooftop can be a lethal object, and many of the police were injured, three of them seriously. According to Sewell, one campus policeman was hit so hard by a brick that he was hospitalized for almost a year and was so disabled that he had to retire (Sewell Oral History Interview 4, 1986). During or after the melee 47 students and 19 police officers were taken to the hospital for treatment of their injuries. By 5:30 p.m. the protest ended. The police and the sheriff’s deputies, who had arrived later, withdrew from their battle stations, and students left the plaza in front of the Commerce Building. (Maraniss, 2003, p. 396)

The campus police were a different story. They consistently played a positive role trying to prevent any type of violent confrontation. Chief Ralph Hanson was a natural diplomat who understood student concerns and maintained cordial relations with most of the leaders of the student demonstrations. He had taken the job two years earlier and had won praise from the administration and grudging respect from the students for his handling of previous demonstrations. Above all, he sought to minimize the possibility of violence, but during the Dow demonstrations, once the Madison police were called in, he lost all control over events and felt powerless to intervene.

The violence politicized students who had previously paid little attention to the



MAURICE ZEITLIN, 1982
(M. ZEITLIN)

war in Vietnam or to the role of Dow Chemical and other corporations in producing the weapons of war. Police violence against students inflamed student passions far more than the distant war, something that dismayed some antiwar activists. Paul Soglin, however, saw an opportunity to gain a much bigger audience and attract more student activists. The events of October 18 did mark the beginning of a much more intensive period of activism and protests on campus though less organized.

That evening a mass meeting of aroused students was called for 9:00 p.m. in the Great Hall in Memorial Union, but when 3000 students showed up, it had to be moved to the Library Mall. After many speeches and eyewitness accounts, the students voted to strike the following day. On October 19 there were few pickets and few absences from class on the Agricultural and Engineering sections of the campus, but a greater number of students heeded the strike in the College of Letters and Science, particularly in history, philosophy, and sociology. There were more pickets in the central part of the campus, but they did not attempt to obstruct students trying to go to classes. Overall in L&S there were about 4,000 absences, compared to a normal level of 1,000 (Maraniss, 2003, p. 424).

A general faculty meeting was also called for 3:30 that afternoon in the Union Theater. Some 1350 of the university's 1800 faculty members attended—probably the largest gathering of the faculty ever. The numbers exceeded the capacity of the auditorium, and some faculty had to move to the lobby and a reading room, where the proceedings were piped in. Sewell did not preside but made an opening statement reviewing events. He said that the events filled him with deep remorse

Things like this should never happen on this great campus where we have so long had freedom of speech, freedom of peaceful protest. . . .I did not seek this office. I have no great desire for administrative roles nor for power. I love and respect students. My actions yesterday were taken reluctantly and only to preserve the integrity of the university which I love (Maraniss, 2003, pp. 433-434).

Eugene Cameron, a geologist who had succeeded Sewell as Chair of the University Committee, presented a defense of the chancellor and introduced a motion of support for Sewell. During the ensuing debate someone else proposed a substitute motion acknowledging Sewell's "good faith" but strongly condemning the "indiscriminate violence" of the police. The debate dragged on for hours. Finally, Sewell, feeling assaulted from all sides, rose again to defend himself: "This faculty has already put me in a precarious position in its past actions and again here tonight. You haven't had the guts enough to admit that my reaction was an exact interpretation of what you intended."

Finally, the substitute resolution was narrowly defeated by a vote of 562 to 495. Then the motion supporting Sewell was approved 681 to 378. By voice vote they canceled the Dow interviews scheduled for the next day (Maraniss, 2003, pp. 434-440). The unwieldiness of all-campus faculty meetings had become obvious during the preceding weeks, and it led to the formation of a much smaller Faculty Senate with each department or district electing one representative for each ten members.

As Maurice Zeitlin interpreted events,

Bill Sewell got trapped. To me it was a very profound lesson, how men who oppose the policies of their government nevertheless find themselves upholding those policies in practice, by virtue of the position and the pressures put upon them ("Two Days in October," 2005).

This seems to be the position of Maraniss as well. His treatment of Sewell and the impossible dilemma he faced is sympathetic but condescending. Leon Epstein, Dean of Letters and Science during Sewell's chancellorship, told me that he found Maraniss' depiction of Sewell "disturbing." So did I. He did not capture the man that I admired and respected so much.

In 2005 PBS broadcast a documentary, "Two Days in October," that paired two events that occurred at the same time—the Dow riot in Madison and a battle of the US Army with the Viet Cong forces in Vietnam. It was based on Maraniss' book and was devastatingly critical of both events. After the broadcast, PBS conducted an online poll. It quoted Zeitlin's statement that he felt his opposition to the Vietnam War was his duty as an American citizen and asked viewers, "In wartime, do you think that citizens should support government policies without dissent?" Over 100,000 responded, with 95 percent saying no and 4 percent saying yes, with nearly all indicating that the film influenced their vote. (http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/twodays/sfeature/sf_poll.html)

I do not think that the press and the public ever had a clear idea of who the principal student leaders were in the Dow demonstrations. There were many radical students who spoke at meetings or who came to talk with Sewell in his office, but he thought that they were all talk and had no organizational or leadership skills. He said, "They came in to talk to me and they were all in the business of making threats, not to me personally, you know, but, 'If you don't do so and so, we're going to take over this university or we'll --.' One guy said, 'I'll be sitting here, and you'll be sitting in the basement.'" Sewell was convinced that the primary leader of the Dow protests was Evan Stark, his former graduate student:

The only real organizer and planner that there was in the whole student movement was Evan Stark. And he was a masterful tactician. And once he left they never got anything well planned again, you know, with the clock-like precision that Evan had. Evan had the driveway to the Bascom Hall parking lot blocked with old cars right on the second, you know. He had everything laid out. And they never had anybody like that. These were mainly kind of idealistic, middle class kids, you know, who had these great, burning convictions about freeing the laboring classes from exploitation once the war was over and all that sort of thing. But they weren't very capable leaders of movements. You know, they'd get up and talk very effectively at meetings and get people shouting, and yelling, and going up the hill. But they wouldn't know what they were going to do when they got there (Sewell Oral History Interview 1, 1977).

When Stark was a student in Sewell's seminar, I thought Sewell had some fondness for his very bright, very voluble, but sometimes exasperating student. I think he enjoyed his interactions, and more than once he told me funny stories about their verbal dueling. Stark disappeared from his seminar for several weeks while he was organizing a strike at Sears, but he promised to make up the work later. He never did. Sewell thought he was more interested in activism than in academics. Stark was never a student of mine, but I had a good relationship with him, and I chose him to be Hans Gerth's teaching assistant when Gerth first taught our Sociology Through Film course. Stark did an excellent job managing logistics—something that was way beyond Gerth. I had to rescue Stark once when he got into trouble with the dean. He was teaching a discussion section for another course and decided to try an experiment using a ploy that he was aware that Norman Mailer had used in addressing an audience—incorporating swear words, obscenities, and vulgarisms into virtually every sentence. Stark thought the shock value would jolt students out of their complacency and open their minds. It certainly got their attention, but a shocked woman student complained to the dean, and the dean wanted to fire Stark from his TA job. Stark was contrite that his experiment had not achieved the desired effect, and I was finally able to persuade the dean to give him a second chance. People today are probably less shocked when they hear swear words or obscenities. In 1939 the Hollywood Production Code Commission fined the producer of "Gone with the Wind" \$5,000 for having Clark Gable say, "Frankly, my dear, I don't give a damn"—the most famous movie line in the twentieth century. In contrast, in 2013 the Academy Award-nominated film "The Wolf of Wall Street" used some variation of the word "fuck" 539 times ("F-bombed," 2015). But even today using such language in the college classroom would be regarded as beyond the pale.

It was not until I read the transcripts of Sewell's oral history interviews that I realized just how hostile and bitter Sewell had turned toward Stark. He blamed him above all for the riot and for most of his troubles as Chancellor.

Sewell had a higher regard for the other principal leader of the Dow protests—Robert Cohen, a philosophy graduate student:

. . . Bobby Cohen was a different kind of a guy. He was not a crafty planner of things. He was a spokesman and an orator. He couldn't resist an opportunity to orate. Now Evan was a good talker, but nothing like Bobby Cohen. And so Bobby, I think, was more the tool of Evan than anything else, although again, he was philosophically committed to what he was doing. But I don't think Bobby had any intent that there be violence. I don't think he's that sort of a guy at all. But he spoke for them. He spoke for the students, and he was very effective (Sewell Oral History Interview 1, 1977).

Sewell had a strong negative view of Paul Soglin, who he saw as merely a minor player in the Dow demonstrations but an opportunist and crafty politician who tried to insert himself into a leadership position when the true protest leaders were in flight or in hiding:

Paul Soglin was a minor figure in whatever happened on the campus. He's tried to make political capital of it and succeeded in doing it. Again, he was a talker, not a doer. As far as I know, Paul was never apprehended in anything. His greatest claim to fame was in that university forum after the Dow affair. He made his speech. . . . And the place was packed with radical students. Nobody else could get in, and of course they booed and hissed me. Whenever I'd say anything, they'd hiss, and so on. And then, there were no questions directed to anybody but me. And people were planted all over the place to raise the questions. And I must have answered questions for an hour, until it was just the same old stuff over and over again. . . . Soglin claims a lot of things that weren't so. But anyway, Soglin was the spokesman at that meeting. He spoke, and at a certain point in the proceedings, after he'd given the speech, he raised his hand on signal, and about 400 followed him out of the room screaming, "You fascist bastard. You've got blood on your hands. . . . Paul has always got his finger in the air to see where the wind's blowing politically. Paul, I think, has got as little firm, philosophical convictions as Evan Stark, you know. He'll do whatever it takes to get elected, whatever it is to have a following, and at that time he wanted to take over the student movement. And so, you know, he did what he thought would help him to do it. But he never did. Nobody ever took it over again, you

know. It's really true that, from the passing of Evan Stark and Bobby Cohen from the scene, which they did, effectively, from that point, never after that was there an organized student movement on this campus (Sewell Oral History Interview 1, 1977).

There were many threats made against Sewell, and Chief Emery of the city police and Chief Hanson of the campus police both insisted on having a 24-hour guard on the Sewell house on the outskirts of the city. They had two squad cars parked at his house in the beginning, and later one squad car with two police officers sitting in it. Sewell and his wife Liz would go out and try to get them to leave, but they remained at their posts for several days. Hanson also instructed Sewell not to enter the Memorial Union without a police escort, but he did so anyway. Some of the students hissed and called him names when he walked by, but no one did anything.

Even after the violence that accompanied the demonstration against Dow recruiters, the Wisconsin faculty and 11,000 students voting in a referendum reaffirmed their support for keeping all job interviews on campus. The Dow company also wished to continue to interview on college campuses and resented efforts to single them out and deprive them of their basic civil liberties. Reportedly, the company's leadership was perplexed that they, who were only manufacturing napalm, had become the object of nationwide protests rather than the Pentagon, which was actually using the napalm in Vietnam. In 1967 the Dow board voted to continue the production of napalm and rejected "the validity of comparing our present form of government with Hitler's Nazi Germany." Dow's marketing director, Bill Dixon, however, forcefully maintained that making napalm was just wrong. Dow President and CEO Ted Doan was dismayed that his own wife turned against the Vietnam War, and his son became a conscientious objector ("Two Days in October: People and Events," 2005). Napalm was widely used in the area firebombing of 67 Japanese cities during World War II, but it was finally banned for use against civilian populations in the United Nations Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons in 1980, though the United States did not sign the convention until 2009 and even then reserved the right to disregard the treaty if doing so would save civilian lives.

Sewell would have liked to prevent Dow and the CIA from returning to the campus to interview, but he knew the regents would not stand for it. The interviews with Dow, General Motors, and other companies the students had targeted continued through the year, but Sewell made sure they were not held on the central campus but in the Engineering and Agriculture areas. He also made sure that there was adequate police presence and strictly controlled access to the buildings where the interviews took place. There were, for the most part, only minor problems, such as a few broken

windows, and no large crowds gathered. Someone in Madison—probably a faculty member, though Sewell would not disclose who it was, called his friend Richard Helms, the Director of the CIA, and recommended that the CIA cancel its scheduled recruiting visit to the Wisconsin campus. Helms did so, and the CIA began cancelling at many other universities as well. They exercised prudence and sought to avoid becoming an object of public protest (Sewell Oral History Interview 1, 1977).

In the aftermath of the Dow riot, Sewell was called before a hostile state Senate Select Committee, where he testified and sparred with irate senators, further antagonizing them. He also found that on many issues he was out of step with President Harrington and the Board of Regents and could not expect to be backed up. The Regents were openly hostile to Sewell, and though they could not fire a tenured professor, they did withhold a salary raise for Sewell that had previously been administratively approved. They did the same to Maurice Zeitlin in the mistaken belief that he had urged on the students to mount an obstructive demonstration. Sewell felt his effectiveness and his ability to make contributions to educational policy had been greatly diminished, and at the end of the academic year he resigned.

Maurice Zeitlin continued a stellar career at Wisconsin until 1977, when he moved to UCLA. For his *Alumnus Page* for UC-Berkeley, he wrote, “Soon after things quieted down there [at Wisconsin], I opted for the Southland, and UCLA, where, since the fall of 1977, I’ve been hiking, horseback riding, sailing, sunning, and biking, except for enforced interruptions to teach, research, and write.” He has continued to turn out outstanding books with radical themes, but seems to be less sanguine about the ability of academic activists to have much influence in the world: “. . . None of my scholarly research and writing—as far as I can tell, alas—has even rippled the surface waters of ‘the world’ outside academe, let alone in any way actually having ‘shaped the world’” (“Maurice Zeitlin (1958),” n.d.).

After the Dow riots student protests continued on campus, with police, sheriff’s deputies, and National Guardsmen confronting the demonstrators and deploying liberal amounts of tear gas that enveloped Bascom Hill and permeated classrooms in the Social Sciences and other central campus buildings. At the same time frustrations in African American communities led to the eruption of large numbers of urban riots between 1964 and 1971. In 1968 Martin Luther King, Jr., and Robert Kennedy were assassinated, and more student demonstrations ensued. The demonstration organized by African American students after King’s assassination had a very positive outcome when they seized on Chancellor Sewell’s suggestion to carry out multiple “teach-ins” in several buildings all through the day following the assassination and brought thousands of white and African American students together to talk about racial problems. (See Chapter 18, vol. 1.)

On another occasion Sociology graduate students peacefully occupied the department office for several days, disrupting normal business, but they were permitted to remain by David Mechanic, the chair, and there was no attempt to remove them forcibly. He waited them out, and the situation was resolved peacefully without arrests. In 1969 a street dance on Mifflin Street deteriorated into a three-day riot with 200 arrests. Afterwards the Mifflin Street block party became an annual event with varying degrees of political protest and rioting, but it was mostly just a beer bust. In May, 1970, four students at Kent State University were killed and eleven wounded by Ohio National Guardsmen called out to confront students protesting the invasion of Cambodia. This also provoked demonstrations on the Wisconsin campus, leading to the occupation of the campus by the National Guard, and tear gas once more enveloped Bascom Hill and filtered through the windows of classrooms, making teaching difficult or impossible.

Three months later on August 24, 1970, Sterling Hall on the Wisconsin campus was bombed by four student anti-war activists—Karleton Armstrong, Dwight Armstrong, David Fine, and Leo Burt—who called themselves “The New Year’s Gang” in reference to their failed attempt to drop home-made bombs on the Army ammunition plant near Baraboo on the holiday. This time they were attempting to protest the presence on campus of the Army Mathematics Research Center, which housed about 45 mathematicians doing contract research for the Army. This included assistance for counter-insurgency operations in Vietnam, though spokesmen denied

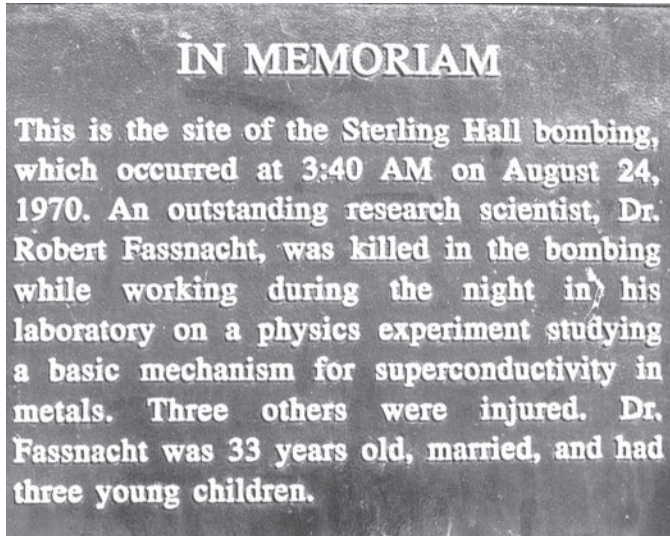


STERLING HALL AFTER THE BOMBING, 1970
(WIKIMEDIA COMMONS)

it at the time. The explosive-loaded van was parked next to the building on the south side, but the blast largely missed its target of the Math Research Center, which was on the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th floors. It destroyed a physics research lab on the 1st floor, killing Robert Fassnacht, a postdoctoral physics researcher who was opposed to the war in Vietnam, and injuring three others. David Schuster, a South African graduate student, suffered a broken shoulder, fractured ribs, and a broken eardrum in the blast and was buried under rubble for three hours before firefighters were able to rescue him. In later years Fassnacht’s widow Stephanie, who had three children, worked as a researcher in the Institute for Research on Poverty and had an office next to mine in the Social Sciences Building.

The four bombers went into hiding, but all but Leo Burt were eventually apprehended and served prison terms. In a post-prison interview in 1986 Karleton Armstrong was substantially unrepentant: “I still feel we can’t rationalize someone getting killed, but at that time we felt we should never have done the bombing at all. Now I don’t feel that way. I feel it was justified and should have been done. It just should have been done more responsibly” (“Sterling Hall Bombing,” n.d.).

The bombing was a traumatic event that shocked the campus, the community, and the state. It marked the end of the most active period of anti-war demonstrations, and protests became less frequent and less strident. The Army discontinued the Math Research Center at the end of the 1970 fiscal year, but the war in Vietnam continued another five years to April 30, 1975. The only visible reminder of the bombing is a small plaque attached unobtrusively to the outside wall of Sterling Hall.



MEMORIAL PLAQUE ON WALL OF STERLING HALL
(R. MIDDLETON, 2015)

Politics, Money, and the War on Wisconsin Unions and the University of Wisconsin (2010-2016)

Corporate Personhood: Roots of Future Political Conflict

The American political system took a sharp antidemocratic turn in January, 2010, when the US Supreme Court in *Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission* invalidated key parts of campaign spending laws that prevented corporations from spending large sums to influence the outcome of political elections. By a 5-4 vote the Court ruled that the restrictions on independent political expenditures by a nonprofit corporation were a violation of the First Amendment free speech rights of the corporation. The principle was later extended to for-profit corporations and labor unions. The Court did not strike down the prohibition on direct contributions to candidates or political parties, but corporations and labor unions could spend unlimited amounts to influence elections, as long as they worked independently and were not coordinated with the candidate's campaign. Thus, the court removed most of the restrictions on corporate political spending that had been in effect to some degree for more than a century, from the time Congress passed the Tillman Act in 1907 at the request of President Theodore Roosevelt. Suddenly the influence of the extremely rich on political elections was vastly expanded relative to the ordinary voter, because national and state-wide elections have become extremely expensive, requiring the purchase of large amounts of very costly television advertising.

The roots of this development lie in events following the Civil War and Reconstruction when the doctrine of corporate personhood was adopted by the Supreme Court as a result of outright fraud and judicial prejudice and incompetence—not through a legislative act or constitutional amendment. It is true that the Court in *Dartmouth College v. Woodward* in 1819 recognized that individuals could come together and act as an “artificial being” to enter into contracts and exercise some of the same rights as natural persons, but it was the Fourteenth Amendment that served as the primary basis for the doctrine that corporations are persons with First Amendment rights of free speech and Fourteenth Amendment rights of due process and equal protection of the laws. The *Citizens United* decision did not mention the

corporate personhood doctrine but simply took it for granted that corporations were persons with the right of free speech.

How did this strange counter-intuitive doctrine come into being? The Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution was adopted in 1868 primarily to emancipate slaves and grant citizenship to all persons born or naturalized in the United States. It also provided, "No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." Reconstruction ended in 1876 as the result of a political deal to resolve the presidential election of that year, and subsequently African Americans received little protection through enforcement of the due process or equal protection provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment. Between 1886 and 1912 there were only two due process cases in which the Supreme Court restrained or annulled State action involving African Americans but 39 cases that restrained or annulled State action against corporations. In the words of Doug Hammerstrom, the Fourteenth Amendment was hijacked by business corporations (Hammerstrom, 2002).

The notion that corporations were "artificial persons" had been accepted for some time, since both corporations and natural persons had some features in common. They could both be taxed, be parties to a lawsuit, or be constrained by law, but in the 1870s and 1880s lawyers for business corporations began arguing that the "artificial" prefix should be dropped and "equal protection of the laws" should be extended to corporations as well. They saw this as a stratagem to fend off taxation and regulation by state or local governments. John A. Bingham, an Ohio Congressman, who was the leader of the drafting committee for the Fourteenth Amendment, was suspected by the historians Charles and Mary Beard of engineering a conspiracy on behalf of business corporations, but Howard Jay Graham's painstaking study of the history of the amendment convincingly absolved him of this charge. Instead Graham presented damning evidence that it was another member of the drafting committee, Roscoe Conkling, the US Senator from New York, who was most responsible for the Supreme Court's adoption of the corporate personhood doctrine (Graham, 1938; Graham, 1968).

Conkling was known for political maneuvering and intrigue. He controlled patronage in the Customs House in New York and resolutely opposed reform elements in the Republican Party. He twice refused appointments to the US Supreme Court, preferring to work at his lucrative law practice. He was widely regarded as unbearably pompous, notable for "his haughty disdain, his grandiloquent swell, his majestic, super-eminent, over-powering, turkey gobbler strut." After he lost his Senate seat, he went to work for the Southern Pacific Railroad, where he was handsomely rewarded (Nate, 2003, p. 111).

In 1882 San Mateo County in California sued the Southern Pacific Railroad for refusing to pay assessed taxes to the county for six years. Conkling represented the railroad when the case reached the US Supreme Court in 1885, and he sought to use the “equal protection of the laws” provision of the Fourteenth Amendment to justify the railroad’s refusal (*San Mateo County v. Southern Pacific R. Co.*, 116 U.S. 138 (1885)). To use this defense, however, he had to be able to show that the Fourteenth Amendment applied to corporations, and the only way to do that was to convince the justices that the term “person” in the “equal protection” clause encompassed corporations as well as human beings, even though the Supreme Court had rejected this notion previously. He argued that it was the clear intention of the drafters of the amendment to provide protection to corporations as well as to freed slaves, and he produced a previously unknown manuscript copy of the journal of the drafting committee, which he sought to use to convince the justices. He did not enter the journal into evidence. Apparently none of the justices ever examined it, and it was not retained in its records. Instead, Conkling simply read orally from it. Graham, after analyzing the journal, characterized Conkling’s oral argument as misleading and fraudulent:

. . . Conkling could not prove his proposition from the Journal itself. In making the attempt, therefore, he resorted to misquotation and unfair arrangement of facts. He made free use of inference and conjecture, and above all he imposed upon the good faith of listeners who undoubtedly had a high regard for his veracity. . . . The whole argument, in fact, is found to be little better than a shell of inference built up in the course of attempted proof of inconsequential points (Graham, 1968, p. 44).

The key point in Conkling’s argument was that the drafting committee had used the term “citizen” in earlier drafts of the due process and equal protection section, but for the final draft they changed to the broader term “person” in order to include corporations and provide protection for them against government abuse. Conkling had the only copy of the journal, so the justices had no way to check the accuracy of his statements. Curiously, the Senate had ordered 6,000 copies of the journal to be printed in 1884, but they were never distributed. A single copy survived in the Government Printing Office, where it was later discovered by a scholar in 1908 and later republished (Graham, 1968, p. 31). Graham found in checking a reproduction of this copy that the term “person” had always been used in every draft of the equal protection clause. “Citizen” was never used in this section, probably because “person” unquestionably included freed slaves, whereas “citizen” was possibly more equivocal. Graham concluded that Conkling’s argument was “a deliberate, brazen forgery.” It was not a slip of the tongue,

for “he paused, repeated, and rhetorically underscored the misquoted word ‘citizen’” (Graham, 1968, pp. 417, 43). The officials for San Mateo County apparently realized that their case was not going well before a set of judges who were predisposed to favor business, and, desperately short of money, they reached a settlement with Southern Pacific before a decision was rendered. Thus, the case itself did not establish the judicial doctrine of corporate personhood, but Conkling’s unverified argument had a strong influence on the justices (Nace, 2003).

The following year in 1886 a similar taxation case involving Santa Clara County and the Southern Pacific Railroad reached the Supreme Court. At the beginning of the proceedings Chief Justice Morrison Waite announced:

The court does not wish to hear argument on the question whether the provision in the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which forbids a State to deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws, applies to these corporations. We are all of the opinion that it does (Graham, 1968, p. 566).

The case was decided unanimously in favor of Southern Pacific, but the decision was based on a number of technical factors related to fences and mortgages. There is not a word in the decision about the Fourteenth Amendment or corporate personhood (*Santa Clara County v. Southern Pacific R. Co.* 118 U.S. 394 1886). Justice Stephen Johnson Field, the leading proponent of the corporate personhood doctrine on the Supreme Court was disappointed that the decision did not affirm the doctrine. (Nate, 2003, p. 106). The Supreme Court Reporter, J. C. Bancroft Davis, however, asked Chief Justice Waite if he should include his remarks prior to argument in his report. Waite replied, “I leave it with you to determine whether anything need be said about it in the report inasmuch as we avoided meeting the constitutional question in the decision” (Graham, 1968, p. 567). Davis then emphasized Waite’s comments in the headnote he prepared, supposedly summarizing the opinion of the case. The first sentence asserts,

The defendant Corporations are persons within the intent of the clause in section I of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which forbids a State to deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws (Nate, 2003, p. 103).

He not only incorporated Waite’s personal opinion into the statement of facts but highlighted it as the main point of the case. This was highly improper given that the court explicitly did not adjudicate the question, and

there is no mention whatever of personhood in the court's formal decision. It was hardly an innocent act by an unthinking low-level clerk. Davis was a political player who had served as Assistant Secretary of State under two presidents, and he was President of the Board of Directors of the Newburgh and New York Railroad. He may have sought to strengthen the position of railroads in fighting against government regulation (Nate, 2003, p. 107).

Soon other court decisions began to cite *Santa Clara County v. Southern Pacific* in accepting the corporate personhood doctrine, even though their "authority" was actually a court reporter and not a legitimate court decision rendered by justices. The pro-business prejudices of courts in the following years led to their embracing the illegitimate doctrine and eschewing a critical examination of it. There were occasional protests from judges, but it is difficult to overturn bad law once it has reached a venerable age. In 1938 Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black argued in a dissenting opinion that if the Supreme Court has made bad law, it can also unmake the bad law. He urged the court to overturn the corporate personhood doctrine:

I do not believe the word "person" in the Fourteenth Amendment includes corporations. . . . A constitutional interpretation that is wrong should not stand. . . . Neither the history nor the language of the Fourteenth Amendment justifies the belief that corporations are included within its protection. . . . Certainly, when the Fourteenth Amendment was submitted for approval, the people were not told that the states of the South were to be denied their normal relationship with the Federal Government unless they ratified an amendment granting new and revolutionary rights to corporations. . . . The records of the time can be searched in vain for evidence that this amendment was adopted for the benefit of corporations. . . . The history of the amendment proves that the people were told that its purpose was to protect weak and helpless human beings and were not told that it was intended to remove corporations in any fashion from the control of state governments. . . . The language of the amendment itself does not support the theory that it was passed for the benefit of corporations. . . . If the people of this nation wish to deprive the states of their sovereign rights to determine what is a fair and just tax upon corporations doing a purely local business within their own state boundaries, there is a way provided by the Constitution to accomplish this purpose. That way does not lie along the course of judicial amendment to that fundamental charter (*Connecticut Gen. Life Ins. Co. v. Johnson*, 303 U.S. 77 1938).

Eleven years later Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas repeated many of Black's arguments against corporate personhood in another dissenting opinion and ended, "I can only conclude that the Santa Clara case was wrong and should be overruled" (*Wheeling Steel Corp. v. Glander*, 337 U.S. 562 1949).

Citizens United: Free Speech for Corporations

The Supreme Court not only continued to uphold its rulings that corporations were persons entitled to the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment, but it expanded their rights as persons to include First Amendment rights of free speech in the *Citizens United* decision in 2010. In the minority dissent, Justice John Paul Stevens, with Justices Ginsburg, Breyer, and Sotomayor concurring, attacked the reasoning of the majority, though he did not mention the corporate personhood doctrine that was implicit in the majority decision:

In a democratic society, the longstanding consensus on the need to limit corporate campaign spending should outweigh the wooden application of judge-made rules. . . . At bottom, the Court's opinion is thus a rejection of the common sense of the American people, who have recognized a need to prevent corporations from undermining self-government since the founding, and who have fought against the distinctive corrupting potential of corporate electioneering since the days of Theodore Roosevelt. It is a strange time to repudiate that common sense. While American democracy is imperfect, few outside the majority of this Court would have thought its flaws included a dearth of corporate money in politics. I would affirm the judgment of the District Court (*Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission* 558 1970 U.S. 2010).

In 2012 the US Supreme Court ruled in *American Tradition Partnership v. Bullock*, Attorney General of Montana, 132 S. Ct. 2490 2012, *that the Citizen United decision concerning political donations applies also to state and local elections, and it overturned a 1912 Montana law designed to combat corruption by prohibiting campaign contributions by business corporations*. Mark Twain wrote of William A. Clark, one of the Copper Kings of Montana, "He is said to have bought legislatures and judges as other men buy food and raiment. By his example he has so excused and so sweetened corruption that in Montana it no longer has an offensive smell." *The Montana Supreme Court argued that the Citizens United decision did not apply in Montana, because the state's history of corruption gave it a "unique and compelling interest" in limiting corporate influence on elections. The US*

Supreme Court rejected their contention without argument by the same 5-4 vote as earlier (R. Weiner, 2012).

The Citizens United decision brought immediate public protest, for it was plainly evident that it would have a major effect on elections. The Center for Responsive Politics reported that in recent times nine out of ten Congressional elections were decided by which candidate raised more campaign funds (Center for Responsive Politics, 2008). A number of public interest groups immediately began calling for amending the Constitution to reverse the court rulings that corporations are persons with free speech rights and that money is speech. Among them are Center for Media and Democracy, Move to Amend, People for the American Way, Free Speech for People, Public Citizen, and Common Cause. Other groups such as the Coffee Party, the National Education Association, the Communication Workers of America, United Republic, and dozens of other organizations have endorsed the effort. They maintain a cooperative web site entitled United for the People.

These organizations launched grassroots campaigns to get referenda on local election ballots expressing support for an amendment to take corporate money out of politics. At least sixteen states as well as voters and city councils in more than 500 cities and towns, including New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago, have passed resolutions favoring such a constitutional amendment. For example, on April 5, 2011, the citizens of Madison, voted 84 percent to 16 percent in favor of “RESOLVED, the City of Madison, Wisconsin, calls for reclaiming democracy from the corrupting effects of undue corporate influence by amending the United States Constitution to establish that: 1. Only human beings, not corporations, are entitled to constitutional rights, and 2. Money is not speech, and therefore regulating political contributions and spending is not equivalent to limiting political speech.” Overwhelming majorities, regardless of party affiliation, favor such an amendment. In a Republican Primary in West Allis 70 percent supported a constitutional amendment to overturn Citizens United (United for the People, 2015). Three million people have signed petitions supporting a constitutional amendment, and polls show a 2-to-1 margin of support even among Republicans. Many US Senators and Representatives responded, with some 35 introducing constitutional amendments in the 112th (2011-2012) and 113th (2013-2014) Congresses. They varied in wording but all sought to overturn or limit the Citizens United ruling. Finally, Senate Democrats brought the following proposed amendment to the floor in September, 2014: “Congress shall have power to regulate the raising and spending of money and in-kind equivalents with respect to Federal elections,” and it would give similar authority to states to regulate money in state elections. Initially about 20 Republicans joined Democrats and Independent Bernie Sanders in a 79-18 vote to advance the bill for floor debate, but it was apparently a strategic

move by the Republican Senators, who had no intention of voting for it in the end. The key vote that killed the measure was a motion to end debate and allow the Senate to vote on the amendment. The motion failed by a party-line vote of 54 to 42, six short of the 60 necessary to end debate (Trumbull, 2014; Cox, 2014). Just the possibility of a filibuster is sufficient to kill a bill in today's Congress. The main television networks largely ignored the attempt to begin amending the constitution to nullify Citizens United. Between February, 2013, and September, 2014, Media Matters for America found that ABC devoted less than 13 minutes and NBC and CBS less than 18 minutes to the issue of big money in politics in their evening news and Sunday talk shows. PBS devoted 74 minutes—1.6 times as much as the other three networks combined (Hatcher-Mays, 2014).

The Koch Brothers and Big Money in Political Campaigns

As predicted, the Citizens United and American Tradition Partnership decisions opened the floodgates for political spending by corporations and the extremely rich. The biggest players by far were Charles and David Koch, who in July, 2016, were tied for fifth place on the Bloomberg Billionaires Index and ninth place on the Forbes list of world's richest billionaires. As Piketty has pointed out, however, the estimates of billionaires' wealth appearing in financial magazines suffer from serious methodological deficiencies and can be accepted only as very rough approximations (Piketty, 2014, pp. 432-436). Their net worth was estimated at \$51.3 billion each by Bloomberg and 42.9 billion each by Forbes. The Koch brothers were notoriously secretive concerning both their business affairs and their political activities and took pride in running what David called "the biggest company you have never heard of." Charles in particular tries to avoid publicity, but David enjoys the limelight and has been more visibly involved, though not necessarily more influential, in recent political activities.

They say that there are no important issues on which they disagree. The brothers have long been active in funding libertarian and conservative think tanks and advocacy organizations and in providing contributions to conservative political candidates, but they did so without attracting much public attention for many years. With their increasing political role in recent years, however, they began to attract more public notice—and alarm. Kirk Davies, the research director at Greenpeace, began the "outing" of the Kochs' operations. The Greenpeace researchers had previously exposed Exxon's role in funding think tanks and research studies to try to create doubt about climate change. When they began to investigate the Kochs, they were astounded to find that between 2005 and 2008 the Kochs had contributed almost \$25 million to think tanks, policy institutes, and advocacy groups that were

trying to sow seeds of doubt about climate change. This was almost three times as much as Exxon had contributed during the same period. Their report helped to make the Kochs a household name, but it was misleading. Their mistake was in assuming that the contributions were largely related to the climate change issue. That is certainly an important part of their activity, but the contributions were designed to support a much wider range of issues dear to their libertarian and conservative principles (Greenpeace, 2010; Schulman, 2014a, pp. 279-281).

The Koch brothers' "cover" was blown more effectively five months later in August, 2010, in a long exposé article by Jane Mayer in the *New Yorker*. She quoted Charles Lewis, the founder of the watchdog group, the Center for Public Integrity:

The Kochs are on a whole different level. There's no one else who has spent this much money. The sheer dimension of it is what sets them apart. They have a pattern of lawbreaking, political manipulation, and obfuscation. I've been in Washington since Watergate, and I've never seen anything like it. They are the Standard Oil of our times (Mayer, 2010)

The Mayer article particularly infuriated David Koch, and he complained to the *Daily Beast*, "If what I and my brother believe in, and advocate for, is secret, it's the worst covert operation in history" (Schulman, 2014a, p. 285). Koch operatives launched efforts to try to discredit Mayer, a highly respected journalist, and complained bitterly when her article was nominated for a National Magazine Award. Mayer published additional stories about the Koch brothers in the *New Yorker* and in 2016 published a full-scale book about their political activities—*Dark Money: The Hidden History of the Billionaires Behind the Rise of the Radical Right*. To combat the onslaught of negative stories, Koch Industries set up a website, KochFacts, to try to counter their critics. (<http://www.kochfacts.com/kf/>)

The first extended biography of the Koch brothers, *Sons of Wichita*, was published in 2014 by Daniel Schulman, a senior editor in the Washington bureau of *Mother Jones*. It does not caricature the brothers and is surprisingly sympathetic to Charles and David in the first half of the book, at least in comparison with Bill, the ruthless younger brother of Charles and twin of David. Bill, with the somewhat passive acquiescence of eldest brother Frederick, waged a vendetta against Charles and David for some twenty years, causing an immense amount of family disruption and legal difficulties. Only in their 60s did the brothers reconcile sufficiently to stop fighting each other.

The father and founder of the family fortune was Fred Koch, a Texan who studied at MIT, became a chemical engineer, and went to work in the

oil industry. He went into business with two partners, Lewis Winkler and Dobie Keith, in a company specializing in thermal cracking of crude petroleum. Winkler had previously been chief engineer at Universal Oil Products, where Carbon Dubbs had invented a new cracking technique that did not build up large deposits of carbon in the machinery. Winkler apparently brought the technology or a similar process to the new Winkler-Koch Company and began selling it widely on particularly favorable terms. The big oil companies wanted to control the technology, so they bought up Universal. In 1932 Universal sued for patent infringement, arguing that the Winkler-Koch method was simply a knock-off of Dubbs' invention. In 1934 a lower court finally ruled in favor of Universal, prompting Winkler-Koch to appeal to the Third Circuit in Philadelphia, but it upheld the lower court verdict. Things looked bleak for Winkler-Koch, but then evidence emerged that Universal had bribed one of the appellate judges just to make sure the ruling was not overturned. The bribe probably would not have been necessary for Universal to win, but the fact that it occurred caused the infringement verdict to be vacated. The big oil companies quickly offloaded Universal to distance themselves from the scandal, but Fred Koch went after them with a flurry of lawsuits, eventually extracting \$1.5 million from them (Schulman, 2014a, pp. 27-35).

According to Koch family lore, Big Oil wanted to control the new cracking method and tried to force Fred's company out of business, so to escape their reach Fred Koch was forced to take work in the Soviet Union. Actually, Winkler-Koch signed a contract with Amtorg, the Soviet Union's trade representative in the United States, much earlier in 1929 simply because they needed the work. They contracted to design and construct fifteen oil cracking stills in the Soviet Union and to consult on the construction of dozens of more cracking units. The deal was worth almost \$5 million and led to Fred earning his first million dollars—ironically, with the Stalinist regime providing the seed of the family fortune. In 1930 Fred himself visited the Soviet Union to inspect the work his engineers were doing. He was followed everywhere by a nasty little man who was assigned as a “minder” by the Soviet authorities. He delighted in goading and taunting Fred, predicting a Communist victory over America. The “minder” promised that the Communists would infiltrate every aspect of American society—the schools, churches, unions, the military, the government. “We will make you rotten to the core.” Fred was shocked at the lack of freedom and the conditions under which people lived, and it turned him into a rabid anti-Communist. As he wrote later in a letter to the *Washington Post*,

What I saw in Russia convinced me of the utterly evil nature of communism. . . . What I saw there convinced me that communism was the

most evil force the world has ever seen and I must do everything in my power to fight it, which I have done since that time (Schulman, 2014a, pp. 35-39)

Many of the Soviet engineers who had worked with the Koch engineers were later executed or sent to the Gulag labor camps in Siberia, and the loyal Communist who had been Fred's minder was also executed in 1936, charged with conspiring with Trotsky against Stalin. Fred was also convinced that the KGB had murdered a Russian engineer who had defected to America and had been given a job with Koch's company in Wichita (Schulman, 2014a, p. 44). This hardened his attitude toward Communism even more. By 1938 he even saw something laudable in the rise of fascism: "Although nobody agrees with me, I am of the opinion that the only sound countries in the world are Germany, Italy, and Japan, simply because they are all working and working hard" (Schulman, 2014a, pp. 41-42).

Winkler left the firm, and Fred Koch's company was renamed the Rock Island Oil & Refining Co., with headquarters in Wichita, Kansas. It prospered handsomely.

In December, 1958, nineteen months after the death of Senator Joseph McCarthy, the John Birch Society was founded by Robert W. Welch, Jr., to maintain the anti-Communist crusade. Fred Koch was one of the original small group of founding members assembled in Indianapolis by Welch. Koch contributed to the organization and served on the governing board of the society for many years. His own rhetoric was similar to that of Welch. He believed that Communists had infiltrated both the Democratic and Republican party, and even President Eisenhower was not above suspicion. He wrote a pamphlet entitled *A Business Man Looks at Communism* that saw the infiltration of Communism everywhere—in the foreign aid program, on college campuses, in nonprofit organizations, in churches, in unions, in the civil rights movement, and in the Democratic and Republican political parties. By 1961 some 2.6 million copies had been distributed (Schulman, 2014a, pp. 46-47)

Fred's son Charles was also an active member of the John Birch Society, beginning in the early 1960s when he was in his late 20s. He purchased a "lifetime membership" and opened an American Opinion bookstore, a Birch Society operation, in Wichita that was stocked with anti-Communist books. It also had a plentiful supply of books attacking the civil rights movement and depicting Martin Luther King, Jr., and Earl Warren as agents in a Communist conspiracy. He provided support to the Society's promotional campaigns and radio shows, but he did not agree with all of the Society's positions. In his bookstore he assembled a section devoted to "Austrian economics"—that is, the works of Friedrich Hayek, Ludwig von

Mises, and similar economists. As he became increasingly enamored with libertarian ideas, he began to move away from conventional conservatism and anti-Communism. He finally resigned in 1968 because the Birch Society favored the war against Communism in Southeast Asia, whereas his libertarian and isolationist principles led him to oppose it (Graves, 1914; Schulman, 2014a, pp. 55, 96). The John Birch Society claimed to have from 60,000 to 100,000 members in 1961, but then it declined sharply, regarded as extremist even by conservatives. It still has a headquarters in Appleton, Wisconsin, which was Senator McCarthy's home base.

Fred Koch had four sons, three of whom also earned engineering degrees at MIT. He diligently tried to instill in them his political philosophy of extreme conservatism and anti-Communism. Charles, the second son, was most influenced by his father's strong anti-Communist views, though he moved away from them as he became more influenced by libertarianism. The younger David was always skeptical of the more extreme Birth Society notions, and his twin, Bill, was even less influenced by his father's political views. Frederick, the eldest son, was more interested in artistic pursuits than in politics. Charles and David came to embrace an anarchical libertarian philosophy that regarded big government as evil and rejected almost all forms of government regulation. Charles and David became followers of Friedrich Hayek, who promoted unfettered capitalism, and for a time they were strongly influenced by the ideas of Robert LeFevre, who favored the abolition of the state. Charles Koch has not abandoned all the traces of his Birch Society heritage, though—for example, claiming that President Obama was a “socialist.” He also made public speeches in which he maintained that the only proper role for government was to police interference with the free market. As Graves remarked, this is “an ideology that inherently rejects child labor laws, minimum wages or safety rules, the protection of union rights, and more” (Graves, 1914).

The political scientist Gus diRezegga, who was a friend and follower of Charles Koch in his youth, sees this as part of a general trend in the extreme right: “As state socialism failed, and ceased to be a threat . . . the target for many within these organizations shifted to any kind of regulation at all. ‘Socialism’ kept being defined downwards” (diRezegga, “Meditation on Charles Koch”). At least the Kochs profess to believe in a pure libertarianism, though they have supported authoritarian political leaders in the Tea Party movement and elsewhere who are opposed to government only because they are not currently in control of the government. Neither have the Kochs' companies been hesitant about accepting lucrative government contracts, and the government has become one of their biggest customers. According to data collected by Media Matters, Koch affiliated companies received \$97 million in government contracts between 2006 and 2009, mostly to Georgia-Pacific,

which Koch Industries bought in 2005 for \$21 billion (“Koch Companies Have Received . . . ” 2010). Again, diRezega says, “Charles apparently gradually shifted to supporting those ‘conservatives’ who sought a more authoritarian and intrusive government so long as it did not tax his great wealth” (diRezega, “Meditation on Charles Koch”).

Fred Koch died in 1967, and Charles Koch assumed control of the family business, which he renamed Koch Industries in honor of his father. Charles personally maintains an iron control over the company, which is a private company without public shareholders and is therefore not obligated to disclose much information about the company. David Koch plays a secondary management role. The other two sons, William and Frederick, played little role and resented the autocratic control of Charles. They tried to take over the company but failed in their attempt, leading to a series of lawsuits against the company over a period of many years. In 1983 Charles and David bought out their brothers and became co-owners of Koch Industries, each with a 42 percent share of the company.

Charles Koch proved to be a master businessman, even more successful than his father. Under his management, and with the collaboration of his brother David, Koch Industries enjoyed astonishing growth and prosperity. In 1960 Koch Industries had revenue of \$70 million, but by 2006 revenues increased to \$90 billion—1286 times as large. This was a rate 16 times faster than the S&P 500 over the same period. The number of employees also grew from 650 to 100,000. It ceased to be simply an oil company and became a conglomerate. It moved into animal feed and agriculture, highway and tennis court surfaces, telecommunications, ranching, supertankers (a rare mistake), carpets, and timber products. Charles made investments to capitalize on its core capabilities to transport, process, and trade commodities. When he engineered the purchase of Georgia Pacific, Koch Industries suddenly became the largest privately held company in the United States. Later Cargill recaptured the lead, and it fell to second place. Charles was a workaholic who kept a firm view on the bottom line of any activity. He sought to organize the company itself on libertarian principles with extreme competition internally among the employees, and with handsome rewards given to those who were most successful in growing the profits of the company. He was rather skeptical about the graduates of prestigious Eastern universities and tended to favor hiring the graduates of Midwestern universities, such as the University of Kansas and Oklahoma State University and even those without college degrees (Schulman, 2014a, pp. 3, 79–81, 241–250).

As their fortunes grew, Charles and David sought to use increasing amounts of money to advance the cause of libertarianism and influence politics in America. According to Brian Doherty, who has interviewed both brothers, Charles Koch’s goal is to tear government “out at the root” (Mayer,

2010). In 1979 Charles persuaded David to run for public office as the Vice Presidential nominee of the Libertarian Party, with Ed Clark heading the ticket. As a candidate himself, he was able to spend his own money without being limited by campaign finance laws. He promised to spend \$2 million on the campaign but actually ended up spending at least twice that much. The party platform called for the abolition of the FBI, the CIA, the SEC and other federal regulatory agencies, the end of Social Security, minimum wage laws, gun control, and all personal and corporate income taxes. It also favored legalization of prostitution, recreational drugs, and suicide. Running against Ronald Reagan and Jimmy Carter, the ticket received only one percent of the popular vote. This was far less than Libertarian Party leaders expected, and they were also upset that Clark and David Koch had strayed from pure libertarian principles. For example, Clark did not call for the wholesale abolition of the income tax, and even seemed to be considering opposition to nuclear power. The Kochs realized that the Libertarian program did not sell in the political marketplace, and they resolved to work instead toward popularizing libertarian ideas so that they would have more political appeal (Schulman, 2014a, pp. 109-116).

Starting in the late 1970s the Koch brothers started pouring millions of dollars into a large number of policy and issue organizations with innocuous sounding names. They were seemingly independent but actually formed a kind of network advocating issues that were important to the Kochs. No one knows how much money went into this type of activity, since much of it was hidden, but various watchdog groups have made estimates based on tax and other records. Mayer believes the total may be more than \$100 million, and she reports that from 1998 to 2010 Koch Industries spent more than \$50 million on lobbying (Mayer, 2010).

Trying to make libertarian ideas more academically respectable, the Koch brothers founded the Cato Institute in 1977, the first libertarian think tank. It has employed dozens of academics who write policy papers criticizing government programs from a libertarian point of view, advocating for corporate tax cuts and reduced social services and attempting to discredit the warnings of scientists about global warming due to human caused air pollution and environmental destruction. It has been quite successful in raising doubts about the reality of global warming in the minds of the public but not at all among climate scientists. Over the years the Kochs have donated more than \$30 million to the Institute, and the Koch Brothers still own 50 percent of the Institute shares. Charles Koch had a falling out with Ed Crane, the chief executive of the Institute and resigned from its board, but David Koch remained a board member. In 2012 the Kochs sued the Institute to try to gain a majority control, but the dispute was settled by the retirement of Crane, who was out of favor with Charles Koch (Lichtblau, 2012).

The Cato Institute is not the only organization working against the recognition of global warming as perhaps the most serious problem facing the world for the rest of this century and the next. Greenpeace has identified a large number of groups in the “Kochtopus” that have received money from the Kochs to challenge the validity of warnings about global warming, though they have probably overestimated the amount of money devoted to that specific subject (Gibson, 2012). Critics of the Kochs sometimes claim that their policy proposals are substantially motivated by self-interest, and that certainly seems true of their fight to prevent control of carbon emissions, since oil is still a major part of the Koch business. We have already witnessed what Bill McKibben calls “the end of nature” with increasingly capricious and extreme weather due to global warming (McKibben, 1989). The lack of public support for strict controls, due in part to doubts about the underlying science, permits the worsening crisis to continued unabated. It seems clear, though, that the Kochs are pursuing many policies that have little bearing on their company’s bottom line and simply grow out of their libertarian ideology.

Charles Koch decided to fund a second think-tank started by Richard Fink, a doctoral student in economics at New York University, which at the time had the only program focused on “Austrian economics”—a free market approach centered on the work of Friedrich Hayek. It was originally called the Austrian Economics Program and was located at Rutgers University, where Fink was teaching. In 1980 it was renamed the Center for the Study of Market Processes, but a hiring freeze at Rutgers stymied plans for expansion and prompted a move to George Mason University in the suburbs of Washington DC, with Fink becoming a faculty member in the economics department. Fink gained Charles Koch’s confidence and the Koch family began to pour money into George Mason, at least \$30 million, much of it to Fink’s think-tank. In 1998 its name was changed again to Mercatus Center (from Latin meaning market or trade). The arrangement was at the time something of an anomaly in that George Mason is a public university supported by public taxes, but the Mercatus Center is a nonprofit tax-exempt entity funded entirely by donations from corporations, foundations, and individuals and dedicated to the propagation of a particular strand of economic and political thought. Its website proclaims, “The Mercatus Center at George Mason University is the world’s premier university source for market-oriented ideas—bridging the gap between academic ideas and real-world problems.”

Both the Cato Institute and the Mercatus Center insist that they are independent, but there is little in the programs of either center that the Kochs would disagree with. Fink also began to play a double role, becoming Charles Koch’s chief political adviser as well as head of the Mercatus Center. Later

he left the Center to work for Koch Industries full time as its chief lobbyist in Washington and as Charles Koch's main political strategist and general problem solver. Under Fink's influence the Kochs became much more aggressive in funding dozens of universities, spending almost \$31 million from 2007 to 2011 alone to endow professorships, support free-market economics programs, and sponsor conferences for libertarian scholars. When Koch's foundation provided \$1.5 million to Florida State University to hire two economics professors, it insisted on a contract with the university giving a foundation advisory committee veto power over job candidates (Schulman, 2014b).

The Koch brothers realized that creating think-tanks was not sufficient to generate a political movement, and in 1984 David Koch and Richard Fink created an organization called Citizens for a Sound Economy to deliver libertarian ideas to the street and gain popular support. It posed as a grassroots group but was really what has come to be called an AstroTurf organization that was really tightly controlled from the top down, ultimately by the Kochs who funded it with \$7.9 million between 1986 and 1993. The organization acquired fifty paid field workers, dispatched to twenty-six states to organize demonstrations in support of the libertarian agenda. Matt Kibbe, who was active in the organization, said, "We learned we needed boots on the ground to sell ideas, not candidates" (Mayer, 2010). By 2004 rivalries within the organization caused it to split, and David Koch and Fink formed a new group called Americans for Prosperity (AFP) headed by Tim Phillips, which has been the primary political tool of the Kochs ever since. In 2008 it organized a large number of "events"—actually raucous demonstrations of conservatives against various proposals of the Obama Administration—including 300 rallies against health care reform and 80 events protesting cap-and-trade and other environmental proposals.

The Tea Party movement was born out of these demonstrations. The largest rally brought out 15,000 people in Atlanta and was organized by Americans for Prosperity. Tim Phillips addressed the crowd himself, telling them ". . . This Tea Party is not an ending it is a beginning. This is the beginning of taking our nation back, of protecting the freedoms that have made us great for so long, and we're going to do that and you're going to do that and it starts right here, right now!" (Schulman, 2014a, p. 273). There was a strain of extremism in the Tea Party that was reminiscent of the John Birch Society—accusations that President Obama was a socialist or Communist, paranoia about losing sovereignty to the UN, an undercurrent of racism, and the presence of an evil conspiracy to subvert the nation. David Welch, formerly a research director at the Republican National Committee, wrote in a *New York Times* op-ed, "The modern-day Birchers are the Tea Party," and he lamented that there was no respected conservative like William

Buckley this time to stand up to the extremists (Schulman, 2014a, p. 274).

The Koch brothers have not explicitly embraced the Tea Party, which includes many people who are far from libertarian in their outlook, and they have tried to hide the fact that they are the chief funders of the movement. They have, however, praised it for its public activism and street demonstrations. At a party for the new class of Republican Congressmen in January, 2011, hosted by David Koch, a journalist asked Koch if he was proud of the accomplishments of the Tea Party. He responded, "Yeah. There are some extremists there, but the rank and file are just normal people like us. And I admire them. It's probably the best grassroots uprising since 1776 in my opinion" (Schulman, 2014a, p. 291). The primary effect of the Tea Party demonstrations was to intimidate moderate Republicans in Congress and prevent them from working constructively with Democrats to pass legislation (Mayer, 2010).

Some critics have suggested that not only is there an "end of nature" but big money in politics is bringing an "end to democracy," with political control increasingly falling into the hands of an oligarchy of the rich. Thomas Piketty has argued on the basis of an analysis of historical economic data that an increasing concentration of wealth is a regular feature of capitalism world-wide. He shows evidence that increasing inequality is the result of a tendency for returns on capital to increase at a faster rate than economic growth, except when there are shocks from major wars or depressions or there are major redistributive programs undertaken by governments. There is no automatic mechanism in capitalist markets that leads inevitably toward equality. There is no rising tide that lifts all boats equally (Piketty, 2014).

The Swiss Credit Suisse Bank publishes annual estimates of global wealth distribution based on heroic assumptions and guesses in the absence of official statistics. It reported that in 2014 the top one percent of wealth holders in the world owned 48.9 percent of the total wealth and in the US the top one percent owned 38.8 percent of US wealth. The top decile in the world owned 87.4 percent of the world wealth and in the US the top decile owned 74.6 percent (Credit Suisse, 2014, pp. 124, 126). Piketty's estimates based on a review of the studies of many financial institutions are more convincing. He concluded that global inequality in the world in the early 2010s appears to be comparable to that observed in Europe in 1900-1910, a period of extreme inequality preceding the leveling shocks of two world wars and the Great Depression. The top thousandth of world wealth holders probably owns 20 percent of total world wealth, the top centile (1%) owns 50 percent, the top decile (10%) owns 80 to 90 percent, and the bottom half (50%) owns less than 5 percent (Piketty, 2014, p. 438). Oxfam International recently calculated that the wealth of the top 80 billionaires in the world doubled

in nominal terms between 2009 and 2014, and in 2014 they had as much wealth as the bottom 50 percent of the global population (Oxfam International, 2015).

“Citizen Koch”

The Kochs and other extremely wealthy individuals had been influencing political elections with contributions all along, but the Citizens United ruling dismantling the most restrictive campaign finance laws in 2010 opened the floodgates for the flow of big money into elections. Wisconsin was one of the states that the Koch brothers targeted in 2010 as a place where they could have a major influence. The Koch Industries Political Action Committee (PAC) made a contribution to the gubernatorial campaign of Scott Walker of \$43,000, only \$128 short of the maximum allowed by law for direct contributions to a candidate. Most of the Koch money donated to Walker’s campaign came through Americans for Prosperity, whose budget surged from \$7 million in 2007 to \$40 million in 2010. The Kochs are not the only donors to AFP, however, and since AFP is not required to divulge the names of its contributors, the amount it spends on political activities, or the locations of its political activities, it is impossible to determine just how much it spent on Walker’s behalf.

APF’s efforts in Wisconsin, however, were highly visible, with large numbers of television ads, grassroots canvassing and organizing rallies. On the basis of television spending, it appeared that Walker had twice as much money to spend on the campaign as Tom Barrett, the Democratic candidate. For the first time the general public became aware of the political activity of the Koch brothers, and Democrats and liberals began to regard them as the arch-enemy. US Representative Gwen Moore from Milwaukee said, “The Koch brothers are the poster children of the effort by multinational corporate America to try to redefine the rights and values of American citizens.” Walker was elected with 52.3 percent of the vote to Barrett’s 46.6. Even before Walker was sworn in, Tim Philipps, the Director of AFP, told the *New York Times* that their staff had been working with Walker encouraging him to have a showdown with labor unions, and they were attempting to do the same in Indiana, Ohio, and Pennsylvania (Lipton, 2011).

Carl Deal and Tia Lessin are gifted documentary film producers. Their documentary “Trouble the Water” was the best film about the tragedy of Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans. It won the Grand Jury Prize at the Sundance Film Festival and was an Academy Award nominee for Best Documentary Feature in 2008. In 2011 they set out to make a documentary about the influence of big money in politics and focused on events in Wisconsin. They received a commitment of \$150,000 from the Independent Television

Service (ITVS), an organization funded by the Corporation for Public Broadcasting to finance films shown on PBS. In the film they explore how the Citizens United decision of the Supreme Court brought a flood of money from rich donors to support right-wing political causes. They feature the influence of the Koch brothers and their derivative organization, Americans for Prosperity. Much of the film focuses on three working class Republican voters who felt betrayed when Scott Walker introduced anti-union legislation after his election. Lessin and Deal titled their film ironically as “Citizen Koch,” harking back to the classic Orson Welles film “Citizen Kane,” seemingly modeled on William Randolph Hearst.

The vice-president of programming at ITVS was complimentary and encouraging after viewing their rough cut. But then a documentary by Alex Gibney titled “Park Avenue: Money, Power and the American Dream” aired on PBS in November, 2012, and everything changed. The film dealt with growing inequality in America and contrasted the lifestyles of the residents in one of the most expensive apartment buildings on Park Avenue in Manhattan with the poor residents at the other end of Park Avenue in the Bronx. David Koch was one of the wealthiest residents of the apartment building, and a doorman who was interviewed in the film complained that he was the stingiest of all the multimillionaires in the building. It was reported that Koch was deeply offended by the documentary—a not unusual reaction of those skewered by Gibney. This greatly alarmed executives at PBS, since David Koch was one of the most generous donors to public television and was a member of the board of WGBH in Boston and WNET in New York. They worried that a second film critical of the Kochs would bring an end to the flow of Koch money into public television, so they put pressure on ITVS not to fund “Citizen Koch”—and certainly not under that title.

Officials at ITVS began to pressure Deal and Lessin to change the title, reduce references to the Kochs, add negative material about Democrats, and eliminate an opening sequence in which Sarah Palin spoke at a rally sponsored by Americans for Prosperity. Essentially, they wanted to get rid of the Koch story line. Even after the film was well received in a showing at the Sundance Film Festival, ITVS continued to drag out negotiations, and finally on April 15, 2013, they canceled the deal and withdrew their offer of \$150,000 funding. There is no evidence that David Koch ever tried to influence programming, but he did not have to. It was a classic case of self-censorship. WNET made efforts to mollify Koch after “Park Avenue” aired, but it was to no avail. It was reported that David Koch cancelled his plan to make a large donation to public TV. In October, 2013, environmental activists picketed the offices of WGBH in Boston and delivered a petition signed by 70,000 people asking the station to remove David Koch from its Board of Trustees. Koch did resign from the boards of both WREN and WGBH

(Mayer, 2013; Schulman, 2014a, p. 367).

Lessin and Deal were resilient. They turned to crowdfunding through Kickstarter, an online funding mechanism. By soliciting the support of small donors, they were able to raise enough money to finish their film—in fact more than the \$150,000 that had been expected from public television (Mayer, 2013b). In the Spring of 2013 they showed “Citizen Koch” twice at packed auditoriums at the Wisconsin Film Festival. Some of the people who appeared in the film were present at the showings, and Lessin and Deal answered questions from the audience afterwards. The film still did not have a distributor, but they finally found one in Variance Films, and it began to distribute the film to regular theaters in Madison and a few other cities in 2014. It is currently available through Netflix and Amazon. Alex Gibney’s “Park Avenue” is not available on DVD at Amazon but is available on Netflix and the web.

Scott Walker’s Act 10 “Bomb”

Scott Walker was inaugurated as Governor of Wisconsin on Jan. 3, 2011. Five weeks later on February 11 he introduced his “Budget Repair Bill,” which he maintained was necessary to deal with projected deficits. It was, in his own words, a “bomb,” for it not only required state employees to pay a greater share of pension and health care costs, but it stripped most public workers of most of their collective bargaining rights. It narrowed collective bargaining for public employee unions to wage issues, with increases limited to the inflation rate or less. Bargaining on health care costs, pensions, and working conditions would be prohibited—rights that had been granted fifty years earlier. Restrictions would be imposed on unions that would make it difficult for them to continue to exist. An annual certification vote on the existence of each union would be required, employees would be able to opt out of paying union dues, and employers would be prohibited from withholding union dues from worker’s paychecks.

For the more than 30,000 employees of the University of Wisconsin, which was a hotbed of anti-Walker sentiment, there was an even more draconian provision—the repeal of all rights to collective bargaining, which had only recently been won in 2009. Police and fire fighter unions, many of which had supported Walker in his election campaign, would be exempt from the new rules. Paul Krugman wrote in the *New York Times*,

Tellingly, some workers—namely, those who tend to be Republican leaning—are exempted from the ban; it’s as if Mr. Walker were flaunting the political nature of his actions. Why bust the unions? As I said, it has nothing to do with helping Wisconsin deal with its current fiscal

crisis. Nor is it likely to help the state's budget prospects even in the long run: contrary to what you may have heard, public-sector workers in Wisconsin and elsewhere are paid somewhat less than private-sector workers with comparable qualifications, so there's not much room for further pay squeezes. So it's not about the budget; it's about the power (Krugman, 2011).

Public employees, union members of all types, and a broad segment of the general public were shocked and outraged. They complained that Walker had never mentioned his plan for such an incendiary proposal during the election campaign, and the public did not know what they were voting for. Walker responded on February 21, "I campaigned on [the proposals in the budget repair bill] all throughout the election. Anybody who says they are shocked on this has been asleep for the past two years." The *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel's* PolitiFact did a thorough investigation and concluded that Walker's statement was false and gave it a failing grade on their Truth-O-Meter (Umhoefer, 2011). It was a surprise to everyone except those in Walker's inner circle and the leaders of Americans for Prosperity—and in all likelihood, leaders of the American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC).

ALEC is an arch-conservative organization founded in 1973 by Henry Hyde, Lou Barnett, and Paul Weyrich. Its primary objective is to write model legislative bills that it distributes to conservative lawmakers around the country. Wisconsin's Tommy Thompson, who was Governor for fourteen years, was an early and enthusiastic member of ALEC. He once told an ALEC meeting, "Myself, I always loved going to these meetings because I always found new ideas. Then I'd take them back to Wisconsin, disguise them a little bit, and declare that 'it's mine'" (Botari, 2011). Their own website claims marked success in getting conservative legislation passed. They assert that each year almost 1,000 bills are introduced based on ALEC's model legislation, and usually about 20 percent are passed into law. Conservative legislators are invited to become members for a nominal fee of \$100 per biennium, but vetted nonmembers may join by contributing large sums of money—in the thousands. Indeed, the Center for Media and Democracy has found that the nonlegislative members provide 98 percent of the funding for the organization. They claim that Koch foundations have given ALEC at least \$600,000 over the last decade or so, and Koch Industries has also donated an untold amount. Koch Industries has chaired the ALEC corporate board and has had a seat on the board for over a decade. There are also at least 300 other corporate members that give significant amounts of money to the organization (Graves, 2011).

Scott Walker, Senate Majority Leader Scott Fitzgerald, and Assembly Speaker Jeff Fitzgerald were all members of ALEC in 2010 when the Budget

Repair Bill was being prepared. There is evidence that Walker was meeting with ALEC personnel before he was sworn in as Governor, and this gave rise to the suspicion that ALEC was actually the author of the Budget Repair Bill. The Center for Media and Democracy has built an archive containing over 800 ALEC model bills, but they report that there is no ALEC bill that mirrors Walker's bill. There are, however, some key anti-union provisions in the Budget Repair Bill that are also found in some of the model bills (Botari, 2011).

One of the first persons to bring the influence of ALEC to public attention was my colleague, the distinguished environmental historian Bill Cronon. He became curious about the source of the wave of extremely conservative legislation being introduced broadly across the country. After doing some research, he began to suspect that ALEC, which was little known to the public, was a prime source. He started a blog called "Scholar as Citizen" and his first entry on March 15, 2011, was "Who's Really Behind Recent Republican Legislation in Wisconsin and Elsewhere? (Hint: It Didn't Start Here)" (Cronon, March 15, 2011). He wrote about what he had learned about ALEC and provided links and sources that readers could check to learn more themselves. Within two days the blog received over half a million hits and was read by tens of thousands of people in the US and in two dozen countries abroad. It was linked by newspapers all over the US. It also angered members of the Republican Party in Wisconsin.

Within two days the UW Legal Office received a letter from Stephan Thompson representing the Republican Party of Wisconsin. He requested under the Wisconsin open records law copies of all emails into and out of Bill Cronon's university e-mail account after January 1, 2011, pertaining to a number of Republican officials and subjects related to the Budget Repair Bill. It was a clear political attempt to intimidate and silence Cronon. They were obviously hoping to find that Cronon had used university facilities for political purposes, but in this they were disappointed, for he was scrupulous about following university regulations. Cronon was angered by the tactic and in the following week wrote a second blog, "Abusing Open Records to Attack Academic Freedom" (W. Cronon, March 24, 2011). The *New York Times* also responded with an editorial:

The latest technique used by conservatives to silence liberal academics is to demand copies of e-mails and other documents. . . . Now the Wisconsin Republican Party is doing it to a distinguished historian who dared to criticize the state's new union-busting law. These demands not only abuse academic freedom, but make the instigators look like petty and medieval inquisitors ("A Shabby Crusade in Wisconsin," March 25, 2011)

Most of my Sociology colleagues were also active participants in the Capitol protests, but they were careful never to use university email or facilities to organize or coordinate political activities. One member organized a non-university private communication network to exchange information and discuss political developments.

Mass Protest Demonstrations at the Capitol in 2011

Almost immediately after the bills were introduced, protests and demonstrations erupted—the largest public mobilization on labor issues in recent decades. Unlike the campus demonstrations of the 1960s, these could not be characterized only as student demonstrations, for there was a mass outpouring not only of students but also of UW faculty and staff, public school teachers, public employee union members, including police and firefighters, other union members, government workers, farmers, and a very large segment of the general public who were concerned about the attack on democratic rights. University students, however, did play a key catalytic role in the first demonstrations and the occupation of the Capitol. Sociology graduate students were particularly active in the demonstrations, especially those who were members of the UW Teaching Assistants Association (TAA), which initiated the first Capitol demonstration. Between one and two dozen were active in organizing the occupation of the Capitol, some in leadership positions. At least four later published accounts of what they observed and experienced in the demonstrations—Alexander Hanna, Elizabeth Wrigley-Field, Charity A. Schmidt, and Matthew Lawrence Kearney (Hanna, 2011; Wrigley-Field, 2011a, 2011b; Schmidt, 2011; Kearney, 2014).

On February 12, the day after Walker introduced his bill, some spontaneous protests began. One person decided on his own to put up some signs calling for a protest at Governor Walker's house on Sunday, February 13. Seventy-five people showed up for the demonstration (Wrigley-Field, 2011b). There was another largely spontaneous protest rally in front of Memorial Union that was composed mainly of UW students but was joined by some faculty and townspeople. They announced that there would be demonstrations at the Capitol on February 13 and 14 (WKOW, Feb. 12, 2011).

On Feb. 14 the Teaching Assistant's Association led the first protest at the Capitol with a Valentine's Day theme. This had been planned earlier to protest against anticipated budget cuts for the university, but after Governor Walker announced his plan to curtail public sector unions, the focus suddenly shifted. About one thousand demonstrators—students, faculty, union members, and other citizens, surged into the Capitol chanting, "Kill the bill" and "Spread the love, stop the hate, don't let Walker legislate." The

TAA distributed hundreds of Valentine cards that read “I ♥ UW, Governor Walker, don’t break my ♥” which were signed and then deposited in great piles outside the Governor’s office (“2011 Wisconsin Protests,” n.d.). Some in the crowd displayed large cardboard heart cutouts or carried heart-shaped balloons. Others carried protest signs.

At the request of Governor Walker, companion budget repair bills (SB/AB 11) were introduced to the Wisconsin Senate and Assembly. The Joint Committee on Finance held a public hearing on the bills on February 15. The chair of the committee, Rep. Robin Vos, said he wanted to give the public a chance to comment on the bills, but he set a limit of two minutes per speaker. He failed to set a limit at first to the number of speakers or an overall time limit for the hearing, however, and the TAA seized on the opportunity to mobilize a large number of people to testify. By 9:30 a.m. on the 15th several hundred people were already waiting in line to speak. The TAA leaders sought to extend testimony indefinitely in a kind of filibuster to prevent a committee vote, and they advised students to bring sleeping bags and pillows to camp out in the Capitol during the night shift. Alex Hanna, co-President of the TAA in 2011 and 2012, said “If you go home and come back you’re going to have a lower turnout the next day. . . . We were staying” (Sagrans, 2011, p. 282).

This was really the beginning of a 16-day occupation of the Capitol by protesters. Vos said the members of the committee would stay there all day and far into the night, but he was determined to complete the hearing that day. About 300 of those in line were given numbered priority slips for their appearance. By noon a noisy rally was taking place with 3,000 in the Capitol Rotunda and another 10,000 demonstrators outside. Some 700 students from Madison East High School walked out of classes and marched to the Capitol to join the demonstration. At 2:30 p.m. Vos announced that there were still 250 people waiting to testify, which would probably take another 10 or 12 hours. Early in the day most of the speakers were university students who had arrived early, but in the course of the day members of other unions poured into the Capitol and signed up to give their two minutes of testimony against the bill.

Around 9:00 p.m., Vos made another announcement that the committee would not accept any additional speaker slips, and said that the Republican members would leave by 3:00 a.m. The fourth floor hallway was filled with persons waiting to speak, and they erupted with a chant of “Let us speak!” Vos and the other Republican members did leave in the early hours of the morning without taking a vote after seventeen hours in continuous session, but Democrats on the committee agreed to keep the hearing going as long as there was a line of people waiting to speak. At 1:00 a.m. a majority of the people waiting to testify were middle-aged women who had been waiting up

to five hours. After the Republicans left, people settled down in shifts to nap and others took shifts to alert nappers when their names were coming up. When daybreak came the Democrats' hearing was still going on and people were still testifying (Schmidt, 2011; S. Jones, 2011).

The previous day, on February 15, while the TAA was planning its camp-out at the Capitol, Madison public school teachers held an all-membership emergency meeting. They took a democratic vote and decided that the next day they would go out on an illegal strike for the next four school days. On the morning of February 16, 40 percent of Madison's public school teachers called in "sick" to an automated system and joined the protest at the Capitol. School authorities decided to shut down the public school system until February 22 (Gupta and Horn, 2012; Strauss, 2011). Wrigley-Field reported,

The sick outs . . . brought out thousands of their students to support them. The Saturday following the sick outs, Madison high school students turned up at their closed schools so they could "walk out" and march to the capitol together again. I met many Black students from Milwaukee, Racine, and Kenosha, as well as students from Madison. They spoke about supporting their teachers and also about feeling that politicians weren't supporting their educations. One of the many small, moving moments of those first weeks was when a student walkout contingent of a few thousand high school and college students marched up to the capitol where teachers had ringed the building. As we walked around the capitol chanting, "Thank you, teachers," they would chant-respond, "Thank you, students (Wrigley-Field, 2011b).

A crowd estimated at 30,000 gathered outside the Capitol to protest, including police officers and firefighters, who came out of solidarity, even though Walker's bill specifically exempted them from the bill's provisions. While the protests were going on the Joint Committee voted in executive session to recommend the bills for passage, with one amendment, on a party-line vote of 12-4.

The initial sleepover on the Capitol floor turned into a full-fledged occupation, with the legal pretext of continuing the informal hearings under the sponsorship of Democratic legislators. Some 200 demonstrators slept over in the Capitol again. During the first six days the testimony continued, but without time limits for each speaker, and the organizers of the occupation scrambled to find speakers. Later they kept the building open just as a "continuous meeting" with rotating Democratic staffers. Still later the occupation continued with no legal pretext at all. According to Wrigley-Field, "As the occupation continued, it became increasingly clear to all concerned that its continuation depended on what the protesters, the politicians ordering

the police, and the police themselves were willing to do” (Wrigley-Field, 2011b). Many of the Madison police and Sheriff’s deputies were sympathetic with the protesters and tried to avoid arresting demonstrators. On their part the demonstrators tried to cooperate with some of the requests of the police, such as vacating certain areas of the building. At one point Sheriff Dave Mahoney told Walker that the police were not his “palace guard,” and refused to use his troops to close the Capitol building in violation of a court order. Walker had to call on the Capitol Police and State Patrol to carry out orders seriously restricting the demonstrators.

The TAA took charge of the organization and direction of the Capitol occupation. By coincidence the Wisconsin protests began shortly after 18 days of mass demonstrations and the occupation of Tahrir Square in Cairo ousted Egypt’s dictator, Hosni Mubarak, on February 11th. Many of the demonstrators in Madison identified with the Egyptian protesters, and one demonstrator commented on Twitter on Feb. 15th, “Weirdly high number of signs refing Egypt. And now chanting: ‘From Egypt/ to Wisconsin/ power to the people.’” Some of the signs carried by demonstrators read “Hosni Walker,” “Walker is the Mubarak of the Midwest,” and “March like an Egyptian” (Sagrans, 2011, pp. 37, 133). Clearly the Egyptian revolt provided inspiration to many of the demonstrators in Madison, particularly after Kamal Abbas, an Egyptian labor leader, sent them a message on February 21st:

No one believed that our revolution could succeed against the strongest dictatorship in the region. But in 18 days the revolution achieved the victory of the people. . . . We want you to know that we stand on your side. Stand firm and don’t waiver. Don’t give up your rights. Victory always belongs to the people who stand firm and demand their just rights. We and all the people of the world stand on your side and give you our full support (Abbas, 2011).

Alex Hanna, one of Pam Oliver’s doctoral students studying social movements, was in Cairo observing events during the last days before Mubarak was forced out of office and observed the euphoria of the crowd in Tahrir Square. Right afterward Hanna flew back to Madison and went directly to the TAA offices, where work on organizing the Capitol protests was in progress. Hanna and some others became quite irritated with the constant linking of events in Madison with the Egyptian revolution--something that they felt belittled and trivialized the Egyptian achievement:

I initially smirked at the comparison of Cairo to Madison, of Mubarak to Walker . . . but did the two really have anything to do with each other?

Yes, there were occupations in both. Yes, many people participated. Yes, youth and social media did help catalyze action. But my latter and much more long-held sentiment was that of distaste and annoyance with the continued comparison. How can you compare the struggle in Egypt, wherein a popular movement forced the hand of a dictator who had held onto the reins for 30 years—to a struggle against a fairly-elected governor who had only been in office for three months? Could you actually compare the deaths of over 800 Egyptian martyrs to a situation in which your greatest threat was perhaps, as labor journalist Micah Uetricht noted, being assaulted with homemade cookies? (Hanna, 2011, p. 147).

They argued that it would have been more appropriate to look to the example of American unionism in its heyday for inspiration. Then unions were vigorously struggling to gain rights, pursue a social mission, and overcome the forces of oppression.

With a head start from the initial group of Capitol sleepers waiting to testify, the TAA set out to keep the occupation of the Capitol going and to organize it so it functioned smoothly. They took over a conference room on the third floor to serve as their Situation or War Room—a command and communication headquarters. They set up a web site to coordinate information about what was happening with the bill, the schedule of rallies, and to publish pictures and videos shot by the protesters. They issued green vests to volunteers to serve as marshals to maintain order, and they commissioned others to serve in clean-up duties to keep the Capitol neat and free of trash. Norms were established for the sharing of the central microphone and a time when noise must cease to permit sleep. Specific areas of the Capitol were designated for various functions—a sleeping area where sleeping bags were rolled out, a medic station, an information center, and food stations stocked with donations from local businesses and outside sympathizers. Some donations were even called in from foreign countries, including Egypt. Ian’s Pizza became a kind of official pizza supplier for the occupiers, and so many people phoned in pizza orders for the protesters, it was difficult for them to keep up. Pizzas, peanut butter, bagels, cookies, and other foods were placed on tables in an impromptu buffet.

Elizabeth Wrigley-Field recalled that she got a “protester’s discount” on almost everything she bought, though she bought little, since the food was so abundant. During the first week of the occupation, however, she and many other demonstrators were running on adrenaline and barely ate. They joked about having so much free food but never having been less hungry (Wrigley-Field, 2011b). A camera-free zone was also established where children of the protesters could play freely away from the crowds. People

slept side-by-side on the hard marble floors—student activists, teachers, firefighters, union members, housewives, farmers, and other concerned citizens all together. During the first week and a half the capitol building remained open, and some of the protesters went home every couple of days to shower and catch up on sleep. Donated money was also used to rent some hotel rooms so that out-of-towners could take showers (Sagrans, 2011; Wrigley-Field, 2011b).

On February 17 another large crowd of 25,000 gathered to protest while the full Senate met to consider the bill. An enthusiastic Ed Schultz of MSNBC broadcast near the crowd outside the Capitol on February 17 and the following day. Matthew Rothschild, then the editor of *The Progressive*, marveled at the outpouring of demonstrators:



TEACHING ASSISTANTS ASSOCIATION THIRD FLOOR SITUATION ROOM DURING CAPITOL OCCUPATION (MYLES MCNUTT)

I would look out my window three blocks from the Capitol and see people stream up the street every day for a protest. There was jubilation, there was creativity; there was cleverness; there was fun. But there were also hard-edged slogans like, “How do you solve the budget crisis? Tax, tax, tax the rich. Every sector of public workers was there. You had private sector unions like electricians, carpenters, machinists, teamsters. I’ve never seen anything like that. I’d read about it in history books and Howard Zinn’s works, but I’ve never seen cliché at the end of a union meeting (quoted in Gupta and Horn, 2012).

The Senate gave the bill its third reading, but the Senate was unable to vote on it because they lacked a quorum. The state constitution requires a three-fifths majority to pass a budgetary measure, and budget items were,

of course, included in the “budget-repair bill.” At the time there were 33 Senators—19 Republicans and 14 Democrats. The minimum number to be able to have a vote on the bill was 20. The fourteen Democratic Senators fled the state to Illinois as a means of blocking passage of the bill until it was given more thorough consideration or the Republicans offered some compromises (Glauber & Stein, 2011).



DO YOU HEAR THE PEOPLE SING? IN THE ROTUNDA, FEB. 27, 2011
(YOUTUBE: [HTTPS://WWW.YOUTUBE.COM/WATCH?V=UNSNBLQGLK0](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UNSNBLQGLK0))

Protesters occupied the Senate chambers, and on February 18 the President of the AFL-CIO and other labor leaders addressed the crowd on the Capitol grounds. On February 19 the crowd grew to 70,000. On February 25, after 60 hours of debate and voting down numerous amendments by Democrats, the Assembly passed the bill 51 to 17, with 28 not voting (“2011 Wisconsin Protests,” n.d.). Protests continued, with a large crowd of 70,000 to 100,000 on Feb. 26, accompanied by supporting protests by thousands at other state capitals around the nation. On Feb. 27 a large crowd in the Capitol Rotunda sang a rousing “Do You Hear the People Sing” from *Les Miserables*, accompanied by a small brass band.

Governor Walker tried to end the occupation, first by having most of the entrances to the Capitol closed, and later increasing restrictions on entrance even further—in contravention of state law. On February 27 the Capitol Police ordered the building cleared. Union officials, Democratic Party leaders, and some of the occupation leaders directed everyone to leave the Capitol at 4:00 p.m., but a group of occupation activists planned to resist. When Democratic Representative Brett Hulsey asked the occupiers to follow him out the door “to show we are willing to compromise,” about 1500 did leave, but hundreds of activists refused to leave, and, as they anticipated, the Capitol Police did not arrest anyone. For the next four days Walker kept the

building in an illegal total lockdown, which within a few days would make continuing the occupation impossible. By March 3 the number of occupiers had dwindled to fewer than fifty people, and when Hulseby once more led protesters out the door, only about twenty activists were left. The small band was faced with a court order to leave the building. After hours of discussion they too marched out, singing, and were greeted by hundreds of supporters (Wrigley-Field, 2011). The occupation of the Capitol had lasted sixteen days.

Debates among the occupiers over the previous three days on how to proceed revealed a sharp division of opinion between two groups. Most union leaders and staffers and officials from the Democratic party wanted to end the occupation and focus on a strategy of pursuing recall elections against Republican state senators—and against Governor Walker as soon as the law permitted, a year hence. A more radical group of occupiers, composed primarily of TAA members and university students, wanted to continue with mass direct action protests. Elizabeth Wrigley-Field, a TAA member and sociology graduate student in demography, belonged to the latter group. She expressed skepticism about the unions' strategy to focus everything on recalling Republican senators, thereby pulling the plug on direct action protests:

A recall effort . . . is no substitute for the kind of struggles—the teachers' sickouts and the Capitol occupation—that have propelled the struggle forward. And in practice, the push for the recall strategy is explicitly being counterposed to action. Thus, the recall strategy relegates the hundreds of thousands of people who have protested Walker's so-called "budget-repair" bill to an almost wholly passive role. . . . The most effective strategy for building a new labor movement will involve organizing the direct power of the masses of angry, hopeful, frightened and inspired people whose lives Walker is planning to wreck. . . . The question being posed to all of us in Wisconsin is whether we are going to make the most of this historic opportunity and try to organize, from the bottom up, a labor movement that fights—or fritter it away because of the fear that things will get out of hand (Wrigley-Field, 2011b, pp. 211-212).

Matthew Rothschild was also critical of the Democrats and union leaders who actively sought to demobilize the protest. What happened in the wake of the uprising illustrated why activists complain that the Democratic party is the graveyard of social movements. Unions too. Though labor was not prepared for a general strike, Rothschild believed that other radical alternatives were possible: "There could have been a rolling blue flu epidemic in which workers in one occupation after another call in sick. There could have been work to rule, just doing the bare minimum that the contract

requires. But none of this.” He believed that labor leaders

. . . did not understand the power that was present in those huge numbers. I think they were not only surprised by, they were scared by that magnitude of a protest they couldn’t control and maybe go in a direction they wouldn’t want. They didn’t have a strategic plan for this uprising (quoted in Gupta and Horn, 2012).

No unions except the TAA and the Madison teachers took any radical actions. Historian Allen Ruff suggested that labor leaders have become “too accustomed to business unionism and politics as usual and too fearful of penalties that would have resulted from a mass action.” On March 5, after the occupation had been ended, the documentary film maker Michael Moore addressed a protest crowd of 50,000, but union leaders would not let him speak from the official platform for fear that he would call for a general strike (Wrigley-Field, 2011b, p. 211). In 2007 when Barack Obama was running for President, he promised to watch out for unions and protect their collective bargaining rights: “If American workers are being denied their right to organize and collectively bargain when I’m in the White House, I will put on a comfortable pair of shoes and I will walk on that picket line with you as President of the United States” (Jacobson, 2011). When the actual occasion arose, he did not.

After the Democratic senators had been away for three weeks, the Republicans found a way to outmaneuver them. The Republicans stripped financial elements from the bill so that only a simple majority would be required for a quorum, but it kept the most controversial provisions about collective bargaining. All pretense that the bill was about dealing with the budget deficit was abandoned and the bill was revealed as a naked political move to “bust” public sector unions. Republican leaders appointed a special committee that met for two hours in a closed meeting to consider the new bill late on the afternoon of March 9, with Governor Walker in attendance at the beginning of the meeting.

The sole Democrat who was present objected that the Republicans were violating the state’s open meeting law, but his protests were ignored. The committee approved the bill and immediately sent it to the Senate where it was approved in a matter of minutes without debate, 18 to 1. No Democrats were in the chamber, and the lone dissenting vote was from moderate Republican Senator Dale Schultz, who said afterwards that collective bargaining should have been kept intact, because it had “preserved labor peace for decades” (Marley & Bergquist, 2011). The next day the Assembly passed the stripped down bill 53-42, with only four Republicans voting against it. Governor Walker signed the bill on March 11.



OVER 100,000 PROTESTERS GREETING RETURNED DEMOCRATIC SENATORS,
MARCH 12, 2011 (© JIM A. JORSTAD)

On March 12 the fourteen Democratic senators who had left the state returned and were celebrated by the largest crowd of demonstrators in the history of Madison. The official police estimate of the crowd was 85,000 to 100,000, but some other observers estimated 150,000 to 200,000. This was a remarkable turnout considering that efforts to prevent passage of the bill had ended in failure the day before. Democratic Party officials, however, were still intent on demobilizing the protest and diverting people's energies to working on an electoral recall. Senator Jon Erpenbach told the crowd, "I don't want to see you people back here. Go back to your home communities and work on the recall" (Gupta and Horn, 2012). From that point on public demonstrations became smaller and more sporadic, falling to 5,000 on June 14 and 1,000 on June 16 ("2011 Wisconsin Protests, n.d."). A group of activists, however, organized a Solidarity Singalong that has continued to attract participants each noon in the Capitol Rotunda to sing labor and protest songs, sometimes with special lyrics about the Wisconsin events. The Department of Administration and the Capitol Police have harassed participants, trying to require permits and limit their numbers, but in spite of more than 200 arrests, the singalongs continued. For several years I always took visitors to Madison down to the Capitol at noon to join the singalong—the best show in town.

Though all the protest activities failed to prevent passage of Act 10, the demonstrations were remarkable in scope—unprecedented in Wisconsin. Matthew Kearney, one of our Sociology doctoral students who was active in the protests, presented a paper at the 2014 meeting of the Society for the Study of Social Problems about the Capitol protests. He pointed out that

“the movement featured the longest occupation of a government building in the nation’s history, the longest continuous legislative session in the state’s history, and one of the few lengthy denials of quorum in the nation’s history” (Kearney, 2014). He argued that the protesters, the Assembly Democrats, and the Senate Democrats all embarked on “extreme” actions because they were influenced by each other in a dynamic of “escalating mutual obligation.” A feeling of solidaristic duty grew increasingly fervent while each group observed the other groups taking increasing risks and making greater sacrifices on behalf of the same cause.

Even before the end of the Capitol occupation, the attention of many of the protesters was turning toward efforts to recall Republican Senators, though they could not target Governor Walker for recall until he had been in office for a year. Republicans countered by organizing recall efforts against Democratic senators who had left the state. Both sides attempted to gather the requisite number of signatures to trigger the recalls. The Government Accountability Board certified recall elections for only six Republican and three Democratic senators for the spring and summer of 2011. More than \$35 million was spent on the recall races, but all the incumbents retained their seats except for two Republicans, who were replaced by Democrats. The Republicans, however, still retained a 17 to 16 majority in the Wisconsin Senate (“Wisconsin Senate Recall Elections, 2011,” n.d.).

A coalition group called United Wisconsin, along with the Democratic Party, began to plan for a recall election against Governor Walker for 2012. United Wisconsin reported that it collected one million signatures on recall petitions within the sixty days allotted for the circulation of petitions—far more than needed to secure a recall. Tom Barrett, who had been defeated by Walker in the 2010 election, won the Democratic primary for the recall election over the more progressive Kathleen Falk, who was supported by the unions. The election was held June 5, 2012, along with recall elections for three additional Republican Senators and an election for an open Senate seat. This recall triggered the most expensive election in Wisconsin history. *USA Today* reported that the candidates and outside groups spent about \$62 million on the recall election. Much of Walker’s \$30 million in contributions came from out-of-state donors, whereas Barrett spent only about \$4 million, which came mainly from Wisconsin residents (Keen, 2012). *Forbes* reported that fourteen billionaires contributed to Walker in his recall campaign. Charles and David Koch were not on the list, and both insisted that they did not give a dime to Walker (O’Connor, 2012). That is probably true literally, for their money was probably funneled through Americans for Prosperity.

The *Milwaukee Journal’s PolitiFact* was told by AFP President Tim Phillips that it spent \$10 million in 2011 and 2012 on television ads, direct mail, staff, and other expenses to support reforms made by Walker and the

Legislature in Wisconsin. This included 75 staffers to canvas door-to-door for votes and a four-day ten-city campaign bus tour during the recall contest. AFP receives contributions from other donors too, and since they do not disclose their contributions, it is impossible to tell how much of the money came from Koch sources (Kertscher, 2012). *The Nation*, however, quoted David Koch as saying, “We’re helping [Walker] as we should. We’ve gotten pretty good at this over the years. We’ve spent a lot of money in Wisconsin. We’re going to spend more” (J. Nichols, 2014). By “we” he clearly means AFP. The *Washington Post*, after examining staff sizes and financing, has concluded, “the Koch brothers’ Americans for Prosperity is the third-largest political party in the United States” (P. Bump, 2014).

Like Wrigley-Field, TAA member Michael Billeaux, also a Sociology graduate student, was critical of the recall effort, which he complained replaced the radical energy of the uprising with mainstream electoral politics:

In fact, with the exception of the 14 Democratic senators’ decision to leave the state and block quorum—which, of course, would never have happened in the first place without the occupation of the Capitol—the Democrats have done everything to slow down the momentum of the uprising and funnel it all into the recalls. . . . The recalls are the product of the defeat of the uprising, not a strategy for its victory (Ludwig, 2012).

It soon became apparent that the Democrats were de-emphasizing the issue of union rights in the recall elections for both the senators and the governor, even though the assault on the collective bargaining rights of public sector unions inspired the mass protests in the first place. Barrett’s campaign was organized top-down and became disconnected from the momentum of the grassroots movement. He was not sufficiently progressive to win the enthusiasm and dedicated support of many of the original protesters. The TAA membership even voted narrowly not to endorse Barrett in the recall election. Many, however, continued to work hard to recall Walker (Ludwig, 2012).

Walker won the recall election with 53.1 percent of the vote to Barrett’s 46.3 percent. The recall organizers, after experiencing the huge crowds demonstrating at the Capitol in February and March, probably overestimated the amount of anti-Walker sentiment in the state, particularly in the poor rural counties. They also probably underestimated how many voters, though not necessarily pro-Walker, disapproved of recalling an elected official early in his term simply because of disagreement with his policies. Or perhaps Walker overpowered his opponent simply because he had far more money to spend on his campaign. The Democrats did pick up one seat in the Senate recall elections that occurred on the same day, thus winning control

of the Senate. It was a pyrrhic victory, though, for the Senate did not go back into session until the following January, and by then Republicans had recaptured the Senate in the November elections.

The anti-Walker forces were dispirited after working so hard and failing in the recall election. When Walker ran for a second term as governor in 2014, the Democrats nominated Mary Burke, a candidate who was almost unknown outside of Madison and whose only political experience was serving on the Madison school board. Her wealth and willingness to use it to help finance her campaign may have deterred better known Democrats from entering the Democratic primary, and she had only token opposition. Walker should have been vulnerable, since his campaign promise in 2010 to create 250,000 new jobs in the private sector over the next four years fell short by 111,000, and Wisconsin lagged most neighbor states in job growth (J. Nelson, 2014; “Wisconsin Job Growth,” 2015). Burke relied largely on attack ads against Walker, a strategy that sometimes succeeds but is often counterproductive, but polls showed her running a close race until near the end of the campaign.

Walker won reelection with 52.3 percent of the vote to Burke’s 46.6 percent—close to the same division as in the recall election. The strong protests and demonstrations against Walker and his policies had the opposite effect from what was intended. Walker knew he had the votes to have his way, and he saw no reason to compromise in the slightest.

A grand jury began a John Doe investigation of allegations that Governor Walker had tried to circumvent state campaign finance laws by raising millions of dollars for a supposedly independent tax-exempt organization supporting his candidacy in the recall election. They apparently found some clear evidence, but Republicans brought suit to shut down the investigation without making public any of its findings, and the Wisconsin Supreme Court voted to do so by a vote of 4 to 2, with all conservative justices, including Gableman and Prosser, voting to quash. The prosecuting attorneys filed a petition with the U.S. Supreme Court to overturn the Wisconsin court’s decision, and it agreed to consider the case in its 2016-17 term. In September, 2016, *Guardian US*, a branch of Britain’s *The Guardian*, posted on line 1300 pages from the John Doe investigation that had been leaked to it. The documents showed that Walker had indeed been directly involved in raising funds from wealthy individuals for The Wisconsin Club for Growth, a tax exempt organization. The documents also showed that Wisconsin Supreme Court Justices Michael Gableman and David Prosser had received substantial support from Walker’s chief political adviser, R. J. Johnson, in their campaigns for the Supreme Court and clearly should have recused themselves from the decision on the John Doe investigation (DeFour, 2016, p. A1, A6).

The 2016 Presidential Campaign

Winning three gubernatorial elections in four years over strong opposition made Walker a national figure, and he believed that his national prestige had been enhanced so much that he began to make plans to campaign for the 2016 Republican Presidential nomination. He made speeches at a number of conservative political forums and started making appearances at events in the early caucus and primary states—Iowa, New Hampshire, and South Carolina. As he began campaigning, the Wisconsin Legislative Fiscal Bureau announced that the state faced a \$283 million fiscal gap for the year ending in June, 2015, and a possible \$2.2 billion shortfall for the 2015-2017 biennium unless spending requests were sharply reduced in the new budget (DeFour, 2015). Walker knew that he had to compete with at least twenty-five other conservative candidates who were at least considering seeking the nomination at the beginning of 2015 (Gunzburger, n.d.). Several had far-right views that were appealing to the Koch network of funders.

On Jan. 26, 2015, the Koch network groups met in Palm Springs to make political plans for 2016. It is an annual gathering that was started by Charles Koch but is now hosted by Freedom Partners, a tax-exempt business lobby that serves as the hub for Koch-backed political operations. The group set a goal of spending \$889 million in advance of the 2016 Presidential election, up from the \$407 million that the 17 allied groups spent during the 2012 campaign. In comparison, the Republican National Committee spent \$404 million and the Democratic National Committee \$319 million in 2012. The Koch groups had not settled on a candidate to support in the primaries, but Scott Walker, Rand Paul, Marco Rubio, and Ted Cruz were favorably regarded, and all of them attended the San Diego meeting (Gold, 2015). In August hundreds of donors to Koch political organizations gathered again at a luxury resort at Dana Point, California, including one-third who were first-time attendees who promised at least \$100,000 in donations for an invitation. The three-day conference ended with a pledge lunch during which wealthy conservatives stood and pledged millions of dollars for the favorite causes of Charles and David Koch (Bykowicz, 2015).

Most of the organizations in the Koch network (often referred to as the “Kochtopus” even among themselves) are tax-exempt nonprofits. Organized under Section 501(c)(4) of the tax code, they are supposed to be engaged in “social welfare” activities and not electoral politics, and as such they are permitted to keep their donors secret and receive unlimited funds. They are obviously involved in political activity in support of candidates, but they usually contend that as long as they do not expressly tell people how to vote, they are engaged in social welfare. This contention has generally

not been accepted by the IRS or the courts, but the IRS, which is under political pressure and is understaffed after budget cuts, simply has not tried to audit nonprofits for political activity. Paul Streckfus, a former employee in the division dealing with tax exempt organizations, told the Center for Public Integrity that the nonprofits engaged in political activity are simply “not afraid of the IRS or anybody else on this matter. Anything goes as far as spending.” Americans for Prosperity, the Kochs’ main advocacy group, spent \$122 million in the 2012 election year—more than it had spent in the previous eight years—but it told the IRS that only \$33.5 million was devoted to electoral politics. The Wisconsin Club for Growth spent \$9.1 million on Wisconsin’s recall elections, but it told the IRS that it spent nothing at all on elections in 2011 and 2012. As long as the law is not enforced, the same thing will almost certainly happen again in future elections, but with far more money involved (Fischer, 2015).

Walker’s Presidential Campaign Flames Out

Democrats charged that Governor Walker was more interested in addressing the interests of conservative voters in Republican presidential primaries than the needs of the people in Wisconsin. They believed he was trying to position himself as the most extreme right-wing candidate seeking the nomination. To boost his campaign for President, Governor Walker spoke before the Conservative Political Action Conference, an annual gathering of persons on the far right. He came in second to the libertarian Rand Paul in a straw poll of those in attendance. He said that the secret to his winning political victories in Wisconsin was to keep fighting until victory was achieved without compromising: “You know how we did it? . . . We did it without compromising.” Trying to address his lack of experience in international affairs, he ended his speech with the following peroration:

I want a commander-in-chief who will do everything in their power to ensure that the threats from radical Islamic terrorists do not wash up on American soil. We need a leader with that kind of confidence. If I can take on 100,000 protesters, I can do the same across the world (C. Gilbert, 2015).

His implied comparison of the teachers, students, public safety workers, government employees and other citizens who peacefully protested against his policies with Islamic State terrorists provoked immediate outrage and derision. Many people also wrote caustic comments on the internet asking what Walker had done to “handle” the protesters, aside from hiding away out of public view throughout the course of the demonstrations. Afterwards

Walker hastened to say that he did not mean to suggest that the demonstrators were like terrorists, but this hardly reduced the resentment of the tens of thousands who had participated in the demonstrations.

Walker's campaign for the Republican nomination for President went well at first, and he was seen as the front-runner to win the Iowa Republican caucus. The web site *Politico* called Walker a "sneaky-smart campaigner" and a "polished and level-headed tactician, a master at reading crowds."

Just ten weeks later Walker's campaign imploded, suffering an unprecedented total collapse. On the national stage he suddenly lost support, in large part because of a lackluster performance in the first two debates of Republican candidates, as well as for repeated flip-flopping on a number of issues and taking seriously a ridiculous proposal to build a wall at the Canadian border. The other candidates showed the ultimate sign of disrespect by ignoring him. A CNN national poll at that time found that he was favored by less than one-half of one percent of expected voters, and his campaign was running out of money from donors. He withdrew from the race before even the first caucus or primary took place, lashing out at the "anti-Reagan forces"—obviously implying Donald Trump. He made a lame attempt to portray himself as a political hero: "Today, I believe I am being called to lead by helping to clear the field in this race so a positive conservative message can rise to the top of the field. With that in mind, I will suspend my campaign immediately." His campaign ended \$1 million in debt and with a job approval rating at an all-time low of 39 percent and a disapproval rate of 55 percent in a Marquette University Law School poll (Fanlund, 2015, p. 28; J. Nichols, 2015, p. 41). As of July, 2016, however, after endorsing Trump for President, he was already talking of mounting another campaign for President himself at some time in the future. He later announced plans to run for another term as governor.

Demagoguery Trumps Money

As the primary campaigns and caucuses progressed for the 2016 presidential nomination the plans of the Kochs and other wealthy donors to control the process through massive spending for TV ads and other campaign aids were thwarted by an entirely unexpected development. Donald Trump, a flamboyant and arrogant real estate developer and reality TV star with no political experience entered the contest for the Republican nomination. He mounted a populist campaign appealing to those who were disaffected with current leaders in both parties. He broke all the rules of conventional campaigning, appealing to racial bigotry, anti-foreign and anti-Muslim prejudice, and displaying misogynist views of women. He hurled crude insults at his opponents and anyone else who challenged the falsehoods he repeatedly

told, and acted generally like an arrogant, blustering bully with no knowledge or understanding of foreign policy issues.

Trump's credentials as a conservative were, to say the least, questionable, and most conservatives were appalled that Trump began to gain more votes than his truly conservative rivals in the Republican caucuses and primaries, but they were never able to coalesce around a single other candidate to beat back the challenge. Most of the other candidates' campaigns spent far more money than did Trump's, but to very little effect. By the end of March, 2016, independent ad spending for Trump was only \$230,000, whereas for Jeb Bush it was 341 times greater, for Marco Rubio 173 times greater, for Chris Christie 78 times greater, for Ted Cruz 60 times greater, for John Kasich 56 times greater, and for Ben Carson 16 times greater. Yet Trump had 18 primary and caucus wins to 8 for Cruz, 3 for Rubio, 1 for Kasich, and zero for Bush, Christie, and Carson ("Big Money's Tiny Impact on the Presidential Campaign," 2016).

How was it possible for the normal political calculus to be completely overturned? The underlying factor was no doubt a growing popular impatience and disgust with the political status quo, the stalemate in Washington, and the leadership of conventional politicians, but one must not overlook the role of the media. The media did not take Trump seriously at first and generally treated his racist rants, insults, and schoolboyish bullying as an entertaining sideshow, expressing wonder at how he could get away with things that would ordinarily sink most candidates. However, they covered his every utterance to the extent that he dominated the political news for more than a year. Indeed, according to mediaQuant the media provided Trump with \$1.9 billion worth of free publicity. It calculated the comparable value of free publicity for the other candidates as follows: Cruz, \$313 million; Bush, \$214 million; Rubio, \$204 million; Carson, \$112 million; Christie, \$90 million; and Kasich, \$38 million. In a single month the value of free publicity Trump received was greater than the total cost of John McCain's entire 2008 presidential campaign. The total of \$1.9 billion of free media coverage for Trump is twice as much as the total for the most expensive presidential campaigns in history. (Confessore and Yourish, 2016). The results of the campaign demonstrate that under conditions of social unrest, demagoguery trumps money in politics.

Even while Trump was constantly attacking the media, the media were acting as Trump's enabler. After Trump became the presumptive Republican nominee, many media figures began to reproach themselves for the way they had covered the campaign. When Trump complained that Federal Judge Gonzalo Curiel could not be fair in presiding over civil fraud lawsuits against Trump University, Donald Trump's scandal-ridden now defunct real estate school, because of his Mexican ancestry, the tone of

press coverage began to change. Media reporters began to cover him in much the same way as they covered other political candidates, challenging him when he misrepresented the facts. The *Huffington Post* even started appending the following disclaimer at the end of every news story about Trump:

Editor's note: Donald Trump regularly incites political violence and is a serial liar, rampant xenophobe, racist, misogynist, and birther who has repeatedly pledged to ban all Muslims—1.6 billion members of an entire religion—from entering the U.S.

The *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* dispatched their investigative reporters, who dug up enough negative information about Trump that it would have been fatal to most campaigns of contenders in past elections. Initially the new press coverage brought a drop in Trump's support according to the polls, and Charles Koch and Tim Phillips, President of Americans for Prosperity, announced that they and their political allies would not support either Trump or Hillary Clinton for President but would use their formidable financial resources to support Republican Senate candidates in states like Wisconsin, Ohio, and Pennsylvania.

Trump's support recovered as the election neared, and Trump actually seemed to gain strength from the attacks against him. Though almost every poll and political observer predicted a Clinton victory at the time of the election, Trump was elected President. Clinton did receive 2,865,000 more popular votes than Trump, but Trump won the Presidency by winning more votes in the Electoral College, one of the many anti-democratic provisions built into the Constitution. Trump received 304 Electoral College votes to 227 for Clinton. The Constitution does not require Electors to vote for the candidate they were initially pledged to support, and seven individuals broke party discipline to vote for other candidates. Two Republican Electors from Texas voted for Rand Paul and John Kasich. Three Democratic Electors from Washington voted for Colin Powell and another for Faith Spotted Eagle. A Democrat from Hawaii voted for Bernie Sanders. It was the greatest number of Electors refusing to vote for their party's nominee in the history of the Electoral College.

Trump carried the popular vote in Michigan by 0.2 percentage points and in Wisconsin and Pennsylvania by 0.7 percentage points. The 78,000 vote margin in those three states--representing only 0.05 percent of the 137 million voters in the election--tipped the Electoral College results from Clinton to Trump. This is not the first time the winner of the Presidency lost the popular vote. Other occasions:

- John Quincy Adams (1824)
- Rutherford B. Hayes (1876)
- Benjamin Harrison (1888)
- George W. Bush (2000)

All minority winners were Republicans, except Adams, who was the more conservative candidate but predated the formation of the modern Republican Party.

The day after Trump's inauguration as President, the Women's March on Washington attracted over 500,000 protesters—the largest inaugural protest in American history and greatly exceeding the crowd of Trump supporters at the inauguration. They were joined by as many as 2.5 million protesters in cities across the United States and around the world, including between 75,000 and 100,000 in Madison (“Protesters Across World Send Message to Trump,” 2017).

Effect of Walker's Anti-Union Campaign on Public Sector Unions

Act 10 has had a devastating effect on public sector unions in Wisconsin since it was passed by the Wisconsin Legislature in 2011. The law required most public employees to pay more for health care and for retirement contributions, resulting in an 8 to 10 percent decline in take-home pay. Since the unions can no longer represent the workers in bargaining on pay scales, benefits, and working conditions, many former members saw little reason to continue their membership. Unions have little function now except to represent members on grievances and occasionally organize protests. They spend most of their time on organizing. Public employees also felt an economic pinch from the pay cut, and often felt they could not afford to keep paying union dues. Some had to take additional part-time jobs to make ends meet.

The three Wisconsin Councils (24, 40, and 48) of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) of the AFL-CIO had around 63,000 members in 2010 but were down to fewer than 20,000 in 2015—about a 68 percent loss. Its budget dropped from over \$5 million to \$1.5 million. Many of their offices are empty because of staff reductions, and they may be forced to sell their headquarters building. Their take-home pay has fallen more than 10 percent. In April, 2015, the three Councils merged into a single new Council 32 for Wisconsin—named in honor of the founding of the national union by a small group of state employees in 1932. Governor Walker's Act 10 has crippled the union in the state of its birthplace, but its national membership stands at approximately 1.6 million. Mike Fox, an international Vice-President of the AFSCME told the *State Journal* that Walker “stood alone” among governors in his willingness to harm working

people for political purposes: “It’s a shame that someone can decide that he has to establish his national bona fides by putting his boot on the neck of the workers. That’s really a sad platform for any politician who is supposed to be representing all of the people, not just the rich people” (Verburg, 2015, pp. A1, A7).

The Wisconsin Education Association Council which represented 98,000 public school employees before Act 10 was passed fell to 40,000 members in 2015. A decade ago in 2005 it spent \$1.5 million in lobbying the legislature, but by 2013 it was able to spend only \$176,000 for lobbying and for the first time it was not one of the state’s top twelve lobbying organizations (Beck, 2016a, p. A6). The American Federation of Teachers, which organized on college campuses, has fallen by 50 percent. The Mequon-Thiensville School District saved \$560,000 by freezing teacher salaries for two years, and an additional \$300,000 a year by increasing employee contributions to health care. The West Bend School District raised the retirement age for teachers and revamped the health plan to save \$250,000 a year. The superintendent said, “We couldn’t negotiate or maneuver around that when there was bargaining.” Local 1 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees in Madison—the oldest local in the state—has declined in members from 1,000 to 122 since Act 10 was passed. In Oneida County in northern Wisconsin county supervisors jettisoned language requiring “just cause” when firing employees. Morale has plummeted, and civil servants there are afraid to speak out about anything, including safety issues and pay scales. One employee said, “We don’t have just cause. We don’t have seniority protection. So people are pretty scared” (Samuels, 2015; Greenhouse, 2014).

The effect of Act 10 and the subsequent passage of a “right to work” law has brought a catastrophic reduction in union membership in the state. In 2000 17.8 per cent of all state workers were union members, compared with 13.4 percent in the nation as a whole. By 2015 union membership in Wisconsin had fallen to 8.3 percent, even below the national percentage of 11.1 percent (Beck, 2016a, p. A6).

The Governor’s attack on the public employee unions has also stimulated a new and more vocal animosity toward public employees on the part of the general public in Wisconsin. This is particularly true in economically depressed rural areas, where there has been a simmering jealousy and resentment of public employees with their relative security and good pension system. These areas used to be reliably Democratic, but Republicans have been successful in building a coalition between the prosperous suburbs and the poor rural counties by capitalizing on the resentments of the latter toward public employees who are better off than they are. Mike McCabe, Director of the nonpartisan Wisconsin Democracy Campaign, says,

Republicans use powerful economic wedge issues to great impact. They go into rural counties and say, do you have pensions? ‘No.’ Well, you’re paying for theirs, referring to public sector workers. Do you have health-care? ‘No.’ Well, you’re paying for theirs. Do you get wage increases? ‘No.’ Well, you’re paying for theirs (quoted in Gupta and Horn, 2012).

They do not realize that public sector workers are generally paid less than those in equivalent positions in the private sector, and their anger is not directed toward corporation executives and the truly rich, who are not part of their immediate social environment. Teachers and other public workers are increasingly being yelled at, taunted, and called leeches and moochers. It has a real impact on their morale (Samuels, 2015).

The Attack on Wisconsin Unions Is Broadened

On Jan. 18, 2011, before he introduced his proposal to cripple public sector unions, Governor Walker attended a gathering of people from the Rock County Development Group in Beloit who were discussing what they were doing to try to create jobs in an area that had been hard hit by the shutdown of the General Motors plant in Janesville. Brad Lichtenstein, a documentary film maker was filming the discussions, which took place at the Beloit headquarters of Diane Hendricks’ ABC Supply company in Beloit. According to *Forbes*, Hendricks has a net worth of \$2.8 billion, and she has a record of supporting conservative political causes. She contributed the maximum allowed by law to Walker between 2009 and 2011, and during the recall campaign for Walker a quirk in the law permitted her to contribute \$500,000 to his campaign. Her contribution was Walker’s largest—in fact the largest political contribution in state history. Hendricks told Lichtenstein that she wanted to greet Walker when he came in, and he asked if he could join her. He said she agreed. He was filming when she said she wanted to discuss “controversial” subjects with Walker away from reporters. He kept filming and recorded the following conversation:

Hendricks: Any chance we’ll ever get to be a completely red state and work on these unions. . .

Walker (breaks in): “Oh, yeah.

Hendricks: . . . and become a right-to-work? What can we do to help you?

Walker: Well, we’re going to start in a couple weeks with our budget adjustment bill. The first step is we’re going to deal with collective bargaining for all public employee unions, because you use divide and conquer. So for us the base we get for that is the fact that we’ve got—

budgetarily we can't afford not to. If we have collective bargaining agreements in place, there's no way not only the state but local governments can balance things out . . . That opens the door once we do that (Stein and Marley, 2012).

[YouTube: https://org.salsalabs.com/o/632/images/WI_RTW.pdf]

Lichtenstein eventually produced a documentary entitled “As Goes Janesville,” but he released a video clip containing part of this conversation—up through “divide and conquer”—on May 10, 2012, and permitted *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel* reporters to listen to the entire conversation. The conversation indicates that it was Walker's intention from the beginning to destroy the power of both public and private sector unions, but he did not want to take on the entire labor movement at the same time, and he could not use the budget shortfall as an excuse for going after unions in the private sector. For the next two years, however, he tried to convince people that he was not aiming to make Wisconsin a “right-to-work” state—at least not right away. On May 11, 2012, he told the *Journal Sentinel*, “I have no interest in pursuing “right-to-work” legislation in this state. . . . It's not going to get to my desk. I'm going to do everything in my power to make sure it isn't there because my focal point [is] private-sector unions have overwhelmingly come to the table to be my partner in economic development” (Spicuzza and Verburg, 2015, p. A9). He declined repeatedly, however, to say whether he would sign or veto a “right-to-work” bill if it were passed by the legislature (Stein and Marley, 2012). He continued to say that the right-to-work issue was a distraction and he had no interest in pursuing it.

At the time, 24 of the 50 states had so-called “right-to-work” laws. The term is a misnomer—a name applied to such laws by conservatives to mislead the public, for the laws do not grant anyone the right to work. The Taft-Hartley Act outlawed the closed shop in 1947, and since that time union membership could not be made a condition of employment. The “right-to-work” laws simply outlawed the “fair share agreements” that many unions made with employers for nonunion employees, who enjoyed the benefits of collective bargaining by the firm's union, without paying union dues or making “fair share” payments. In other words, the laws created free riders, and hence might more appropriately be called “free rider laws.” The states, however, did not have the power to outlaw collective bargaining by private sector unions.

ALEC has been working vigorously to get more states to adopt “right-to-work” laws and has widely circulated model laws for legislators to consider. ALEC-inspired “cookie cutter” bills have also been introduced in New Hampshire, Missouri, New Mexico, West Virginia, Kentucky, Montana, and Colorado. The New Hampshire bill is a word-for-word copy of the ALEC

template (Knaus, 2015b). At the beginning of 2015 Scott Fitzgerald, the State Senate Republican majority leader, and other Republican legislators in Wisconsin began advocating immediate passage of a “right-to-work” law, even though Governor Walker in public asked them not to proceed at that time. Then on February 21 Fitzgerald announced that he was introducing a “right-to-work” bill and he already had the votes to pass it. Governor Walker immediately announced that if the legislature passed it in the next two weeks, he would sign it. The legislature called itself into an immediate “extraordinary session” to “fast-track” the bill. Fitzgerald explained that they wanted the bill passed quickly to prevent unions and employers from extending contracts before the law could take effect. Reporters suggested that it was more likely that they wanted to catch the unions off-guard and pass the law before the unions could mobilize support against the bill and organize protests. The Wisconsin bill closely mirrors the model “right-to-work” bill prepared by ALEC with only slight changes in wording and phrasing. (See side-by-side comparison: (https://org.salsalabs.com/o/632/images/WI_RTW.pdf) It removes the requirement that a worker represented by a union must pay union dues or “fair-share” payments. The bill also eliminates a section in existing state statutes that states that the purpose of labor laws is to protect the interests of the public, employees, and employers and promote “industrial peace” and “regular and adequate income for the employee” (Hall, 2015).

The Senate public hearing on the bill was held three days after the bill was introduced. About 2,000 demonstrators showed up on Tuesday during the committee hearing, not because they had any hope that they could prevent passage of the law, but because they wanted to register their protest out of principle. The demonstrators included many public employee union members, for private sector unions had supported them in 2011. In opposition to the bill 1751 people submitted comments or registered to speak against it. Only 25 registered to speak in favor of the bill. Senator Chris Larson claimed that most or all of them had financial or other connections to the conservative Bradley Foundation run by Walker’s campaign co-chair, Michael Grebe. Opponents of the bill included many members of the 440-member Wisconsin Contractors Coalition, who depend heavily on the craft unions to recruit and train skilled workers. Larson said that 180 people were still waiting to speak when the Chair, Sen. Stephen Nass (R-Whitewater) abruptly ended the testimony and called for a vote. The bill was recommended and referred to the Senate by a vote of 3 to 1, while those who had been waiting all day to testify shouted in rage (Hall, 2005).

The next day 2,000 protesters once again showed up at the Capitol as the Senate met in an expedited session to consider the bill. After eight hours of debate, during which only one Republican Senator bothered to discuss

the merits of the bill, the Senate passed it by a vote of 17 to 15. Only one Republican senator voted against it—a former member of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. Shouts of “shame, shame, shame” erupted from observers in the Senate gallery (Hall, 2015). The number of protesters increased to 3,000 on the following Sunday, and demonstrations continued as the Assembly took up the bill.

In the Assembly in a session that lasted nearly 24 continuous hours, Democrats offered a number of amendments, but all were defeated. During the debate some of the Republican senators cited research provided by ALEC economist Richard Vedder suggesting that a “right-to-work” law would boost incomes. Democrats disputed the claim and pointed out that his analysis was flawed, because his conclusion was based on the analysis of personal income that included non-earned income of the wealthy. Research from Elise Gould and Heidi Shierholz (later Chief Economist of the US Department of Labor) found that wages in “right-to-work” states were \$1,500 lower. Steven Deller, from the UW Department of Agricultural and Applied Economics, produced a fact sheet that reported that workers in manufacturing earn about \$8,000 less in “right-to-work” states than in Wisconsin. His fact sheet infuriated Republican Senator Steve Nass, who sent an e-mail to Wisconsin legislators and UW system officials saying, “Attached is yet another example of wasted resources at the UW-Madison/UW Extension to issue a trumped up report from a partisan academic against Right to Work. Hiding behind academic freedom to issue partisan, garbage research is what we have come to expect from some of the overworked and stressed faculty at UW-Madison.” Deller replied, “If we filtered everything that came out of the university based on whether or not it’s going to pass through some political lens, then why are we here?” (Knauss, 2015a)

When the marathon debate ended Friday morning, May 6, 2015, the “right-to-work” bill passed 62 to 35 on a straight party-line vote. No Republican voted against it, not even those who had voted against Act 10. The following Monday Governor Walker signed it into law, and it went into effect immediately. Even before he signed the law, a campaign fund raising appeal went out touting the “right-to-work” law as a reason to support Walker, which suggests that this legislation was a part of Walker’s campaign strategy from the beginning.

Leaders of the private sector unions did not expect that the passage of the “right-to-work” act would have the same devastating effect that Act 10 had on public sector unions, for it did not eliminate collective bargaining, the right to which is guaranteed by federal law. Generally, few workers in businesses with a certified union have in the past opted to make “fair-share” payments in lieu of union dues, and in most “right-to-work” states workers have continued to pay union dues to their unions. The great loss of members

by public sector unions in Wisconsin since Act 10 ended most of their bargaining rights appears to be due to the perception that the unions now have little effectiveness in representing the workers' interests. A more serious problem for unions in the United States is the general decline in the union movement since the 1950s, which is due in part to conservative legislation and a conservative judiciary but also to structural changes in the economy. Union membership peaked in 1979 at 21.0 million, but fell to 14.6 million in 2014. The high point for the percent of the employed work force in unions was 28.3 percent in 1954 and was only 11.5 percent in 2014, though 35.7 percent of public sector workers were unionized in 2014.

The UW System Under Attack

On Jan. 27, 2015, Governor Walker announced a plan to create a public authority out of the 13 four-year campuses and 13 two-year campuses that make up the UW System. The public authority would have full flexibility in its use of state resources. Under the plan the System would receive a block grant from the state, with the Board of Regents having independent authority over spending. According to the governor's announcement,

The move allows the UW System to make decisions relating to employee compensation, allowing it to create personnel and compensation structures that increase its ability to compete for the best and brightest. The UW system will also have independent authority to establish policy regarding employee matters, including sick leave, tenure, and shared governance. Under the agreement, the UW System will be able to use cost saving measures, using its authorization to negotiate and enter into procurement contracts that meet its needs and can seek lower costs by working with other higher education institutions. The UW System will be authorized to plan, design, and manage construction projects with tuition, fees, gifts and grants, thus reducing project time to completion ("Transforming Education," 2015).

This type of flexibility and autonomy has long been sought by university administrators, but the proposal created much apprehension because it would remove the guarantee of shared governance and faculty tenure from state law for the UW System. Michael Falbo, the President of the Board of Regents pledged that the Regents would commit themselves to preserving these indispensable elements of the UW tradition when the transfer was expected to take place in July, 2016 (Simmons, 2015).

System President Ray Cross came out in favor of the move to a public authority, arguing that it would create greater flexibility and give the

university greater control to make savings in purchasing supplies, in making capital outlays, and determining personnel moves and tuition levels. He told the Joint Finance Committee,

The lack of flexibilities creates a tremendous burden on all of us, including taxpayers. This budget would change that. Ultimately, we will make the cost of public higher education in Wisconsin predictable and stable for families, taxpayers and decision makers. We will be able to forecast. Anyone will be able to look five or six years ahead and know with some level of accuracy what our tuition will be. No surprises (Bidwell, 2015).

Many of the chancellors of campuses in the System joined Cross in supporting the move, including UW-Madison Chancellor Rebecca Blank, who told the faculty that the greater management flexibility of a public authority will be “useful and welcome in long term”: “This is going to happen at some point. This is a moment of opportunity and I think we should take advantage of it” (P. Schneider, 2015b).

The pledges of the regents and the pleas of university administrators did not, however, provide sufficient reassurance for most of the faculty, since a more conservative board in the future could end shared governance and faculty tenure with a simple vote. These fundamental rights would be placed at the mercy of unelected political appointees to the Board of Regents. The faculty senates on at least 16 of the Systems campuses, as well as many individual departments, passed resolutions expressing strong concern or opposition to the proposed move to a public authority. The UW-Madison Faculty Senate passed a resolution saying it cannot support creation of a public authority until faculty, students, and staff have a chance to see a detailed implementation plan. It urged the Board of Regents to appoint a commission of UW system faculty, students, and staff, along with outside experts on finances and budgets, to study the viability and implications of the public authority (P. Schneider, 2015b). The national AAUP issued a statement on March 11, 2015, urging President Cross and the Wisconsin chancellors to oppose Governor Walker’s plan to transform the UW System into a public authority:

These changes, rather than being motivated by fiscal necessity as the governor suggests, appear to be motivated by a desire to fully privatize the university system. As such, Governor Walker’s proposal must be understood as a radical assault on one of the nation’s premiere institutions of public higher education, consistent with his attack on Wisconsin’s labor movement and his undermining and privatizing of such other public goods as K-12 education and state natural resources. We call on

the UW System administration to oppose this radical privatization of the UW System and to stand in support of public higher education in Wisconsin (AAUP, 2015).

Probably most of the Republican lawmakers in the legislature were opposed to Walker's proposal to remove governance of the university from the legislature's ultimate control, and they were particularly resistant to letting the university set its own tuition fees. One lawmaker said the governor's proposal was on "life support," but there was some sentiment in favor of giving the university system more flexibility in such matters as procurement and personnel matters. Assembly Speaker Robin Voss attacked the regents after they pledged to retain shared governance and faculty tenure:

Giving autonomy to folks who want to use it to change the institution, I think that makes sense—if they want to use it. But when I see that the [Board of Regents] at its last meeting came out and said that we're going to have no change—no changes to tenure, no change to all of these different things—well, then why are we giving you the autonomy to do nothing with it if you're going to protect the status quo? (Marley and Herzog, 2015).

When he was later asked if the legislature could just end tenure and shared governance and take the decision out of the hands of the Board of Regents, he said that Assembly Republicans had not discussed the matter, but "It's definitely possible."

Of more immediate concern, however, Walker's proposed budget also called for an additional \$300 million cut in state funding for the UW system during the next biennium and a continuation of the freeze on tuition through the biennium. Such a drastic cut would impose a Faustian bargain without any option to reject it.

This would be the sixth time in the last seven budget cycles that UW's state funding was substantially cut. During three of those cycles a tuition increase partially offset the cuts, but the continuation of the tuition freeze would make four straight years without an increase. Some Republican legislators talked of extending the tuition freeze for four years. In an e-mail to members of the campus community UW-Madison Chancellor Rebecca Blank welcomed greater autonomy and flexibility in managing its affairs but expressed alarm about the effects of such a large budget cut:

Never in its 160-year history has the university faced cuts of this magnitude. If these reductions take effect as proposed, they will trigger

employee layoffs and cuts to programs around campus. I am deeply troubled by how this proposal would harm our students' education along with our hard-working, dedicated faculty and staff (Blank, 2015b)

Chancellor Blank expected that there would be a \$120 million cut in UW-Madison's budget on top of a freeze in tuition in the next biennium, and it would take effect immediately before greater flexibility had time to bring cost savings. The university has also been forced to use up almost all of its reserve fund without having it replaced. Blank expected that if such large cuts were made, there would be layoffs in every school and college. Freezing open positions and lobbying for tuition increases for out-of-state and foreign students would not be sufficient to prevent layoffs. Democrats generally opposed Walker's proposal. Jennifer Shilling, the Senate Minority Leader, said it would "defund and privatize" the UW System. Republican Senator Steve Nass said he was not ready to give up control of the UW System to the Board of Regents. Some Republican legislators said they supported greater flexibility but were concerned that such drastic cuts might damage the university (Simmons and Hall, 2015).

The Legislative Fiscal Bureau estimated that the Madison campus budget would decline by \$57.7 million during the fiscal year beginning July 1, 2015, an 11.6 percent cut from the previous year. Nearly all of the other campuses would suffer even larger percentage cuts, as much as 18.6 percent at UW-Whitewater. Chancellor Blank gave a long speech to the UW System Board of Regents on Feb. 4 detailing the damage that could be expected from such drastic cuts. She also requested that the Regents pursue some measures that might reduce the impact of the cuts somewhat—raising the cap on out-of-state students from 27.5 to 30 percent and raising tuition for out-of-state students and students in some of the professional schools. Currently, Wisconsin tuition is among the lowest in the Big Ten, and Blank is worried that it will soon be at the very bottom. As she finished her grim recital, "the packed room of UW chancellors, staffers and Regents erupted in a sustained standing ovation" (Simmons, 2015a). Even some Republican legislators thought that a \$300 million cut in the biennium was too great, but they were only able to reduce the cut to \$250 million

Governor Walker suggested that the cuts might be offset if the university enrolled more students and asked each faculty member to teach one more class each semester. Chancellor Blank responded that teaching is only one of the things that faculty members do, and a study of eleven departments in four major areas showed that the UW-Madison faculty work an average of 63 hours a week. The faculty and staff brought in more than \$500 million in federal research grants in 2012-13, which provided a real boost to the Wisconsin economy. Blank also pointed out that if teaching loads were heavier

at UW-Madison than at peer universities, it would become increasingly difficult to recruit and retain the most talented faculty. She said, “That is not a strategy we are interested in pursuing” (Lucas, 2015; G. Bump, 2015). President Cross also blasted the suggestion and said he did not like “to see the faculty vilified (Spicuzza, 2015)

Wisconsin is one of a handful of states that has not restored funding for their state universities back to the level of 2009-2010 after making cuts during the recession. Funding in Wisconsin declined by 4 percent between 2009-10 and 2014-15, while funding increased by 12 percent in Iowa, 8 percent in Indiana, 7 percent in Ohio, and 1 percent in Minnesota (Simmons, 2015b). UW spokesmen have long argued that the university is the prime engine of economic development and job growth in the state. Dane County has only 10 percent of the population in the state but accounted for over half the net new jobs created in the state in the past decade (Berceau, 201, p. 43). University spokesmen argued that Governor Walker, who was initially elected on the promise of bringing growth in the number of jobs, should have sought to strengthen the university rather than cut its budget drastically. Allen Knox, a professor emeritus of educational leadership and policy analysis at UW, told *Inside Higher Ed* that Walker’s budget plan “sounds more like a slogan for the Tea Party and presidential aspirations than a serious effort to look at what would improve the state or the University of Wisconsin System” (Fain, 2015). Gone are the days when Republican governors were as proud and supportive of the university as Democratic governors.

Attack on the Wisconsin Idea

Another incident connected with the budget proposal led many to conclude that the governor was waging a war against the university and “The Wisconsin Idea.” Walker’s bill proposed an amendment to the university’s mission statement that essentially removed The Wisconsin Idea, which has been a distinctive and guiding principle of the university for more than a century.

The Statement of Purpose and Mission of the University of Wisconsin System appears in Chapter 36, Section 1 of the state statutes. It has remained the same since the System was founded in 1973 but embodies principles that stretch back a century.

36.01(2) The mission of the system is to develop human resources, to discover and disseminate knowledge, to extend knowledge and its application beyond the boundaries of its campuses and to serve and stimulate society by developing in students heightened intellectual, cultural and humane sensitivities, scientific, professional and technological expertise and a sense of purpose. Inherent in this broad mission are

methods of instruction, research, extended training and public service designed to educate people and improve the human condition. Basic to every purpose of the system is the search for truth.

The Walker Administration insisted that the first phrase of the mission statement be changed to “The mission of the system is to develop human resources to meet the state’s workforce needs”—which suggests that they wished to end the university’s traditional broad cultural and scientific mandate, and become primarily a vocational education institution geared to current labor force needs. The intention became even clearer by their proposed deletions of other phrases spelling out its purposes: “to extend knowledge and its application beyond the boundaries of its campuses . . . serve and stimulate society . . . Inherent in this broad mission are methods of instruction, research, extended-training and public service designed to educate people and improve the human condition. Basic to every purpose of the system is the search for truth.” (Kertscher, 2015) The deletions amounted to an explicit repudiation of The Wisconsin Idea.

As soon as the public became aware of the proposed changes there was a firestorm of criticism, with an outcry from a great many conservatives as well as moderates and liberals who believed that the university’s role was much broader than simply to provide job training for students.

System President Ray Cross, who had formerly been Chancellor of Extension, said,

The Wisconsin idea is embedded in our DNA. It is so much more than words on a page. It is the reason the UW System exists. It defines us and forever will distinguish us as a great public university. . . . Wisconsin must not abandon this core principle and value (Herzog, 2015a)

Walker quickly backed down, saying that the change was due to a “drafting error” and that the original wording would be restored. Walker called it a “huge mistake” that did not originate in his office. In a radio interview he said, “I think it was a mistake to even think about it in the budget, even though it didn’t come from us” (Sommerhauser, 2015). The truth soon emerged; the proposed changes were intentional. As the budget was being prepared, officials in Walker’s administration insisted to UW officials that changes be made in the mission statement, and explicit instructions were given to the nonpartisan budget-writing office to remove those sections that are considered basic to the Wisconsin Idea. John Yingling, a spokesman for the UW Administration, in January, 2015, sent an e-mail asking Nathan Schwanz on Walker’s budget staff to restore the deleted sentences in the mission statement, saying “we strongly urge that stricken language

is unique to depicting the character, mission, and vision of the UW System.” He refused to restore the language, and UW officials were told that the changes were not open to debate. PolitiFact investigated the incident and concluded, “His original claim [of a drafting error] was not only inaccurate, but ridiculous. Pants on Fire” (Kertscher, 2015).

On May 19, 2015, the Center for Media and Democracy sued Governor Walker over records he had withheld concerning the proposed removal of the Wisconsin Idea from the university’s mission statement. The CMD did receive some records from the governor’s office, but others were withheld on the grounds that they were protected by a “deliberative process privilege.” The general counsel of CMD pointed out, however, that such a privilege is not recognized in the open records law of the state. In seeming response, two weeks later on July 2nd the legislature’s Joint Finance Committee added a provision to the state’s 2015-2017 budget bill dramatically curtailing the information available about the deliberations of legislators and other public officials. The proposal would block public access to virtually all records created by lawmakers and other state and local public officials and their aides, including e-mails and drafting files of legislation. The measure was passed by a strict party-line vote, with all twelve Republican members of the committee voting yes and all four Democratic members voting no.

The gutting of Wisconsin’s hundred-year-old open records law was met with stunned disbelief and outrage by people across the political spectrum, and the *Wisconsin State Journal* used a front page banner headline to proclaim, “Records Law Erupts on GOP.” Democrats predictably denounced the action, but they were joined by many Republican officials. Brad Schimel, the Republican Attorney General for Wisconsin said in an e-mail, ““Transparency is the cornerstone of democracy and the provisions in the Budget Bill limiting access to public records move Wisconsin in the wrong direction.” Republican Senator Rob Cowles from Green Bay indicated that he would not vote for the budget bill if it contained the provision: “I was shocked and appalled to see the attack on open and transparent government last night by the Joint Committee on Finance. Limiting public access to legislative communications and records is against all I have stood for while in office, and I will not support a budget that includes this assault on democracy.” Other Republican legislators also joined Cowles in opposition. Bill Lueders, President of the Wisconsin Freedom of Information Council also issued a statement opposing the measure:

Should they become law, these changes would free the Legislature of the obligations of transparency in place for all other state and local governmental agencies. They will spare lawmakers from the burden of accountability to the people who elect them and pay their salaries. They

will shield from public view the collusions of lawmakers with special interest groups, lobbyists and campaign donors. . . . If Wisconsin wants to take a giant leap into corruption, I think that's a good move for them to make. It's cowardly. It's dirty. It violates the tradition of the state of Wisconsin, and it shows what miserable cowards that these people are that they would stick this in an omnibus motion" (Beck, 2015; Beck and Sommerhauser, 2015b).

Brett Healy, President of the conservative MacIver Institute, said, "I think this is a dark day for Wisconsin government. This appears to be a huge step backwards for transparency. Taxpayers deserve more transparency, not less. . . ." Others in opposition included the conservative Citizens for Responsible Government, the Wisconsin Institute for Law and Liberty, the Madison chapter of the Society of Professional Journalists, and One Wisconsin Now (Beck, 2015).

Republican leaders immediately began to backtrack in the face of the withering criticism and popular "eruption." Top Republican legislative leaders refused to say who initially sought the changes, why they sought them, and whether Governor Walker was involved. Some professed not to know the origin of the proposal. No one stepped forward to claim responsibility. Democratic Senator Jon Erpenbach, a member of the Joint Finance Committee, said he was told by Republicans on the committee that Governor Walker had "signed off" on the changes and promised not to veto the measure. He added, "There is not any governor who doesn't know what ends up in the budget before it gets to his desk. It did come from the governor, in my opinion, and a couple of legislators who obviously have something to hide."

Perhaps Walker realized that the transparency issue might prove fatal to his Presidential campaign, and by July 4th he and Senate Majority Leader Scott Fitzgerald announced their defeat on the issue in a joint statement. They promised that the records provision "will be removed from the budget in its entirety." They said that they were committed to open and accountable government and that the measure "was never intended to inhibit transparent government in any way." Lueders immediately responded, "This is a transparently false statement. This was specifically and deliberately intended to inhibit transparency." He pledged that the Wisconsin Freedom of Information Council would continue to try to find out whose idea it was and who signed off on it (Punzel, 2015). About three weeks later the *State Journal* acquired about 1000 documents from the office of Senate Majority Leader Scott Fitzgerald that indicated that Assembly Speaker Robin Vos was the initiator of the request to change the open records law, but a spokesman for the governor acknowledged that his office, Fitzgerald, and Vos were all involved in drafting the proposed changes (Beck and Sommerhauser, 2015a, p. A1).

In May, 2016, Dane County Judge Amy Smith ruled that the Walker Administration had illegally withheld 12 e-mail messages and 6 attachments in response to an open-records request concerning changes in the Wisconsin Idea mission statement. The Governor's Office finally released the documents in question, and they indicated that it was indeed Governor Walker who requested the changes in the mission statement (Beck, 2016b).

Attack on Tenure Rights

Because of opposition in the legislature, Governor Walker abandoned his attempt to convert the UW System to an independent public authority. Since the public authority proposal was dead, the Republican legislators sought another means of weakening tenure protections for professors. On May 29, 2015, the Republican-dominated Joint Finance Committee, in a party-line 12 to 4 vote, adopted a provision that eliminated a chapter of state law that governed operations of the UW System, including tenure and shared governance. The new provision explicitly permitted tenured faculty members to be terminated "when such an action is deemed necessary due to a budget or program decision regarding program discontinuance, curtailment, modification or redirection." At a meeting of the UW Board of Regents a few days later a faculty member presented more than 2,500 petitions asking them to restore protections to tenure imperiled in the new budget. Some faculty members attended the meeting with gags over their mouths to show how their academic freedom would be stifled if the new provisions were adopted. This time the Regents backtracked on their earlier commitment to preserve the functional equivalent of the previous tenure rights, and they voted against formally opposing the changes to faculty tenure proposed in the legislature (P. Schneider, 2015c, p. 14).

Within a week the influential newsletter *Inside Higher Education* published three articles commenting on the situation in Wisconsin with the following ominous titles: "Trying to Kill Tenure," "Losing Hope in Wisconsin," and "Why Wisconsin Matters to You"—the last cautioning that the same fate might befall other state university systems. The *New York Times* joined in with an editorial from its Editorial Board entitled, "Scott Walker's Effort to Weaken College Tenure." The *Times* also commented that even with existing tenure regulations in the United States, most college teachers do not have tenure or job security:

It has become fashionable to portray academia as a haven for people who enjoy job security while others are subject to layoffs and downsizing. But most college instructors are not protected by tenure. According to federal data, only 20.35 percent of instructional faculty at American

colleges are full-time, tenure-track workers (down from 45 percent in 1975.) Colleges rely heavily on miserably paid part-timers who flee the campus when class is finished so they can get to the next job (*NY Times* Editorial Board, 2015).

Similar articles appeared widely in regional newspapers.

Chancellor Blank addressed the UW-Madison Faculty Senate on June 9, 2015, and pointed out,

The statutory language in the proposed budget would only create the authority to act. If the Legislature adopts Section 39 as proposed, we can adopt rules or policies that outline when we invoke that authority and the process we follow to make such a decision. Section 39 isn't a command or directive. It merely authorizes the Board of Regents to lay-off faculty for the stated reasons. The Regents can decide when and how they want to invoke that authority (Blank, 2015d).

This was only slightly reassuring, since it meant that the Regents could at any time vote to dismiss any tenured faculty member for any of the reasons specified in the budget bill.

The Wisconsin Senate approved the budget bill with the university provisions intact by a vote of 18 to 15 on July 7, 2015, with all Democrats and one Republican in opposition. On July 11 the Assembly passed the bill by a close vote of 52 to 46 after eleven Republicans joined the thirty-five Democrats in opposition. Governor Walker signed the budget into law on July 12, ignoring Chancellor Rebecca Blank's request to veto the sections stripping tenure protections from law and weakening shared governance principles.

Anticipating that the legislation removing tenure protection from state law would be passed, Chancellor Blank encouraged the formation of a Madison faculty committee to write specific rules under which tenured professors on the Madison campus could be dismissed. She told the faculty in June she had been assured by both President Cross and Regent President Regina Millner that the Madison campus would be allowed to "write and implement our own tenure protections."

United Faculty and Academic Staff and AFT-Local 223 began working to build support for a set of regulations regarding the dismissal of faculty that would be highly protective. They did not trust President Cross, and at its state convention on Oct. 23-25 AFT-Wisconsin passed a resolution demanding that Cross resign. The union state president, Kim Kohlhaas commented,

Faculty, Staff, and graduate employee members of AFT-Wisconsin have been fighting tirelessly to protect the quality of education and research in the UW System in the face of the Republican assault on higher education. But when it comes to crucial issues like academic freedom, due process, shared governance, and state funding, President Cross hasn't been the advocate that the UW System's students need. The Wisconsin idea is under attack, and the head of the UW System is standing by and letting it happen. That's why our members are calling on President Cross to step down (AFT-Wisconsin Press Release, Oct. 30, 2015 <http://www.aft-wisconsin.org/>)

The AFT-Wisconsin Higher Education Council prepared a "Statement on Tenure and Indefinite Status" endorsing the long-observed AAUP standards, and on Nov. 2, 2015, the UW-Madison Faculty Senate adopted a resolution endorsing the AFT-Wisconsin Higher Education Council Statement. The resolution stated, "Our endorsement is not a call to violate Act 55 but rather an appeal to the Chancellors and the Regents to refrain from exercising the new legal authority [to dismiss faculty] that Act 55 grants them in ways that are inconsistent with AAUP standards" (UW Faculty Document 2586, 2 Nov., 2015).

Faculty groups conducted a number of events in November to build awareness of the issues around tenure protection and related developments. The AFT-Wisconsin Higher Education Council sponsored meetings across the state examining the theme of "The Wisconsin Idea in Crisis." A teach-in at UW-Madison, sponsored by United Faculty and Academic Staff, AFT Local 223, and AAUP University of Wisconsin-Madison, brought faculty, staff, and students together to discuss the challenges of the political events.

While the UW-Madison Faculty Senate was preparing a set of regulations concerning faculty dismissal, President Cross also put together a System task force to write tenure protections that would be adopted by the Regents for all campuses. The Madison group worked faster than the System task force and submitted its proposed rules to the Faculty Senate in early November, where it was passed unanimously. Blank planned to submit it to the Regents for approval in December. Before this could happen, however, President Cross sent a memo to all chancellors saying that the regents "will not be in a position to approve campus-specific" policies until they adopt system-wide policies, and campus rules will be considered within the "controlling limits of system-wide policies." (Savidge, 2015, pp. A1, A6; P. Schneider, 2015d). This apparently meant that the System rules would trump local campus rules—contrary to what Cross and Millner promised earlier.

When the Regents met on February 5, 2016, to act on tenure regulations,

AFT-Wisconsin organized a rally for tenure, quality education, and academic freedom at the meeting, which was held in Union South on the UW-Madison campus. The rally drew more than 60 faculty and staff from UW-Green Bay, UW-Madison, UW-Milwaukee, UW-Stevens Point, and UW-Whitewater. The group also had messages of support and petitions from faculty and staff at the other UW campuses. The faculty members at the rally were not permitted to enter Varsity Hall where the Regents were meeting, but the door was open, and the Regents could see and hear the demonstrators. Sociologist Chad Goldberg was also able to deliver the large number of faculty messages and petitions by putting them in the hand of Jane Radue, the Executive Director and Corporate Secretary of the Regents, who was standing just inside the door. Chad later told me,



UW FACULTY FROM FIVE CAMPUSES SING "SOLIDARITY FOREVER" PROTESTING NEW REGENT RULES ON TENURE DURING REGENTS' MEETING, FEB. 5, 2016 (PHOTO BY ROBERT K. STREIFFER)

We successfully delivered to the Regents the AFT-Wisconsin Statement on Tenure and Indefinite Status, with the endorsements of Faculty Senates at seven campuses and the signatures of more than 750 individual faculty, staff, and students. And it was almost certainly the first time the Board of Regents ever heard a loud and rousing rendition of "Solidarity Forever" from UW System faculty and staff (Chad Goldberg, personal communication).

The UW faculty and staff resolutions and petitions, however, were ignored, and the version of the tenure rules written by President Cross' system

task force was presented to the Regents' Education Committee. It differed in important ways from the proposed rules approved by the UW-Madison Faculty Senate, for it did not explicitly prohibit faculty layoffs due to changes to educational programs short of outright discontinuation. A prefatory statement stated that a faculty layoff "shall not be based on conduct, expressions, or beliefs on the faculty member's part that are constitutionally protected or protected by the principles of academic freedom," but many faculty members argued that an administration can easily manufacture an apparently legitimate economic excuse to remove an unpopular faculty member.

David Vanness, an associate professor in the Medical School's Department of Population Health Science and president of the Madison chapter of the American Association of University Professors (AAUP), objected that the System's proposal fails to meet the tenure standards set by the AAUP. He said that the proposed policy on layoffs also undermines the university's mission in that it . . . conflates bona fide 'educational considerations' with 'financial resources' and 'market demands.' . . . [It] seems designed to use chronic underfunding as a tool to allow UW System to break its binding commitments to tenured faculty in order to reshape our universities into vocational learning centers. . . . [Walker's idea] is only to train the workforce for the jobs of today, not to search for the truth and lay the groundwork for the industries of tomorrow (Schneider, 2016c).

The UW System proposal was swiftly approved by the Education Committee without any debate and sent to the full meeting of the Board of Regents on March 10, 2016. At the March meeting Regents Tony Evers and Mark J. Bradley offered a number of amendments requested by the faculty to try to restore some of the tenure protections, but they were all defeated. System President Ray Cross, on the other hand, went against the wishes of the UW faculty and spoke in support of the new policies, saying that they

. . . protect the principles of academic freedom [and] sustain our competitiveness in the global marketplace for faculty expertise, research prowess and teaching talent. [They also] ". . . enhance our accountability to Wisconsin citizens and stakeholders (Flaherty, 2016).

The Board passed the new rules on a "near unanimous" voice vote. John Behling, chair of the task force that had drafted the new System rules, spoke of unsuccessful attempts to collaborate with the AAUP on the policies, but the national AAUP released the following statement on the same day that the new rules were adopted:

It is now clear that the University of Wisconsin system board of regents has adopted a policy that provides weaker protections of tenure, and thus

of academic freedom, than what has long been the norm in Wisconsin and than what is called for under the standards approved by the American Association of University Professors. What is not clear is why the regents have adopted such a policy. The policy appears to be only the latest step in an ongoing attack on the University of Wisconsin as a public good that exists for the benefit of all citizens of the state. It jeopardizes the working conditions of faculty and academic staff as well as the learning conditions of students in the university. Weakening tenure at the University of Wisconsin weakens the University of Wisconsin (Tiede, 2016).

When UW-Madison presented its own campus-specific proposal for tenure rules in April, it requested that it be adopted by the Board of Regents without material alteration, or if alterations were deemed necessary, that it be returned to the Faculty Senate for modification. Instead UW System general counsel Tomas L. Stafford made substantial changes in the document at the last minute, only one or two days before the Regents' meeting, giving no time for UW-Madison representatives to study or respond to the changes. The request to return the proposal to the Faculty Senate for modification was ignored. This was a flagrant violation of the tradition of shared governance. There was also no public discussion in the Regents' Education Committee of the changes made in the Faculty Senate's document. The policy as modified in President Cross' office was adopted by the Board of Regents (Herzog, 2016; "Resolution on Actions by UW System and Board of Regents, 2016).

Afterwards UW-Madison Chancellor Blank issued an extended statement on the new tenure rules, trying to reassure the faculty and undo some of the damage to the university's reputation caused by the controversy. She stressed the numerous safeguards written into the Madison campus policy against the misuse of the new rules and minimized the likelihood that any tenured faculty member would ever lose a job except "for cause"—just as in the past. She concluded,

. . . I view much of the debate around this policy as more symbolic than substantive at UW-Madison. And while symbolism is important, as long as this University is a top-ranked institution we will behave like other top-ranked universities. That means we don't layoff tenured faculty. Period. The approved UW-Madison policy is consistent with our peers. This is important in our ability to recruit and retain our top faculty. For those who are concerned, I strongly urge you to read our policy and then read the tenure policy of the University of Michigan or the University of North Carolina so you have a comparison (Blank, 2016).

“No-Confidence” in President Cross and the Regents

On May 9, 2016, UW officials released an e-mail that President Cross had sent to Behling three days before the Regents’ final vote on tenure rules. In the e-mail Cross expressed approval of the removal of tenure from state law and supported the adoption of changes in the tenure rules to permit lay-offs for economic as well as educational reasons. He wrote that the debate over tenure “has exposed the real value of removing tenure related policies from statutory language”—presumably referring to the university’s greater flexibility in removing faculty who were no longer wanted. He even accused faculty spokesmen of arguing that tenure should “guarantee a job for life.” He wrote, “That is a ‘union’ argument,” and compared faculty to railroad brakemen who were kept on their jobs for many years after they no longer had a function. Cross wrote,

Tenure is designed to protect freedom of speech and the right to pursue truth—no matter how unpopular—and then to publish that information without worrying about being dismissed for doing so. It is not a guarantor of “a job for life.” The more faculty connect tenure to “a job for life” they do serious damage to the value and purpose of tenure (Schneider, 2016d).

UW faculty members were shocked at the contents of the e-mail and Cross’ insulting view of his own faculty. UW-Milwaukee professor Richard Grusin commented that Cross’ e-mail message “makes it crystal clear that he sees being able to fire tenured faculty as the ‘real value’ of removing tenure from statutory language, which he has supported from the very beginning of this process. It is good to have it in Cross’ own words.” David Vanness, the head of the Madison AAUP chapter, reacted bitterly:

After a year of denial and soft-pedaling, it’s a bit shocking to finally hear what Ray Cross thinks of UW faculty, but frankly it’s not surprising. . . . When there is a bona fide financial emergency or when a program is failing to meet educational quality standards and faculty cannot be retrained or reassigned, then even the AAUP agrees that layoffs can legitimately happen. Under the new UW tenure policy, a high quality academic program (say, climate science) can be shut down and its faculty laid off so that other programs (say, petroleum engineering) deemed to be of higher priority can expand. Should we shut down African studies to fund accounting? Or how about shutting down philosophy to fund marketing? Even if such decisions aren’t nakedly political, they may sacrifice decades of faculty and institutional investment in programs that are unlocking

deep issues in basic science or solving fundamental social issues—all to meet short-term needs of workforce training (Schneider, 2016d).

Vanness said he expects Cross and the Board of Regents to use their new power to eliminate programs, lay off faculty, and reshape UW to fit Governor Walker’s “limited vision of the Wisconsin Idea.”

Sociologist Chad Goldberg, a member of the Faculty Senate, expressed similar views: “Removing tenure from state statute was the first step toward weakening tenure. Weakening tenure is a means . . . the end is to change the historical mission of the university.” He also took issue with Cross’s view that professors were trying to protect tenure rights in order to have a “job for life.” Goldberg said that professors never called for tenure to be a “job for life.” Cross “either doesn’t understand our concerns or he’s willfully misrepresenting our concerns” (Savidg, 2016, p. A7).

Feeling that the university president and the Board of Regents were no longer protecting the university from political interference and were even complicit in the changes that were having a negative impact, Goldberg decided to write a motion of no-confidence in the president and board and present it to the UW-Madison Faculty Senate for action. He conferred and negotiated with a number of colleagues, including David Vanness and William Tracey, about the precise wording prior to the vote in order to maximize support. In a guest column in the *Wisconsin State Journal* he explained why he wrote the no-confidence resolution:

As stewards of the university’s academic and educational activities, the faculty have a responsibility to speak out, to educate the public about the damage being done, and to try to preserve and protect the quality of the education we strive to provide for our students and the people of this state. We are standing up for them because they deserve better (Goldberg, 2016).

The no-confidence resolution was strongly opposed by Chancellor Blank, who warned that “nothing good” could come from such a resolution. She believed that it could trigger a backlash from state legislators just as new budget talks were about to begin. She also defended President Cross’ leadership in her “Blank’s Slate” blog: “I can personally attest that he has consistently advanced the best interest of our campus, both publicly and behind the scenes. He does not deserve this resolution” (Herzog, 2016).

When the 220-member Faculty Senate met to consider the resolution on May 2, 2016, there was little disagreement about the damaging effect of the changes forced on the university, but some still opposed the resolution,

arguing that it would not be effective in improving the situation and might bring a backlash from state politicians who would attempt to punish the university with further budget cuts and governance changes. Most, however, argued in favor of sending the strongest message possible to protest the actions against the university. William Tracy, Chair of the Agronomy Department, said, “It’s time for all supporters of the university to stop thinking meek acquiescence is a winning strategy.” In a message sent to the faculty four days before the meeting, Vanness argued,

If nearly all of us conclude that our leadership is failing, but we allow fear of reprisal to suppress our expression of that finding, then haven’t we already lost our academic freedom? If fear of the Board of Regents, the Legislature and the Governor stops us from exercising our responsibility in governance, then I am afraid we really have lost.



CHAD GOLDBERG DISCUSSES HIS MOTION TO EXPRESS “NO-CONFIDENCE”
IN PRESIDENT CROSS AND THE BOARD OF REGENTS AT THE UW-MADISON
FACULTY SENATE MEETING, MAY 2, 2016
(PHOTO BY LEAH EMILIE ARLENE VOSKUIL)

Goldberg asked the opponents of the resolution, “After everything we’ve been through this year . . . what would it take to get you to vote no-confidence in their actions?” Brian Mayhew, an accounting professor in the School of Business, offered an amendment to remove the words “no confidence” from the resolution, but it was defeated by a nearly two-to-one vote. Then the resolution of “no-confidence” was passed by voice vote.

The resolution included twenty-one “whereas” paragraphs detailing faculty grievances before the concluding no-confidence provision. Among key sections were the following:

WHEREAS the failure of the UW System President and the Board of Regents adequately to protect academic due process and shared governance has damaged the reputation of UW-Madison as a great state university that encourages continual and fearless sifting and winnowing by which alone the truth can be found;

WHEREAS the erosion of tenure and shared governance in conjunction with budget cuts is likely to have a disproportionately negative impact on faculty who are already most marginalized and/or engaged in politically controversial research;

WHEREAS program changes based on non-educational considerations, the erosion of academic due process, and the circumventing of faculty governance in conjunction with budget cuts jeopardize the quality of students' education;

It is hereby RESOLVED that the actions of President Ray Cross and the Board of Regents give the UW-Madison Faculty Senate no confidence in their commitment to defending the Wisconsin Idea, extending the benefits of the University to every citizen in the state. (Resolution on Actions by UW System and Board of Regents," 2016).

As predicted, the resolution did anger Republican leaders in the legislature, who threatened further punishments, but most faculty members in the UW System were undeterred. A majority of the other campuses in the UW System followed Madison's lead in the following weeks. First was UW-Milwaukee where a large open meeting of the faculty voted unanimously for a similar motion of no-confidence. Then still more campuses followed suit: UW-LaCrosse, UW-River Falls, UW-Eau Claire, UW-Stout, UW-Green Bay, and the System Faculty Council of the University of Wisconsin Colleges, representing the 13 campuses of the state two-year community colleges. Some other campuses planned to take up the issue later. This remarkable display of militance by college professors, who are not known for such aggressive labor actions, was coordinated and organized largely through the AFT-Wisconsin Higher Education Council. In August, 2016, the AFT-Wisconsin Higher Education Council received the 2016 Wisconsin AFL-CIO Organizing Award for this work. AFT's national president Randi Weingarten tweeted in May 2016: "UW faculty & staff labor union shows that despite the attacks, their collective voice has tremendous value."

Universities are not parliaments where a vote of no-confidence means a change of government, and Cross appears to have the confidence of the current Board. Sean McKinniss, a specialist on higher education, has been tracking university no-confidence votes for the past ten years, and he says

that in about half of the cases when a university faculty passes such a resolution, the President leaves office within a year (P. Schneider, 2016e). They are rarely forced out—at least not immediately—but they often resign because they believe they have lost their effectiveness when they no longer have the support of their faculty.

Effects of the UW Budget Cuts

At the end of May, 2015, the legislature reduced Walker's proposed cut to the university budget from \$300 million to \$250 million—not the significant reduction the university was hoping for. The \$250 million cut to the UW System biennial budget on top of the four-year freeze on tuition fees proved to be very damaging to the university. At the same time the legislature voted to spend \$250 million in public funds on a new arena for the Milwaukee Bucks professional basketball team. Governor Walker tried to portray the cut in the UW budget as a very small part of the total budget, but it is a very substantial part of the general funds that can be used for teaching positions and educational functions. The major part of the total budget is earmarked for specific purposes and cannot be diverted to support the education of students.

In March, 2016, the UW System's fourteen chancellors were told by the System President Ray Cross to prepare five-minute presentations and one-page printed summaries describing how they were carrying out the state's funding cuts, in preparation for the Regents' April 7-8 meeting. On April 1 the chancellors gave their presentations for Cross as part of a "dry run" that was videoed. The presentations detailed much of the damage that was being done by the cuts, and after Cross heard the presentations, he decided to take the Chancellors' presentations off the Regents' agenda. He apparently feared that the report would anger the Regents, the Governor, and the legislative leaders. Not only were the Chancellors not allowed to appear, but the video of their practice performance was deleted—an action that was later defended by the deputy general counsel of the UW System (Savidge, 2016).

Nevertheless, the Chancellors' presentations were covered in the press, and the information was later posted on the internet by UW. The UW-Madison campus reported that a 10.6 percent reduction in state support in the current budget year created an \$86 million budget deficit. The campus was cutting or redirecting spending by \$50 million and hoped to make up the rest by raising tuition to nonresident students. Among the impacts listed by the UW-Madison were the following:

- All general fund hiring was frozen in the largest college, Letters & Science, during the fiscal year. Ultimately L&S expected to cut 48 faculty and 44 staff positions. Departments were reducing the number of courses offered, increasing class sizes, and substituting staff for faculty as course instructors.
- During the 2015-17 biennium the campus expected to lose 418 faculty and staff positions through layoffs or attrition.
- Cuts in staff in undergraduate advising were expected to impair advising services offered to students and perhaps increase the time to graduation for more students. The College of Engineering had only 17 advisers for 6,000 students, far below the number needed.
- Employment positions for students were drastically reduced. Human Resources cut more than 6500 hours of student employment; Research and Sponsored Programs cut about 6300 hours.
- The campus was unable to expand enrollments in areas of high and increasing demand, such as Business, Engineering, and Nursing.
- The Division of Information Technology (DoIT) reduced an array of services to students.
- The university was forced to spend down its reserve funds to dangerously low levels. The remaining uncommitted fund balances would allow the campus to operate for less than a week. Most private sector organizations try to maintain reserve funds that would permit continuance of operations for three or four months.
- There was a sharp increase in attempts by other universities to lure UW-Madison faculty away with generous offers. The campus administration spent almost \$9 million in counter offers to retain faculty in the fiscal year (“UW–Madison, UW System Schools Detail Budget Cut Impacts,” April 13, 2016)

Not included in the report was the fact that UW-Madison salaries were still lagging behind their peer institutions. A 2014-15 AAUP survey found that the average salary for a full professor at UW-Madison was about \$14,000 lower than the average at its peer institutions. In 2016 university rules were changed to permit up to 20 percent of faculty in each unit to receive “merit- and market-based” pay increases, but this means that 80 percent would not receive merit raises (Herzog, 2015b). This policy was seen as demeaning and insulting by many faculty, for it implied that four-fifths of the faculty were not good enough to deserve merit raises. In my opinion, almost all of the tenured professors I have ever known at UW-Madison were highly meritorious. Since across-the-board raises have been meager, salaries will likely remain low and uncompetitive. In contrast, pay for public university presidents increased by 4.3 percent in 2015 and salaries averaged \$431,000.

UW President Ray Cross received a salary of \$525,000 and Chancellor Rebecca Blank \$467,000 in 2015. Five presidents were paid more than \$1 million. The pay at private universities is, of course, far higher, and in 2013 32 presidents of private universities earned in excess of \$1 million, including one at \$4.6 million.

Departures

The relatively low salaries at UW-Madison are of particular concern. Like sharks smelling blood in the water, other universities are circling around. They sense that many of the top professors at UW-Madison may be vulnerable to offers at this time because of the drastic budget cuts, a significantly weakened tenure system, an erosion of shared governance, and a politicized Board of Regents that no longer tries to protect the university from political attacks. As of 2016 15 of the 18 members of the Board were appointed by Governor Walker. The state of Wisconsin has long enjoyed an enviable reputation for its educational system, but it is now widely regarded as having one of the most hostile political climates for education in the country. If this continues, not only may many excellent professors leave the university for friendlier surroundings, but it may become more difficult for the university to hire the ablest scholars in the future.

In the college of Letters and Science Dean Karl Scholz reported that as of mid-March, 2016, he had considered more than 70 retention cases during the academic year, compared to only 30 the previous year. In the Department of Political Science 10 of the 35 professors in the department were recruited during the year by other universities, but only two decided to leave. For the campus as a whole during the year 94 professors received offers. Of the 86 cases resolved by June, 76 decided to stay—an 88 percent retention rate, but millions of dollars of special funds had to be allocated to meet the outside offers. David Canon, Chair of Political Science was still optimistic: “This is still a great public university, and it’s still a fantastic place to live.” Dean Scholz wrote in his March Message to the faculty, “The decisions of the many who have chosen to stay make me optimistic about UW-Madison’s long-term future.” A *State Journal* editorial also concluded, “We’re glad so many top faculty at UW-Madison and across the System remain committed to the cause of higher education in Wisconsin. More lawmakers should pledge their support this fall” (“Credit Most UW Professors for Staying Put,” 2016).

The loss of some key professors is damaging, however. Mahesh Mahanthappa, a chemist, who is an outstanding researcher in plastics and whose lab has brought in millions of dollars in grants, moved in 2015 to the University of Minnesota, where the chemistry and chemical engineering

departments are growing, the teaching and research facilities are better than at UW-Madison, and the salaries are higher. He told the *State Journal*, “You want to be in an institution that supports you. The salary situation at Wisconsin is poor as compared to the rest of our peers in the Big Ten. We have some of the very lowest faculty salaries on average” (Simmons, 2015c). He also expressed concern about the weakening of tenure. A second senior chemist, Frank Keutsch, also moved with his atmospheric chemistry lab to Harvard University. It was the first time that the Department of Chemistry lost two senior faculty members in one year.

The School of Education planned to add a faculty member in math education, since the program had been depleted through attrition, but the budget cuts caused the plans to be abandoned. Amy Ellis, who had taught in the program for twelve years, was repeatedly recruited by other universities in previous years, but always turned a deaf ear until 2016 when events caused her to reach her tipping point. She explained to the *Cap Times* why she is moving to the University of Georgia in Athens:

I can be anywhere, and up until now I chose to stay in Wisconsin, but I no longer feel it is worth it to give my talent and effort to a state that explicitly devalues education. . . . It’s important that people understand that when faculty like me leave, we not only take our ability to improve the quality of teaching and learning to another state. I’m taking over \$2.2 million from Wisconsin to Georgia (P. Schneider, 2016a, p. 10).

Unlike UW-Madison, the University of Georgia, has a group of ten math education scholars with an expanding program generously funded.

Some of those who departed were most concerned about the weakening of tenure at the University of Wisconsin. Karma Chávez, an associate professor in Communication Arts, decided to move to the University of Texas-Austin because of the lack of “real tenure” and inadequate support for ethnic studies. As someone who studies rhetoric, particularly around issues of LGBT and migration politics, and who has often been critical of UW, she felt very much at risk. She said,

My research is highly political. As a queer Chicana, I felt very vulnerable. Program redesign can redesign someone like me right out of a job. At this juncture it’s not really a risk I am willing to take (*Ibid.*)

The most publicized departure was that of Sara Goldrick-Rab, who was a Professor of Educational Policy Studies with a joint appointment as a Professor of Sociology. She is a specialist in the study of college access and affordability and the educational problems of low-income students attending

or seeking to attend college. She was the Founding Director of the Wisconsin HOPE Lab (Harvesting Opportunities for Postsecondary Education), which is attempting to find ways to improve equitable outcomes in postsecondary education. Her work has brought more than \$10 million in federal grants to the university. She was a recipient of the American Educational Research Association (AERA) Early Career Award in 2014.

Goldrick-Rab was one of the most outspoken critics of the educational policies of the governor, the legislature, the UW Board of Regents, and the UW System President. She was especially caustic in her comments about the new tenure rules adopted by the Regents that permit the discharge of tenured faculty in the case of program modification. She wrote that instead of real tenure,

In its place is a savvy new #FakeTenure that fools even the most intelligent people into believing it is real. Except it is not All the Boss would have to do is decide that the Department of Educational Policy Studies no longer needs a scholar of higher education policy. That's "program modification," plain and simple (P. Schneider, 2016b)

She felt personally vulnerable, for she had earlier been attacked or chastised by numerous groups, including individual members of the powerful University Committee, for sending out inflammatory tweets to #Future-Badgers, a hashtag for incoming University of Wisconsin freshmen. She tweeted a few links to recent news stories about changes to the university and suggested that they were reducing the value of a UW degree. She was also the subject of ugly attacks and demands for her firing on social media, but Chancellor Blank denied that there was any consideration at all of her being discharged. In March, 2016, she announced that she was accepting an offer to become Professor of Higher Education Policy and Sociology at Temple University, where she believes she will have real tenure and the protection of a faculty union with collective bargaining rights. She was also attracted by Temple University's strong commitment to the education of low-income students. With her departure announcement she posted another broadside against the current management of UW, which was quoted by *Inside Higher Education*:

It is no longer possible for critical scholars working in public higher education to flourish without tenure protections. There are daily attacks on the ideas of scholars who challenge current practices and policies employed by university administrators, state legislators and even governors. McCarthyism is alive and well—especially here in Wisconsin. Terrified sheep make lousy teachers, lousy scholars and lousy

colleagues. And today at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, thanks to #Fake-Tenure, I'm surrounded by terrified sheep. To be honest, commitments to the growing number of people whom I am responsible for (including my two children, but also my students and staff), put me at risk of becoming one of them ("Sara Goldrick-Rab Will Leave Wisconsin for Temple," March 8, 2016).

In 2015 William Howell, a political scientist at the University of Chicago, sent out a questionnaire to professors in the UW System seeking their views on tenure. The survey was poorly designed and did not reveal that it was funded by the conservative Wisconsin Policy Research Institute, which was apparently attempting to find evidence that tenure was not a high priority among Wisconsin professors. Because its purpose seemed transparent, it was denounced by many of those who received the questionnaires, and though 1,378 completed the questionnaire, the response rate was an absurdly low 22 percent. If the survey's purpose was to find evidence to undermine tenure, though, it backfired, for the release of raw data showed that 89 percent of the respondents said they would consider leaving the state if tenure were replaced by renewable contracts. Slightly more than half—51 percent—said post-tenure review was just a pro forma exercise in their departments and had little value (Flaherty, 2015b).

The budget cuts, hiring freeze, and erosion of tenure protection and shared governance have certainly had a negative effect on the sociology program at the University of Wisconsin, as well as on the university as a whole. The constant attacks on the university by political officials and legislators, and the failure of its own Board of Regents to give protection from the political attacks have brought a flood of negative publicity. The faculty fear that the reputation of the university might suffer and that top students might be less inclined to enroll. When the number of applicants to the graduate program in sociology declined from 305 in 2015 to 263 in 2016, it indeed seemed that this might be due to "the Walker effect." But the acceptance rate in 2016 was more than double that of 2015—in fact, the highest acceptance rate the program has had going back at least to 1999—so the negative news reports seem not to have had as much negative effect as had been feared.

If Chancellor Blank is correct that the new tenure rules are likely to bring little or no change in the actual administration of personnel policies in the university, the anxiety about tenure protections may abate. If, however, there begin to be program modifications coupled with the discharge of tenured professors, there may be a flood of departures and a sharp decline in the university's reputation. Already it is becoming increasingly difficult for the University of Wisconsin-Madison to maintain its standing as one of the top state universities in the nation because of the hostile political

environment. In the London Times Higher Education World Reputation Rankings the University of Wisconsin was 25th in the world in 2011 but fell to 38th in 2015, though it is 17th in the social science)

The University of Wisconsin has long been one of the nation's leading universities in terms of research funding, but the cumulative effect of the budget cuts and the Governor's policies since 2011 has already led to a significant decline in its ranking among American universities. In 2011 at the beginning of Walker's term, the University of Wisconsin ranked fourth in research and development expenditures, behind Johns Hopkins, the University of Michigan, and the University of Washington. By 2015 it had fallen to sixth place. The first five all increased their research and development spending by an average of \$101 million during this period, but Wisconsin's spending declined by \$43 million ("NSF Higher Education Research and Development Survey, Fiscal Year 2015"). Marsha Mallick, UW-Madison Vice Chancellor for Research and Graduate Education, issued a comment about the survey:

We are extremely proud of our faculty, staff and students but if Wisconsin is to remain at the pinnacle of American research universities, the state will need to reinvest to be sure we have the faculty positions and conditions necessary to attract and retain the best researchers (N. Savidge, 2016c, p. A1).

Through all the turmoil, L&S Dean John Karl Scholz has remained consistently optimistic. In his L&S Review of 2016, he wrote, "The College of Letters & Science enjoyed a fantastic year, from research breakthroughs in every discipline, to the groundbreaking for a much-anticipated new music center that will transform campus, as well as redefine what it means to pursue a musical education at UW-Madison." After reviewing some of the impressive accomplishments of college faculty, he called attention to a letter that Geography Professor Jack Williams published in the *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel* in October, 2016. Williams wrote,

Can the University of Wisconsin-Madison continue to be one of our country's great universities? This isn't an abstract question for me. I've taught and conducted research at UW-Madison since 2004, and earlier this year, I was offered a job at a private university. Nor am I alone. Other schools have sought to poach Wisconsin's talent, and outside job offers to faculty have more than doubled. . . . I love our mission of teaching the best and brightest students of our state, at lower tuition than most Big Ten schools. I love Wisconsin's fierce commitment to freedom of thought, embodied by its declaration that

“the great state university of Wisconsin should ever encourage that continual and fearless sifting and winnowing by which alone the truth can be found.” I’m humbled by the world-class scholarship, professionalism and kind collegiality that defines my Wisconsin colleagues. Being at the University of Wisconsin feels like being in the Marines or the Packers: You are with the best.

Like my colleagues, I have accepted the paradox of working for one of the best universities in the world while being at or below average in pay. . . . I’ve accepted this because I am inspired by The Wisconsin Idea and our mission of a public university. . . . I’d turned down other job invitations in the past but last fall, after the budget cuts, I decided to explore options. It was tempting to join a university that was growing and hiring — playing offense while Wisconsin plays defense. The job offered better pay and more time to pursue research. . . . It was a hard decision and a close one. Ultimately, I chose to stay. . . . I stayed because Wisconsin is a world-class research institution and the best place to pursue my research. Because I believe in Wisconsin’s mission of public higher education and feel a calling to serve. Because of my colleagues; there are none better (J. Williams, 2016).



A luta continua, vitória é certa!

References and Appendices at End of Volume 2

Back Cover

Department of Sociology Faculty
September 17, 2014

(L to R) Front row: Christine Schwartz, Pamela Oliver, Gay Seidman, Myra Marx Ferree, Sida Liu, Doug Maynard, James Raymo

Back row: Robert Vargas, Erik Wright, John Logan, Jenna Nobles, Eric Grodsky, Chad Goldberg, Chaeyoon Lim, John DeLamater, Alice Goffman, Nora Cate Schaeffer, Mustafa Emirbayer, Joseph Conti, Monica Grant, Michal Engelman

Not present: Marcy Carlson, Felix Elwert, Ivan Ermakoff, Robert Freeland, Joan Fujimura, Ted Garber, Michael Massoglia, James Montgomery, Joel Rogers

(Photo by R. Middleton, 2014)

Russell Middleton & Granddaughter Jibiana Jakpor

(Photo by Karen Jakpor)



Department of Sociology Faculty, September 17, 2014

This history of sociology at the University of Wisconsin-Madison profiles the eminent scholars who made Wisconsin one of the foremost centers of sociology in the early 20th century, plus a number who played major roles in restoring it to eminence after 1958:

- John Bascom
- Richard T. Ely
- John R. Commons
- E. A. Ross
- John L. Gillin
- C. J. Galpin
- John H. Kolb
- Kimball Young
- Ralph Linton
- Charlotte Gower
- Samuel Stouffer
- Howard P. Becker
- Hans H. Gerth
- William H. Sewell
- Edgar F. Borgatta

It also explores the reasons for the program's decline in the 1930s to the late 1950s, and discusses the way in which a turnaround was accomplished in the 1960s to 1980s, with Wisconsin sociology once again becoming one of the leading programs in the country. For the more recent period changes in organization and culture are examined, including the struggle for academic freedom and gender equality and the demonstrations and political conflicts in the 1960s, 1970s, and 2010s. The book also details the development of many strong specialties over the last fifty years, including medical sociology, law and society, demography, social stratification, the sociology of economic change and development, methodology, class analysis and historical change, gender studies, economic sociology, and others.



Russell Middleton was Professor of Sociology at UW-Madison from 1963 to 1996, and Professor Emeritus since that time. He was chair of the Sociology Department during its period of most rapid growth in the 1960s, and later served as Director of the PhD Program in Development Studies.