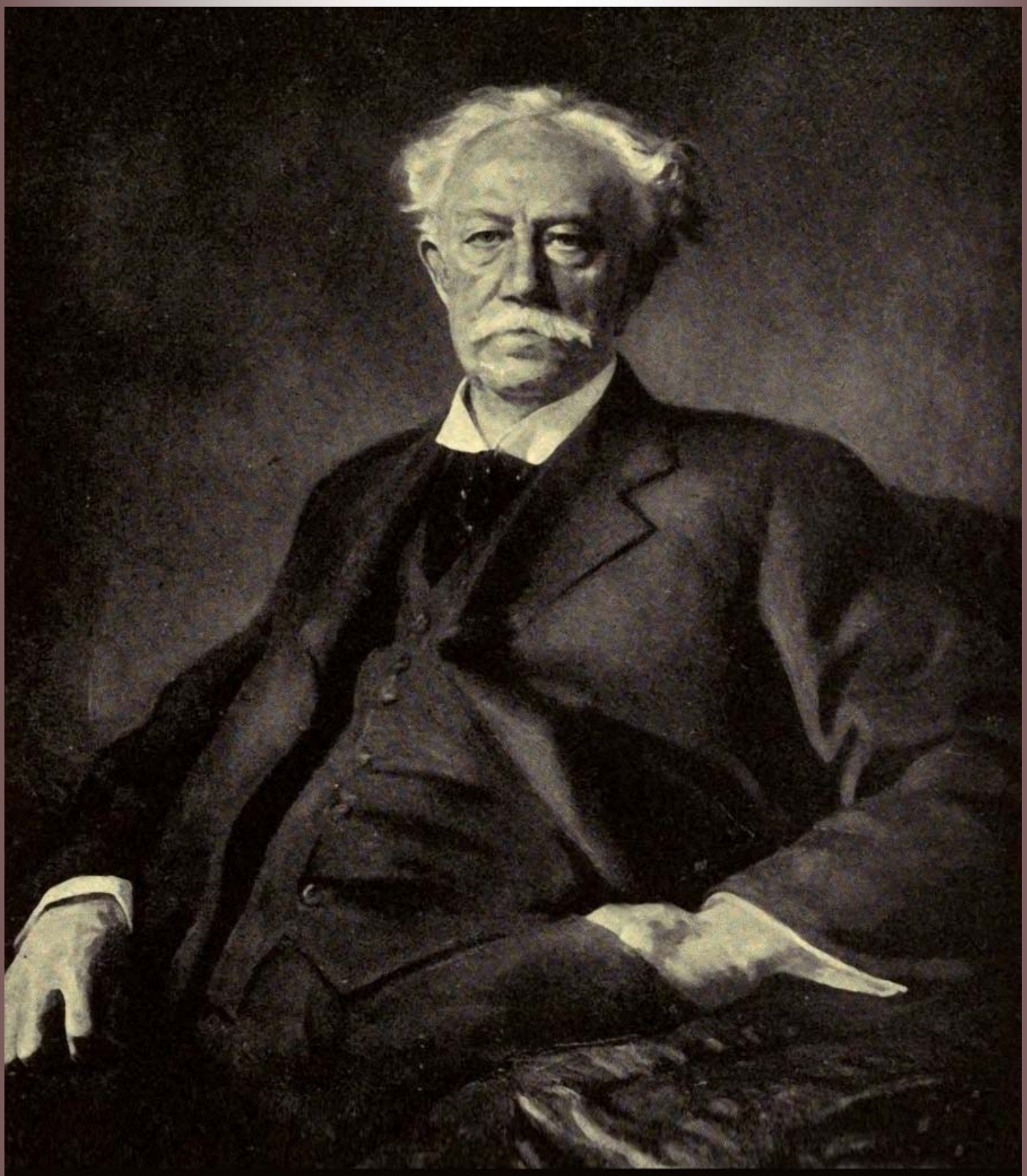

DAVID STARR JORDAN

by Albert J. Klee, Ph.D.

My candle burns at both ends;
it will not last the night;
but ah, my foes, and oh, my friends –
it gives a lovely light!

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BOOK I

1: INTRODUCTION

A boy was born on January 19, 1851 in Gainesville, an upstate New York town about 50 miles from Buffalo, and he grew up on a farm in Warsaw about six miles from his birthplace. This boy was to grow into a very complicated man, with virtues and faults, successes and failures, celebrity and notoriety. His name was David Starr Jordan and his parents were Huldah Lake Hawley and Hiram Jordan, owners of a prosperous farm and teachers from an English Puritan background. They had five children, of which Jordan was the fourth. His father, an abolitionist, and his mother, a religious person, influenced Jordan's later ideas about pacifism and what he considered to be his obligations as a public figure. In his early years Jordan tended the sheep on the farm and helped make maple syrup. During this period, he explored his interests in plants and in astronomy. Jordan later took the middle name Starr to indicate his interests in astronomy and to honor his mother's reverence for the Unitarian minister, Thomas Starr King.

Huldah Hawley Jordan, 1876.

Hiram Jordan, 1886.

At an early age Jordan's attention was directed toward botanical studies, and to satisfy this interest he prepared for college taking, at fourteen years of age, by special exemption his first lessons at the Gainesville Female Seminary in Gainesville, New York. As Jordan explains it (Jordan, 1922):

My parents felt that I had outgrown the district school and proposed to send me to an academy, the institution of that day corresponding to the modern high school. Within eight miles of my home there were then three academies. It was decided that I should go to Castile, five miles to the southeast. But everything they talked about I had previously been over. I was, moreover, decidedly homesick, and so after two days I went back to my mother, pleading that there was no use in my staying at Castile, as I already knew all they were teaching there! This was indeed mainly true as far as mathematics, science, history and English went, but from the boys themselves I might have gained much knowledge of human nature, for I was then distinctly "green."

My further education was now continued in an unforeseen fashion. Two young women from "Mount Holyoke," Miss Hardy and Miss Eldridge, had some time before established the "Gainesville Female Seminary," of which my sister Lucia was a graduate. The school was naturally modeled on the ideas and plans of Mary Lyon, founder of Mount Holyoke and the pioneer in the higher education of women. At the age of fourteen–being thought a youth of promise and otherwise apparently harmless–I was admitted to classes with the girls, a privilege also accorded at the same time to one other boy, Egbert Cunningham, son of the local Congregationalist minister. At the Seminary my studies were French, algebra, geometry, and penmanship, in all of which the instruction was good, and I came to write a surprisingly "neat" hand for a boy of my size and careless, easy-going temperament. I learned also to read French about as readily as my native tongue. Thus, during the long winter evenings, I used to entertain my mother with French tales which I translated as I went along. In that way we completed the whole of "Telemaque" and "Corinne." But my French teacher, Miss Kilbourne, a typical and charming old maid with long corkscrew curls, did not speak the language, and our only guide in pronunciation was Fasquelle's grammar, so that I had much to learn in that regard when I entered advanced classes at Cornell– still more when, long after, I undertook scientific work in Paris.

2. CORNELL UNIVERSITY

After three years, at the age of seventeen, Jordan began teaching elementary school in South Warsaw, New York and had been preparing to enter Yale College (as it was then known) at New Haven. Meanwhile, however, Cornell had been founded, free scholarships were offered and Jordan took a competitive examination for the scholarship. He was successful, and having duly received his appointment, in March 1869 entered the new university with only seventy-five dollars in his pocket. However, he was able to pay practically all his way through college–mainly by botanical work and by instruction in botany–and at graduation he again faced the world with seventy five dollars.

Botany was Jordan's major subject, with geology and zoology as what would now be called "minors." But he also elected all the history courses as well as all those in French, German, Spanish and Italian, besides a brief course in Chinese (to his original acquisitions, ten years later he added Norwegian). Knowledge of modern languages always seemed to him to be necessary to any just view of the modern world. Re mathematics, he went through the required courses only, having no taste for abstract speculation, of which he remarked, "The higher derivatives of Algebra are the quintessence."

Entering the university with a scholarship in March, 1869 as a belated freshman, Jordan was able in June to pass all the prescribed first-year work except that in physiology, which he had never studied, so that upon his return the next fall he was admitted as a regular member of the sophomore class and while

David Starr Jordan at 17.

still an undergraduate, he was made an instructor in botany. At that time the teaching faculty in universities in this country had three ranks: (Full) Professor, Associate Professor and Assistant Professor. Cornell was the first to add another to the bottom of the tier, i.e., Instructor, and Jordan was one of several to receive the title. In time, Jordan also became class president, class essayist and class poet.

During the three years which followed, he completed all requirements for the degree of Bachelor of Science, besides about two years of advanced work in botany. Taking this last into consideration, the faculty conferred on him at graduation in June, 1872, the advanced degree of Master of Science instead of the conventional Bachelor's Degree received by the rest of the class. This seemed to him at the time a perfectly natural thing, as he had done all the required work for the higher honor; but it was afterward voted not to grant any second degree within a year after that of Bachelor had been received. Jordan was thus placed, quite innocently, in the position of being the only graduate of Cornell to merge two degrees into one.

Upon graduation in 1872, Jordan decided not to remain as instructor in botany at $750 a year, accepting instead the $1300 professorship of Natural Science at Lombard University, an institution under the direction of the Universalist Church located at Galesburg, Illinois and now no longer in existence.

Natural Science at Lombard, Jordan found, was an expansible subject. His "chair" demanded classes in zoology, botany, geology, mineralogy, chemistry, physics, political economy, Paley's *Evidences of Christianity*, and incidentally, German and Spanish! He also had charge of the weekly "literary exercises," consisting of orations and the reading of essays, a dreary and perfunctory performance, with a class in Sunday school for good measure. In off hours he also served as pitcher of the student ball team, taking part in regular contests with the neighbor institution, Knox College, another Galesburg institution much better endowed and only a mile away.

Once when the board of trustees sent a committee to inspect the work of the faculty, they criticized his teaching solely on the ground that he allowed the students to go into the cabinet to handle the apparatus and waste the chemicals. And one of their number felt a little hurt because he regarded with undisguised scorn his present of a "fossil ham" which was merely a water-worn boulder of unusual shape. On one occasion the president criticized his account of the glacial period because he made it appear as though ice had actually covered the land. His misinformation on these matters dated from the period in which glacial phenomena were attributed to icebergs and the wash of waves over submerged regions. At the end of the year the trustees, being short of money and none too appreciative as the university trustees did not appreciate his teaching the students about geological ages, left him no acceptable alternative save to resign, which he did not unwillingly.

3: PENIKESE ISLAND & LOUIS AGASSIZ

During the previous winter of 1871 Louis Agassiz had cast about for some means of coming in contact

Jordan at time of graduation from Cornell, 1872.

with American teachers of zoology and so exerting an influence toward better methods for in those days, science teaching in the secondary schools, even in the colleges, was of a very inferior order, without laboratories and for the most part lacking contact with nature itself. The scheme he evolved was a pioneer movement in education. Up to that time, nothing of the sort had anywhere existed. But he conceived the idea of meeting teachers at the seaside, away from all other influences, believing that he could thus make clear to them the necessity of going directly to nature, the fountain head, thus teaching them to recognize the truth as truth, to know that there are facts in the universe that are fundamentally beyond denial, and to which the tradition of a thousand years is no more than the hearsay of yesterday.

Before a site was chosen, however, Mr. John Anderson, a wealthy tobacco merchant of New York City, offered the use of Penikese Island, a little forgotten speck on the ocean, about eighteen miles from New Bedford, off the heel of Cape Cod. It comprises some sixty acres of very rocky ground, being indeed only a huge pile of stones with intervals of soil. Anderson supplemented this by an endowment of $50,000 for the permanent location of the school there, and Mr. C. W. Galloupe of Boston promised to lend his large yacht, the Sprite, for dredging purposes. Thus there was founded the Anderson School of Natural History.

In the summer of 1873, Jordan spent his first of two summer sessions attending the Anderson School. It is without question that the influence of Louis Agassiz, and the two summers of participation in the School, attending as a student the first year and then as an instructor of marine botany the second year, contributed to the academic development of David Starr Jordan. It was during his first year on Penikese Island, with Jordan working toward devoting himself to the study of marine algae when Agassiz asked him to undertake a study of the fishes of the region. Through the examination of the catches of the pound -nets at Martha's Vineyard, Jordan became well acquainted with fishes of the region. Thus began a life's journey for David Starr Jordan, as he would become one of the preeminent leaders of ichthyology, the branch of zoology devoted to the study of fish. After the first summer session on Penikese, Jordan traveled to Harvard College to become a curator of fossil vertebrates in the Museum of Comparative Zoology; a position offered to him by Louis Agassiz.

4: THE APPLETON COLLEGIATE INSTITUTE

At the end of the first summer Jordan went over to Cambridge, where Agassiz had promised him an appointment as curator of fossil vertebrates in the museum, a position which had recently become vacant. David Starr Jordan would lecture of Louis Agassiz, to the lay public and academic institutions, an untold number of times, most often with a presentation titled "Agassiz as Teacher." In addition to the lectures, Jordan penned numerous articles about Louis Agassiz and the pedagogical method of instruction he had introduced on Pekinese Island. Without a doubt, Louis Agassiz and the two

Louis Agassiz (1807-1873).

summers on Penikese Island left a strong mentoring impression on David Starr Jordan. It was the mentoring influence of Louis Agassiz that had informed and molded Jordan's idea as to what a university could and should be.

From an article that appeared in *The Popular Science Monthly*, April 1893, written by Jordan and titled "Science and the Colleges," the following is quoted:

In a high sense, as I elsewhere have said, the coming of Agassiz marked the foundation of the first American university. Agassiz was the university. The essential character of the university is Lernfreiheit, freedom of learning, the freedom of the student to pursue his studies to the furthest limit of the known, the freedom of encouragement to invade the infinitely greater realm of the unknown. It is from this realm that come the chief rewards of the scholar. The school from which no exploring parties set out has no right to the name of university.

Meanwhile Agassiz received a letter from Dr. Russell Z. Mason of Appleton, Wisconsin, asking him to send one of his students as principal of the Appleton Collegiate Institute, a preparatory school developed on the theories of Pestalozzi and Froebel, in which science teaching was to be made a specialty. The following is from Agassiz's answer nominating Jordan for the position:

The highest recommendation I can give Mr. Jordan is that he is qualified for a curatorship in the Museum of Comparative Zoology. I know no other young man of whom I can say that.

This statement was sufficient, and Jordan at once set forth 1873 for Appleton to undertake his new duties as Principle of the Appleton Collegiate Institute. Jordan did not think that his management of the institute was of a high order for he was then only twenty two years old and lacked adequate executive experience. However, one of the boys had brought in and questioned Jordan about a piece of Favosites, a fossil Silurian coral having almost exactly the appearance of honeycomb, which he had picked up in a glacial drift. With this as a text, Jordan set forth the growth of the coral, covering at the same time in simple language the geological history of Wisconsin from the Silurian down.

This little story appeared in 1877 in *St. Nicholas Illustrated for Young Folks* under the title "The Story of a stone," from which it was widely copied in both America and England. It was the first in date of all the "nature stories" for children, of which so many have been written in recent years by naturalists and others. Mary Frazer Macdonald was a member of the Appleton faculty and among her pupils was young Leland Stanford Junior who took sufficient interest in Favosites to repeat its history at home. The matter made a strong impression on his father, Leland Stanford, as an illustration of how science can be effectively taught to children.

Many years afterward, when Jordan was president of Stanford University, founded in memory of the little lad who had liked "The Story of a Stone," Leland Stanford spoke to him of the incident. Both were then both surprised and pleased, Jordan to learn that even indirectly the boy's life had touched his, he to know that the story was of Jordan's making. Jordan recalled with pleasure the admiration, almost veneration, of both Mr. and Mrs. Stanford for the educational ideals and personality of Agassiz, who

A Favosites. Jordan's story about this first in date of all the nature stories for children.

was once their guest in San Francisco. As a matter of fact, when the large Zoology Building (now Jordan Hall) was erected, a marble statue of Agassiz of heroic size was one of the two placed over the portal, the other being that of his patron and associate, Humboldt.

With the end of his one year at Appleton the Collegiate Institute ceased to exist, although founded but three years before by Mr. Anson Ballard, an enthusiast in education who at his death had endowed it with considerable real estate. The financial panic of that period, however, punctured land booms and the property proved quite unsalable. In June, 1874, therefore, the trustees perforce (though reluctantly) closed the school, paid off all the teachers and turned the building over to the neighboring Lawrence University, an institution under the control of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

5: INDIANAPOLIS HIGH SCHOOL & BUTLER UNIVERSITY

Though Louis' Agassiz had passed away, Jordan returned to Penikese for the next summer session (1874), serving as the instructor for the course in marine botany. In the fall of 1874, he taught high school science at Indianapolis High School in Indianapolis, Indiana. His first (and only) year as a high school teacher proved a pleasant one. While engaged with his work in the high school, he was able to spend some time in the medical college from which, in the spring of 1875, he received the, as Jordan put it, "the scarcely earned" degree of Doctor of Medicine, though it had not at all been his intention to enter that profession. A certain amount of medical knowledge, Jordan thought, would enable him to teach physiology better. As a matter of fact, the next year he gave a course of lectures on comparative anatomy in the college itself.

In 1875 he became a professor of biology at Northwestern Christian University (later Butler University with Jordan's position being that of Dean of Science) in Irvington, a suburb of Indianapolis five miles distant and since included within the city. On March 10, 1875, Jordan was married at Peru, Berkshire County, Massachusetts, to Susan Bowen, daughter of Sylvester S. Bowen of that town. Miss Bowen had been at Penikese Island both the first and second summers. She then held the position of associate in botany at Mount Holyoke Seminary, of which she was a graduate.

In the summer of 1876 Jordan set out to explore the fish fauna of the streams of Georgia, a large region from which practically no records had ever been made. For this trip he took with him his wife (something that Miller fails to mention) and young Charles Henry Gilbert, who had just graduated from the Indianapolis High School, and whose interests had turned toward Natural History. He proved to be the keenest and most exact student Jordan ever had, excelling as a scientific critic. Jordon received a doctorate in philosophy there in 1878.

6: INDIANA UNIVERSITY

In 1879 Jordan became chairman of the department of natural sciences at Indiana University in

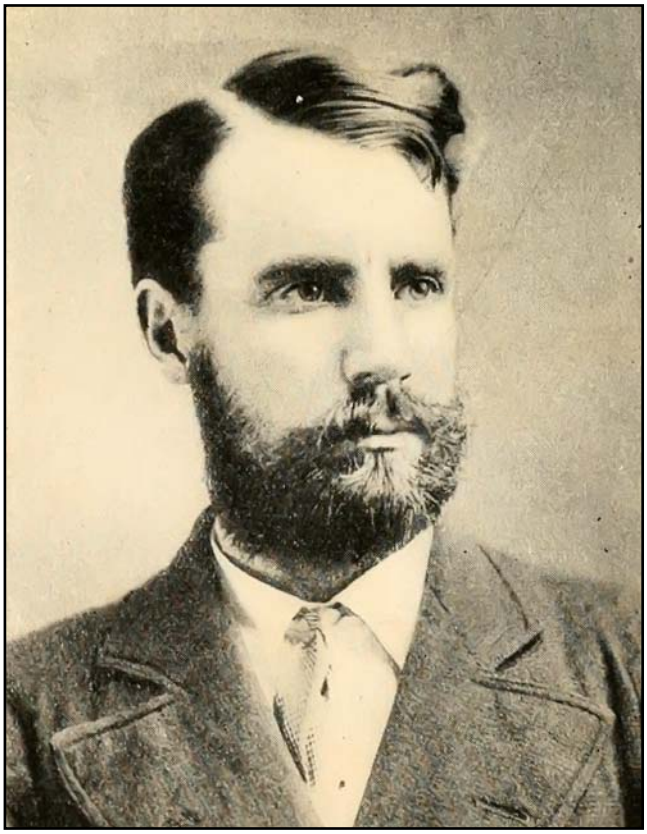
Susan Bowen Jordan (1845-1885).

Bloomington where he set himself the goal of discovering every freshwater fish in North America. For help he recruited an old taxonomy buddy from his Cornell days, Herbert Copeland. Slowly they began publishing taxonomic studies and shedding light on new connections between species. In 1880 he was sent (as part of the US Census) to catalog the fish species along the Pacific Coast. He took one of his favorite students with him, Charles Gilbert and starting in San Diego they began moving up the coast looking for fish specimens. On this trip alone the two of them discovered over eighty new species of fish.

Jordan's crew of taxonomists was discovering fish faster than they could name them. While Jordan was away in the summer of 1883 on an excursion with groups of students, they were preserving them in jars of ethanol and stacking them on shelves inside his lab on the top floor of the science building until late one night in July of 1883 when a lightning bolt that hit a telephone wire threw sparks into the office below the lab and ignited a fire and when the flames reached their way toward the shelves holding Jordan's jars holding the fish exploded like tiny bombs. Fish were vaporized and every last specimen was destroyed. On top of this Jordan lost his own costly library including the manuscript of a considerable volume by Jordan and Gilbert on the fishes of the West Coast of Mexico and Panama. With the book had also gone the material on which it was based, most of it not to be restored until the later expeditions of Jordan to Mazatlan in 1895, and of Gilbert and Starks to Panama in 1903. The reporter charged with assessing the damage could barely contain his grief. "The flames of an hour had near undone his life work," he wrote in the *Bloomington Telephone*.

This experience taught Jordan a lesson, which was to publish all new matter at once, leaving its coordination for a later period. On hearing of his losses and anticipating the receipt of the insurance money–$7000–he at once began to restore the library. He then found, like so many naturalists before him, that the open-air stalls along the left bank of the Seine were a rich mine of second-hand books. Later Jordan secured a large part of the library of the distinguished naturalist-philosopher, Alphonse Milne-Edwards, and in time came to have a much more valuable collection than before. It contained many thousand titles on fishes alone, and was finally presented to Stanford University.

The following autumn certain circumstances resulted in the abrupt resignation of Dr. Lemuel Moss from the presidency of Indiana University. The board of trustees found themselves very much at a loss as to the choice of his successor. Jordan was asked to go over the list of applicants and give his judgment as to each individual. But not one seemed likely to prove a leader in education, and he therefore urged that they look for a young man of promise from one of the larger institutions in the East or North. To his very great surprise the board then unanimously offered the position to Jordan. This was an outcome as undesired as unexpected, for Jordan's ambition ran entirely in the direction of natural history and exploration, and he expected soon to be called to



Herbert Edson Copeland (1849-1876).

Washington in some permanent capacity. However, he accepted the responsibility temporarily, at the same time presenting a letter of resignation to take effect the following August, at the end of the academic year, a document promptly "lost" by the secretary of the board. Thus he became the youngest university president in the entire country. It is right around then that his signature mustache–two virile tusks unfurling beneath his nostrils–grew in.

Then tragedy struck again, this time in his personal life. Two years later, his wife Susan, came down with a cough and then sweat from a fever. Days later, she was dead from a bout of pneumonia. As Jordan put it:

She was a woman at once gentle and enthusiastic, always hopeful, and of the type for which the word "beloved" is naturally employed. After ten years of married life she died at Bloomington, Indiana, November 15, 1885, leaving three children: Edith Monica, born in 1877; Harold Bowen, born in 1882; and Thora, born in 1884 and who survived her mother less than two years.

Two years after Susan's death, he married again, this time to a youthful and energetic college sophomore named Jessie Knight, a Cornell student with whom he had become acquainted in connection with his attendance at a trustee's meeting at Ithaca earlier in the year. Once the eighteen-year-old Jessie landed in Bloomington, she sent Jordan's two eldest children away to boarding school, an act that Edith, ten years old at the time, said forever steeled her against her stepmother. "I knew then that I would never call her mother," she writes toward the end of her life in a handwritten remembrance. With a newly childless home, Jessie was free to join Jordan on his collecting expeditions. However, this did not alienate either Edith or Harold from their father. Both graduated from Stanford University, Edith with a Master's degree in History and Harold with a degree in Chemistry.

At Indiana University he distinguished himself as a teacher of organic evolution and bionomics. His research in ichthyology resulted in numerous publications, of which the most famous is his 1882 *Synopsis of Fishes of North America*. During Jordan's six years as president he instituted the concept of a major field of academic study for college students. Jordan, influenced by Agassiz, rejected the traditional style of science education that emphasized rote learning and memorization. He instead encouraged hands-on instruction and student choice in electives.

In the spring of 1887 Jordan became president of the College Association of Indiana. In his discourse he explained the origin of the traditional classical curriculum of four years as derived from the English college. This was a course of study composed mainly of Latin, Greek, and mathematics, ending with a dash of safe and sound philosophy by the president–traditionally a clergyman–the whole constituting a

Jessie Knight Jordan (1866-1952).

general education supposed to prepare especially for the career of gentleman or clergyman. Continuing, he outlined the effect of the pressure of modern studies, at first retrogressive because it broke continuity and discipline by various futile interpolations. In such patchwork concessions to opportunism, Greek (and later Latin) was replaced by odds and ends of science, history and modem languages, the resulting makeshifts, rightly regarded as inferior, being designated as "science," "philosophy," and "literature." The degree of B.S., as then awarded for such superficial courses he defined as "Bachelor of Sciences."

He further tried to show that higher education in America had to recover its dignity, and that not through the crowding out of the Classics with invertebrate fragments of other forms of discipline, but by a well-considered adaptation of study to the needs of the individual. This could be attained only through the development and coordination of a rational elective system by which each student chose his own line of work and was stimulated to pursue it to a degree of mastery. His argument was not that Greek or Latin should be abolished or neglected, but that ample provision should be made for science and modern "humanities."

Kaiser Wilhelm II (1859-1941).

In developing this thesis he advocated the ultimate abandonment of the Bachelor's degree, and the recognition of advanced professional degrees only in research along various lines, as well as in Medicine, Law and Engineering. As a beginning, he suggested that all Bachelor's degrees should be merged into one, that of Bachelor of Arts. This step had already been taken at Johns Hopkins and at Harvard, a policy afterward followed by numerous other leading institutions, although "conservative Cornell" still conferred several different baccalaureate titles. With passing years Jordan saw no reason to change materially his views, although he did recognize that the abolition of the Bachelor's degree, which represented merely a start in general culture, was much farther off than he had anticipated. He did say, however, that Baccalaureate degrees had one real value, that of identifying and binding together a body of college alumni.

Jordan and his wife spent the summer of 1890 in Europe, Professor Jeremiah W. Jenks of the chair of Economics being his associate in conducting a group of students and friends on lines similar to those adopted in earlier tours. They stopped for lunch at the little inn of Stallhjemskleven; some thirty guests in all, mostly American and British, had gathered there that noon. But the host announced that as the yacht of the German Emperor had anchored in the fjord and the Kaiser had ordered luncheon for his party, he had to ask all to kindly to wait until the others finished. Majestät and suite were accordingly first cared for, next the marines who had escorted them from the boat, hungry Anglo-Saxons meanwhile sitting around outside, freely expressing their opinion of Prussian etiquette and courtesy. As Jordan expressed it:

When the imperial group at last entered the drawing-room for coffee and cigarettes, we had an informal view of the Kaiser, who smiled upon us

with proper condescension. He seemed to me a rather good-looking young fellow, enjoying self-appreciation on a fine holiday. At home he had just succeeded in "dropping the pilot," Bismarck, and had taken the wheel himself. This was my first and only view of a man for whose personality and political career I held from the beginning a profound distrust, as my friends can readily testify.

While in Antwerp Jordan asked a passing soldier the way in what he thought was respectable French. He snapped back: "Je ne parle pas flamand (I don't speak Flemish)." But Jordan's confidence was soon restored. Entering the great poste restante, he saw an aristocratic English gentleman, accompanied by his daughter, trying vainly to make himself understood at the post office. Sympathizing with him in his dilemma, Jordan intervened as politely as possible and using his French made the required translations on both sides. After all was amicably settled, the gentleman bowed graciously and said: "You speak English most remarkably well, sir." Later, going down the Rotterdam shore of the River Maes, Jordan had occasion to cross over to the other side. Spying a boatman, he sprang his usual swift formula: "Parlez vous francais? Sprechen Sie Deutsch? Do you speak English?" The boatman drawled out: "I reckon I can tackle some of 'em; I'm from Maine."

The following is an extract from an address of the distinguished ichthyologist, Barton Warren Evermann, before the Indiana Academy of Sciences, in 1916:

The greatest impetus ever given to zoological research and investigation in Indiana occurred when David Starr Jordan came to Indianapolis in 1874 as a teacher of natural history in the high school of that city. He was then a young man scarcely out of his teens, of great physical and mental vigor, with unbounded energy and enthusiasm, and already appreciative of the richness of the fauna and flora of the state. The twelve years (1879–91) spent by Dr. Jordan at Indiana University were among the most productive of his life, not only in relation to zoological science in general but to zoology in Indiana in particular. The influence upon the state was epoch-making. The effect of training so many of its young men and women in the method of science and sending them out over the state and beyond its borders imbued with the spirit of the real naturalist who seeks truth, who sees things as they are, and who knows animals when he meets them in the open, cannot be overestimated. Many and varied were the problems in zoological science that these young men and women investigated, studied, and attempted to solve. They were by no means confined to the fauna of Indiana. In Ichthyology their field was world-wide. It is true, however, that the rich ness of the Indiana fauna appealed to many of these young naturalists, and zoological literature has been greatly enriched by their contributions.

7: THE STANFORDS

Leland Stanford (1824-1893) was one of the "Big Four" who built California's Central Pacific railroad; Stanford brought a sweeping political influence to the partnership that insured this privately financed project all the advantages of public funding.

Stanford was born into a well-off farming family in Watervliet, New York. After a superb secondary education and several years of higher education,

Leland and Jane Stanford.

Stanford entered an elite law office to prepare for a career as an attorney, passing his bar exam in 1848. He soon moved to Port Washington, Wisconsin, where he began to practice his profession.

Jane Elizabeth Lathrop was born in 1828 in Albany, New York. She was the daughter of shopkeeper Dyer Lathrop and Jane Anne (Shields) Lathrop. She attended The Albany Academy for Girls, the longest running girls' day school in the country. She married Stanford on September 30, 1850, and went to live with him in Port Washington.

After three years in Wisconsin, Stanford and his new wife decided to move to California, where several of his brothers had already found success as merchants. Stanford joined them in 1852 and soon began making enormous sums of money by selling equipment to miners in northern California. He also became involved in politics, first as a justice of the peace, then as the unsuccessful 1857 Republican candidate for state treasurer, and in 1859 as the unsuccessful Republican gubernatorial candidate. Stanford was finally elected governor in 1861, when the Civil War split the Democratic vote, and he played a part in keeping California loyal to the Union.

During his tenure, Stanford made no attempt to separate his political office from his private business interests. With Mark Hopkins, Collis Huntington and Charles Crocker, Stanford was one of the "Big Four" planning to build the eastbound section of the transcontinental railroad, and his contribution to the partnership was to come in the form of political influence. As governor, Stanford kept this pledge, despite his responsibilities to the public, by helping to secure massive state investment and land grants for the railroad project.

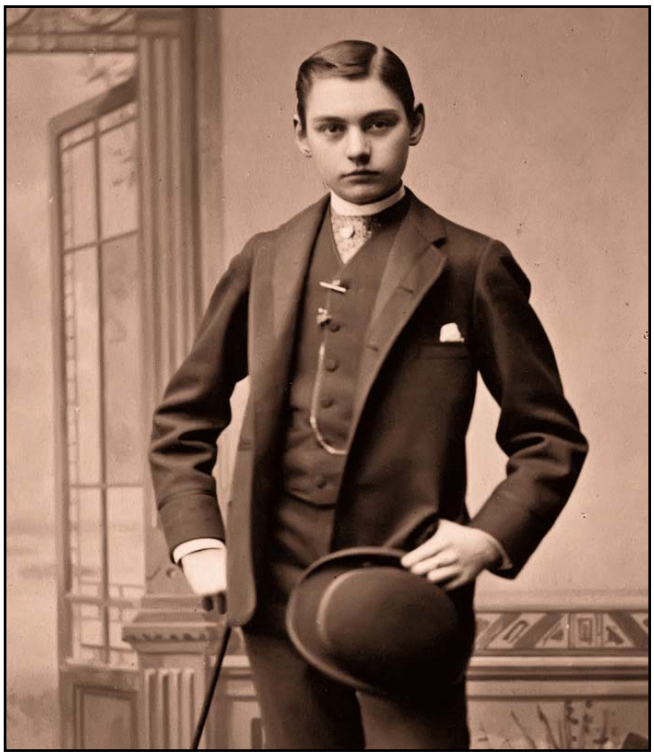
When his term ended in 1863, Stanford declined to run for governor again, choosing instead to become president of the Central Pacific, a post he held until his death. He was also a major stakeholder in and longtime president of the Southern Pacific, as well as owner of many of the construction companies that did most of the actual railroad building. Later in the century, as public pressure mounted for government regulation of such monopolies, Stanford's political connections in California continued to keep his railroad business interests on track.

The immense wealth Stanford acquired from railroad building enabled him to live a lavish life. He maintained enormous vineyards and owned a large horse-raising ranch near Palo Alto. In 1884, the death of their fifteen-year-old son prompted the Stanfords to found and endow Stanford University in his memory. In 1885, Stanford arranged for the California legislature to appoint him to the United States Senate, where he served without distinction but with pleasure until his death in 1893.

8: FOUNDING OF STANFORD UNIVERSITY

On March 13, 1884, Stanford's only child, young Leland Stanford Junior, a lad of sixteen, died in Florence of typhoid fever. After a long and dreary night, the stricken father awoke with these words on his lips: "The children of California shall be my children," and from that moment the question was simply as to what form this should assume.

For some time previous to his death young Leland



Leland Stanford, Jr. (1868-184).

had been enthusiastically gathering objects of art and curiosity for a small private collection, the nucleus of a great museum he meant someday to give to the city of San Francisco. Naturally, then, his parents first thought of carrying out the boy's own purpose, though on a more elaborate scale, with a large provision for educational facilities, lectures and the like. The idea, however, did not satisfy them as being sufficiently generous.

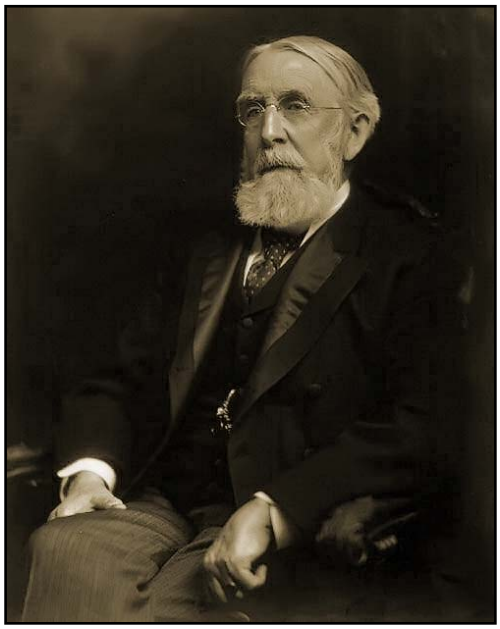
The museum project being set aside, their choice lay between endowing a university or a great technical school. If the former, should they found an entirely independent institution, or should the money be given in some form or other to the University of California? The latter alternative was soon rejected, however, because the management of the state institution appeared to be deeply entangled in partisan politics, a fact quite obvious to Stanford as once when he had been appointed trustee by the governor the legislature, then controlled by a clique within the Democratic Party, refused to endorse his name. Though to some extent a politician himself, he felt that party differences had no legitimate concern with education. And in the end, after consultation with various educators, the bereaved parents decided to found the Leland Stanford Junior University, located in the country about thirty miles south of San Francisco on the beautiful Palo Alto Ranch which the boy had known and loved.

The founding grant having been executed on November 11, 1886, a board of trustees was chosen, mainly from Mr. Stanford's personal friends, and the corner stone of the Inner Quadrangle was laid on May 14, 1887, the anniversary of the boy's birth. A formal address was then made by the founder, setting forth the general purposes of the institution, and from that time on construction of the first buildings, the Inner Quadrangle, Engineering Shops, Men's Dormitory and Museum, proceeded with enthusiasm and vigor.

By the winter of 1890 Mr. Stanford felt that he could now prepare for the formal opening. Naturally, also, he was anxious to see work started in his own lifetime as he had already begun to feel the warnings of age. Moreover, as boards of trustees are often dilatory in the execution of trusts, once a project was under way, they could not do otherwise than support it. This body of trustees was not to function during the lifetime of either Mr. or Mrs. Stanford, unless specially called upon to do so.

In order therefore to proceed intelligently, the Stanfords again visited several different institutions of advanced learning: Johns Hopkins, Harvard, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Cornell. Johns Hopkins pleased them especially because of its well-deserved reputation for research, while Dr. Gilman, its head, they had known and admired as president of the University of California. General Francis A. Walker of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology was one of their special friends, and as a valued adviser had spent a month with them at Palo Alto.

Cornell met Mr. Stanford's educational ideals more fully than any other institution, primarily because it gave to the applied sciences, engineering, and agriculture the same academic valuation and support as to the humanist studies, braced by equal attention to the securing of first-rate teachers. Mr. Stanford also held the opinions of ex-President Andrew Dickenson White in very high esteem, having often



Andrew White (1832-1918), co-founder & first President of Cornell University.

applied to him for guidance and inspiration. On the occasion in question, he offered White the presidency of Stanford University. Concerning this matter the latter writes in his autobiography, in part, as follows:

This [position] I had felt obliged to decline. I said to them that the best years of my life had been devoted to building up two universities–Michigan and Cornell–and that not all the treasures of the Pacific Coast would tempt me to begin with another; that this feeling was not due to a wish to evade my duty, but to a conviction that my work of that sort was done.

Being thereupon asked to suggest someone else for the place, White recommended Jordan, and the Stanfords accordingly came to Bloomington to interview him. They offered him the job as President and Jordan accepted.

9: THE PHYSICAL LAYOUT OF THE UNIVERSITY

The Stanfords chose their country estate, Palo Alto Stock Farm, in northern Santa Clara County as the site of the university, so that the University is often called "the Farm" to this day. In the summer of 1886, when the campus was first being planned, Stanford brought the president of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Francis Amasa Walker and the Boston landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted westward for consultations. Rejecting a hillside site in favor of the more practical flatlands, the campus master plan (1886–1914) was designed by Frederick Law Olmsted and later his sons.

The Main Quad was designed by Charles Allerton Coolidge in the style of his late mentor, Henry Hobson Richardson. The Richardsonian Romanesque style, characterized by rectangular stone buildings linked by arcades of half-circle arches, was merged with the Californian Mission Revival style desired by the Stanfords and by Leland Stanford himself. However, by 1889, Leland Stanford severed the connection with Olmsted and Coolidge and their work was continued by others. The red tile roofs and solid sandstone masonry are distinctly Californian in appearance, and most of the more recent campus buildings have followed the Quad's pattern of buff-colored walls, red roofs and arcades, giving Stanford its distinctive style. The cornerstone was laid on May 14, 1887, which would have been Leland Stanford Junior's nineteenth birthday.

10: FOUNDING GRANT

The university's Founding Grant of Endowment from the Stanfords was issued in November 1885. Besides defining the operational structure of the university, it made several specific stipulations:

The Trustees ... shall have the power and it shall be their duty:

1. To establish and maintain at such University an educational system, which will, if followed, fit the graduate for some useful pursuit, and to this end to cause the pupils, as easily as may be, to declare the particular calling, which, in life, they may desire to pursue;
2. To prohibit sectarian instruction, but to have taught in the University the immortality of the soul, the existence of an all-wise and benevolent Creator, and that obedience to His laws is the highest duty of man;
3. To have taught in the University the right and advantages of association and co-operation;
4. To afford equal facilities and give equal advantages in the University to both sexes;
5. To maintain on the Palo Alto estate a farm for instruction in agriculture in all its branches."

Though the trustees were in overall charge of the university, Leland and Jane Stanford as Founders

The Main Quad of Stanford University.

retained great control until their deaths. Stanford graduated its first Chinese student, Walter Ngon Fong, in 1896. Despite the duty to have a co-educational institution, in 1899, Jane Stanford, the remaining Founder, added to the Founding Grant the legal requirement that "the number of women attending the University as students shall at no time ever exceed five hundred." She feared the large numbers of women entering would lead the school to become "the Vassar of the West" and felt that would not be an appropriate memorial for her son. In 1973 the University trustees successfully petitioned the courts to have the restriction formally removed. In the same petition they also removed the prohibition of sectarian worship on campus (previous only non-denominational Christian worship in Stanford Memorial Church was permitted).

In the fall of 1891 it was stated in certain quarters that Stanford University had been founded under spiritualistic influences, and a claim was put forward in the name of Maud Lord-Drake, a somewhat noted medium of the time, that she had been the guiding intermediary. In 1892, therefore, Mr. and Mrs. Stanford dictated to Jordan the following statement for permanent preservation:

Mr. Stanford made his will, looking to the endowment of the university, in Paris, April 24, 1884. Mrs. Stanford made her will also, and copies were sent to America. Mrs. Maud Lord-Drake was unknown to them until they met her at a séance with the Grants in October, 1884. At about that time Mrs. Drake was detected in fraud… No spiritualistic influence affected the decision. Mrs. Drake had no more to do with it than a babe unborn.

It is, however, true that both Mr. and Mrs. Stanford were for some time deeply interested in certain phases of spiritualism which seemed perhaps to give the basis for a demonstrable belief in immortality, a faith in which they found great consolation. Accompanied by General and Mrs. Ulysses Grant they attended several séances in Washington, though they never received through mediums any evidence they regarded as convincing.

11: JORDAN'S EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY

When Jordan became its president, the University of Indiana contained 135 collegiate students, with about 150 in the preparatory department, which served as a high school for Bloomington, Indiana. In 1886 he made some sweeping changes, doing away with the fixed curriculum and adjusting the work so that practically all the subjects hitherto taught in the University, being elementary in their nature, were relegated to the first two years. In addition, he instituted a "major subject" system, by which each junior or third-year student was required to choose a specialty or "major," and to work under the immediate advice of his "major professor" whose counsel in details he was obliged to obtain. An individual course of study was thus framed for each student. This system was designed to enable everyone to make the most of their four college years by seeking the best teachers and the subject best fitted to their tastes and capacity.

This scheme immediately opened the university's doors to young men and women of superior order, though the good people of Bloomington and many old friends of the University as well, were very much alarmed for fear that this freedom of choice would lower standards and bring in an inferior type. The reverse was overwhelmingly true. The classes of 1886 and 1887, small in number for reasons not far to seek, ranked with the strongest the institution had ever graduated. Numbers, moreover, soon doubled, and the professors themselves felt a stimulus due to contact with young people drawn, not driven, to their work.

Jordan persuaded the board of trustees to discontinue the preparatory school, throwing all responsibility for local secondary work on the town, and turning over the abandoned old building for high school purposes. Thus cutting in half the nominal

Indiana University, circa 1880's.

registration again created some alarm, but that too abated when it was found that the number of new matriculates exceeded that apparently lost by the separation of the high school. Meanwhile, moreover, the graduating classes rapidly increased in size.

But next to freeing the University from its self-educational fetters, Jordan's most important move was to bring trained and loyal alumni into the faculty. Up to that time vacancies had often been filled by professors released for one reason or another from Eastern institutions. Among his own early selections were a few young teachers from the seaboard universities, but most of these failed to adapt themselves, appearing to feel that coming so far west (as Indiana was thought of at the time) was a form of banishment. Indeed, as a whole, they seemed more eager to get back East than to build up a reputation in Indiana. Moreover, Jordan found among the recent graduates several of remarkable ability; to them, therefore, Jordan promised professorships when they had secured the requisite advanced training in the East or in Europe.

At that time Jordan was the youngest university president in the country and had little sympathy with the conventional methods of his contemporaries in similar positions, nearly all of whom were retired clergymen and ex officio professors of Philosophy. Scarcely one of them had had any scientific experience or training. Up to this time, Jordan had never thought that some degree of contact with objective reality to be an important element in university administration. Consequently in undertaking administrative duties, Jordan decided not to abandon either research or teaching, as most other university heads had done, and throughout his thirty-three years' service at Indiana and Stanford, Jordan gave (unless absent) a course of lectures each year that dealt with the philosophy of Biology. Meanwhile Jordan was continuously engaged in some line of research in Ichthyology or in fields related to the origin of species.

It had always seemed to Jordan that if a university president was to exert a stimulating influence on students, he should never relinquish the opportunities of the classroom. Again, to judge the work of scholars accurately he himself should be a scholar, which condition he could maintain only through some form of actual research. Without personal effort toward the extension of knowledge, he was likely to fall out of harmony with scholarship and thus fail in his most important duty, the selection of progressive men. Moreover, a university head is subject to the foible of omniscience, being expected by the public to speak with authority on almost every conceivable subject. Lacking the discipline of research, he was in danger of being satisfied with second-hand knowledge and of drifting with the current along lines of least resistance.

The obligations of his position now led him to enter on a new kind of activity alien to his taste and preparation. Up to 1885, Jordan had given a few scientific lectures to general audiences, but no public addresses of other character beyond the occasional reading of an essay on some special occasion. It became at once evident, however, that he had to make the people of Indiana realize that the State University belonged to them. Accordingly Jordan prepared a lecture on the "Value of Higher Education," which Jordan gave at teachers' institutes and before high schools in practically all the ninety-two counties of the state. Jordan thus developed for

David Starr Jordan, circa 1880. Eleven years later he was President of Indiana University.

John Casper Branner (1850-1922), American geologist and academic, and one of the first four founding faculty at Stanford.

the University a kind of intellectual leadership which brought many of the finest types of young men and young women to its doors.

In connection with his talks, Jordan also put forth every legitimate effort to secure influence in the legislature, not by presence in the lobby at Indianapolis but by friendly acquaintance beforehand with rising young lawyers and others likely to be chosen to direct state affairs. In this Jordan was unquestionably successful, making friends in both parties and in every town by the simple means of interesting people in what Jordan was trying to do.

After accepting the position of President of Stanford, his "Circular No. 3" marked an epoch in Jordan's own experience, if not in the history of American education. In it he announced (with Leland Stanford's general approval) the following certain guiding principles to be observed in the Leland Stanford Junior University.

The first aim was to secure and retain teachers of highest talent, successful also as original investigators. Work in applied science was to be carried on side by side with the pure sciences and humanities, and to be equally fostered. Women and men would be admitted on identical terms. Eighteen departments of instruction were provided, all with equivalent entrance requirements, accompanied by a large liberty of substitution and election, no fixed curriculum of any sort being contemplated.

The unit of faculty organization was the professorship rather than the department. Each student, therefore, had to choose a major professor who would be his adviser, and in whose department he had to take enough courses to fulfill certain requirements. As minor subjects or electives, all classes were to be open to any student intellectually ready for the work.

To secure the Bachelor's degree, each candidate would be obliged to satisfy his major professor and to complete enough of other approved work to fill the conventional four years. The degree of A.B. would be given in all non-technical courses and that of B.S. for work in applied science. This differentiation was soon abandoned by the faculty, and the A.B. granted as the first degree in all courses alike. In time, the unit of organization also became, as elsewhere, the department.

The largest liberty consistent with good work and good order was to be granted the student. Religious services were to be provided in accordance with a clause in the deed of gift, which prohibited "sectarian instruction, but required the teaching of the immortality of the soul, the existence of an all-wise and benevolent Creator, and that obedience to his laws is the highest duty of man."

In the beginning at least, tuition was to be free in all departments, and room and board in the two residence halls were to be furnished at cost.

The major professor system, since largely adopted but then regarded as an innovation, had been for five years in successful operation in Indiana University, where it originated. But there the choice of major subject was made at the beginning of the third year. Stanford tried the experiment of beginning with the first, but later it went back to the former plan).

Charles Henry Gilbert (1859-1928), pioneer ichthyologist and fisheries biologist, and one of first four founding faculty at Stanford.

12: FIRST FACULTY & ADMINISTRATION

Fifteen professors only composed the faculty on the opening day, this at the earnest request of Leland Stanford, who feared that the presumably small number of students the first year would cause a larger group to seem absurd. Several others had been engaged, however, to begin their work later on and necessity forced Stanford and Jordan to increase the original number without delay.

In selecting the initial faculty Jordan chose first a few thoroughly tested men from the University of Indiana: John C. Branner in Geology, Joseph Swain in Mathematics, Charles Henry Gilbert in Zoology and . Next, in view of the founder's strong preference for Cornell as well as his own knowledge and tendencies, he selected several from that institution. A number of others, especially in the languages, came from Johns Hopkins, then the recognized center of advanced study. He was not able to secure any from Harvard the first year because the best of its actual staff seemed "earmarked" for retention and promotion. As a rule, also, it was his conviction (founded on his experience) that men from Cornell, Wisconsin, Michigan, and other parts of the West in general would fit themselves more readily to the pioneer life of a new institution.

Most of the members of the original faculty began as assistant professors at salaries ranging from $3000 to $3500. For higher positions he had tried to secure men of established fame about whose eminence there could be no question, and to them was prepared to pay $7000. Among scholars of this class with whom Jordan entered into correspondence were Ira Remsen in Chemistry, Thomas C. Mendenhall in Physics, John B. McMaster and George L. Burr in History, Edmund B. Wilson in Zoology, Jacob G. Schurman and Josiah Royce in Philosophy, George Chrystal (of Edinburgh) in Mathematics, James Bright in English Philology, Irving P. Church in Mechanics, William E. Henry in Agriculture, Horatio S. White in German, Jeremiah W. Jenks in Economics, Rufus B. Richardson in Greek, and others whose subsequent records fully justified his judgment.

But of such men of recognized reputation, already receiving adequate salaries, only two, John C. Branner and John M. Stillman, were willing to make

Joseph Swain, professor of mathematics and one of the first four founding faculty at Stanford.

Douglas Houghton Campbell, botanist and one of the first four founding faculty at Stanford.

the venture. For it was undoubtedly a risk to go so far from the intellectual centers of the nation and an even greater one to join an institution as yet unorganized with libraries and laboratories still to be developed. That being the situation, he was obliged to turn to the younger scholars, trusting in his own judgment as to their probable future growth. Of this course the Stanfords heartily approved; and no one older than Jordan (then forty years old) received appointment except as a non-resident lecturer.

Only one professor was in any sense selected by Leland Stanford, and as to the others he made practically no suggestion. He did, however, say that his old friend, Dr. John D. W. Stillman, had a son, Dr. John Maxson Stillman, a graduate in Chemistry from the University of California, who had also studied in Europe, had later taught in his Alma Mater and was then serving as a professional chemist in Boston. Stanford asked if Jordan would look him up and, if his attainments and personality seemed satisfactory, consider him for a position.

On visiting Boston, therefore, Jordan went to see Stillman and being thoroughly pleased, at once offered him the chair of Chemistry. This he promptly accepted, declining to consider an advance from his company for that, he said, would only tend to confuse his mind. Thus the university secured one of its wisest teachers and most thoroughly beloved amongst his students. Stillman remained for twenty-six years in active service at the head of his department. On Jordan's acceptance of the chancellorship in 1913, he became vice-president of the institution, retiring on August 1, 1917, at the conventional age limit of sixty-five years.

The Indiana group included also Earl Barnes (then recently from Cornell) in Education, and a few younger men as assistants. Among the latter was John A. Miller, an admirable teacher of Mathematics, since professor of Astronomy at Swarthmore. In addition to Branner, Swain and Gilbert, Campbell needs a second mention. A graduate of the University of Michigan, he afterward spent considerable time in Germany, acquiring there a reputation for methodical work and brilliant

John Maxson Stillman, longtime family friend to Leland Stanford, chemist and science historian, and first faculty member hired into the Department of Chemistry at Stanford.

technique. As a scientific investigator he ranked with the first in his field, being at the same time greatly admired by his associates as an accomplished man of wide experience and travel.

Charles David Marx, the university's professor of Civil Engineering, a graduate of Cornell and formerly assistant professor there, came to Stanford from the University of Wisconsin. As "Daddy Marx," he was the idol of generations of engineers, and his unselfish services to the town of Palo Alto won him the gratitude of all his neighbors. From Nebraska, as professor of Economics, Jordan called upon Amos Griswold Warner, one of Stanford's best teachers, thoroughly respected and be loved by everyone. Unfortunately his health was precarious. During the great railway strike of 1893 which affected all the railroads west of Chicago, he was obliged to travel at night from Sacramento to San Francisco on the open deck of a steamer, and so contracted a violent cold; this developed into tuberculosis, of which he died after some years of exile in New Mexico.

George Mann Richardson, formerly with Remsen at Johns Hopkins, left a professorship in Lehigh to take on work in Organic Chemistry. As chairman of the Committee on Student Affairs, Richardson showed remarkable skill, dealing so fairly–even when severely–with delinquents that he generally left them feeling he was really a friend. But notwithstanding his extraordinary muscular strength, in 1902 he fell victim to an insidious kidney disease.

Melville Best Anderson, long Jordan's friend and sometime colleague, resigned from the University of Iowa to fill the chair of English Literature. He remained on the Stanford faculty for twenty-two years, resigning at the expiration of that period to accept a Carnegie Pension awarded to enable him to carry on studies at Florence, a fine new metrical translation of Dante's "Divina Commedia" being the literary work of is life.

Fernando Sanford, a student of Helmholtz in Berlin and an active investigator, was called from Lake Forest to the chair of Physics, a position acceptably held by him until his retirement as emeritus in 1919. Oliver Peebles Jenkins left DePauw to accept the chair of Physiology, from which he retired as emeritus in 1916. James Owen Griffin, who had acquired at Cornell a reputation for remarkable patience and skill in teaching, took up the work in German, retiring as emeritus in 1916.

Besides those enumerated above, most of who remained permanently at Stanford, a number of others belonged to the original group but sooner or later resigned to take positions elsewhere. Among these were George E. Howard (in History) from the University of Nebraska, to which institution he afterward returned; Henry A. Todd (in French) from Johns Hopkins, soon called to Columbia; Samuel J. Brun (his assistant) from Cornell, later an attorney in San Francisco; Ernest M. Pease (in Latin) from Smith, afterward engaged in business; and Thomas D. Wood (in Organic Training) from Harvard, since 1900 a professor at Columbia. Two others, Horace B. Gale (in Mechanical Engineering) and Arthur G. Laird (in Greek), remained for one year only.

William Howard Miller, reputed to be one of the most brilliant graduates of Johns Hopkins, came as assistant professor in Mathematics but died of tuberculosis before the end of the year. A fine sonnet in his honor, "First Dead of Stanford Scholars," was written by his colleague, Martin W. Sampson, who joined our ranks in January.

The chair of Entomology, established in anticipation of a School of Agriculture (never developed), Jordan

Charles David Marx, head of the Engineering department and one of the founding faculty at Stanford.

offered to Comstock, the leading teacher in his field. But by special arrangement covering a period of three years, he divided his time equally between Cornell and Stanford, thus laying the foundation of Stanford's strong department of Entomology.

As librarian came Edwin Hamlin Woodruff, a Cornell man, then in charge of the Fiske Library in Florence, and eminently fitted to gather books for the new institution. Woodruff was later transferred to a professorship of law, a position even more to his taste, from which he was called to the new Law School at Cornell, of which he afterward became dean.

During the year additional teachers were needed. Among those newly appointed were: in English, three young scholars, Alphonso G. Newcomer, a Cornell graduate of admirable literary ability, much beloved, whose untimely death occurred in 1914, Sampson, from the University of Iowa, since professor at Cornell, and, from Indiana University, Edward Howard Griggs, afterward a very popular public lecturer; in Graphic Arts, Bolton Coit Brown, a graduate of Cornell, then from the University of Syracuse, who later resigned to devote his whole time to painting; and in Mathematics, Charles E. Cox from the University of the Pacific, who afterward went into business in San Jose.

The ability to do one's best under varying circumstances and unforeseen trials was distinctly a quality of most members of the pioneer Stanford faculty, and stood the university in good stead later on. Several of them Jordan had known for years, and he should have selected other personal acquaintances except for the fear of running too much in one groove. Afterward some of his new colleagues expressed regret that he had not put in "more of his friends," that is, more men with whose personal equations Jordan was thoroughly familiar.

Following President White's plan at Cornell, Jordan early arranged for a system of non-resident professors, men of distinction who would supplement by lectures of an inspiring kind the regular courses of study. Jordan's first choice naturally fell on White himself, and in the spring of 1892 he came out to Stanford to give a course in Modern European History. A year later Jacob Gould Schurman (soon after elected president of Cornell) gave some lectures in Philosophy; and ex-President Harrison addressed the university on International Law in the fall of 1893.

Jordan has been unfairly criticized for selecting many of his friends and acquaintances for Stanford faculty positions but these were not brothers, cousins, uncles or any other family members. They were people he knew to be of the quality that would make Stanford Leland Jr. University one of the most illustrious institutions in the country. It was a monumental task at the start to convince scholars to travel to the other end of the country to join a school in the middle of nowhere that had many building and no students.

13: EARLY FINANCIAL PROBLEMS

The Stanfords donated approximately $40 million (equivalent to $1,138,000,000 today) to develop the university, which held its opening exercises on October 1, 1891. Its first student was Herbert Hoover, who went on to become the 31st U.S. President. The wealth of the Stanford family during

Jordan arranged early on for a system of non-resident men of distinction to supply inspiring lectures. Jacob Gould Schuman (1854-1942), educator and diplomat, was invited in 1893 to give some lectures in philosophy.

the late 19th century is estimated at about $50 million (equivalent to $1,537,000,000 today). When Leland Stanford died in 1893, the continued existence of the university was in jeopardy. The Panic of 1893, which ran from January 1893 to June 1894, was caused by the failure of the United States Reading Railroad and withdrawal of European investment. This led to a stock market and banking collapse.

This Panic was also precipitated in part by a run on the gold supply. The Treasury had to issue bonds to purchase enough gold. Profits, investment and income all fell, leading to political instability, the height of the U.S. populist movement and the Free Silver movement. Estimates on unemployment vary but it may have peaked anywhere from 8.2 to 18%. This was followed by the Panic of 1896, which ran from December 1895 to June 1897. The period of 1893–97 is seen as a generally depressed cycle that had a short spurt of growth in the middle, following the Panic of 1893. Production shrank and deflation reigned. Combined with the Panics of 1893 and 1896, a $15 million Federal government lawsuit against Stanford's estate made it extremely difficult to meet expenses.

After Leland's death on June 21, 1893, Jane Stanford kept to her rooms for a week or two. The estate fell into the hands of the courts, the will was in probate, the debts of the estate had to be paid, the various ramifications of business had to be disentangled and meanwhile came on the fierce panic of 1893. All university matters stopped for the summer. Salaries could not be paid until it was found out by the courts by whom and to whom salaries were due. All incomes from business ceased. There was no such thing as income visible to any one, least of all to the great corporations.

The university suffered severe financial hardship because of Sanford's death and the trustees advocated a temporary closure of the university until tax and legal issues could be resolved, but Jane Stanford insisted it remain in operation. From every point of view of worldly wisdom, it was best to close the university until the estate was settled and in her hands, its debts paid and the panic over. However, her own fortune was in the estate itself. She traveled to London during 1897, the year of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee, hoping to find a buyer for her rubies and other jewels to raise funds for the university; however, she was not able to sell them at that time. Outside of her jewels, she had practically nothing of her own save the community estate and this could not be hers until the payment of all debts and legacies had been completed. These debts and legacies amounted as a whole to eight millions of dollars. In normal times, there was hardly money enough in California to pay this amount; but these were not normal times, and there was no money in California to pay anything.

Until the estate left probate in 1898, Mrs. Stanford in effect took control of the university. She paid for the university out of her personal resources (as the widow she was allowed $10,000/month while the estate was in probate). She traveled to London during 1897, the year of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee, hoping to find a buyer for her rubies and other jewels to raise funds for the university; however, she was not able to sell them at that time. However Pacific Mutual Life Insurance Policy Number 1, ceremoniously presented to Leland

Until the estate left probate in 1898, Mrs. Stanford in effect took control of the university and paid for its expenses out of her personal resources.

Stanford on May 9, 1868, was destined for its own place in the history books. Jane Stanford cashed in the policy for $11,784 and gave the money to the University. As Stanford observed, “But for that money, the doors of Leland Stanford Junior University would have been closed, perhaps forever. Who knows?”

Jane Stanford decided she was going ahead with the university. She would let the university have whatever money she could get. It must come down to bed rock on expenses, but with the help of the Lord and the memory of her husband, the university would go ahead and fulfil its mission. It was no easy task to do this. There could be no regularity in the payment of salaries. In the eyes of the law the university professors were Mrs. Stanford’s personal servants. As such, it was finally arranged that they received a special allowance from the estate. This allowance as household servants paid their salaries, and a registration tax of twenty dollars per year on each student had to cover all other expenses. But these two sources of income did not come at once, and the great farms run as experiment stations were centers of loss and not of income.

At one time in August, 1893, Mrs. Stanford received from Judge Coffey’s court the sum of $500 to be paid to her household servants. It was paid in a bag of twenty-five twenty dollar gold pieces. Mrs. Stanford called Jordan and said her household servants could wait; there might be some professors in need, and he might divide the money among them. Jordan put the money under his pillow and did not sleep that night. The next morning he set out to give ten professors fifty dollars apiece. He found not one who could give change for a twenty dollar gold piece, and so he made it forty dollars and sixty dollars.

The same afternoon after Jordan had gone the rounds $13,000 was brought down from the city for the other “household servants” (the administration). This sum was distributed, and then Mrs. Stanford sent word that they had some money now perhaps they could spare her the $500. Jordan drew a check for the sum against a long-vanished bank account, and covered the amount in the morning with the aid of some of his associates. This incident explains why for six years the professors were paid by personal checks of the president, and why these were not always issued regularly, nor for the full amounts.

When the lawsuit was finally dropped in 1895, a university holiday was declared. Stanford alumnus George E. Crothers became a close adviser to Jane Stanford following his graduation from Stanford’s law school in 1896. Working with his brother Thomas (also a Stanford graduate and a lawyer), Crothers identified and corrected numerous major legal defects in the terms of the university’s founding grant and successfully lobbied for an amendment to the California state constitution granting Stanford an exemption from taxation on its educational property, a change which allowed Jane Stanford to sell the family’s share of the railroad company for $11 million, earmarked for the university.

14: MRS. STANFORD & JORDAN

Jordan’s brash progressivism, his experience with coeducation, his love of the outdoors and his camaraderie with students turned out to be well suited to the California endeavor. His long career was not without controversy, however. His self-

George E. Crothers (1870-1957) was instrumental in putting the university on a solid legal ground and financial footing after the death of Leland Stanford.

professed tendency "to proclaim even from the housetops any fixed opinion, especially if unpopular," frequently got him into trouble, not least with the widow Stanford. 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). 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 once advised a new president of a small college never to hold a faculty meeting, since it would give rise to disagreements among the faculty.

Still, there's no denying the profound influence Jordan had in launching the University and keeping it afloat during its tumultuous early decades. As Class of 1907 graduate and longtime faculty member Edith Mirrielees once put it, "For 20-odd years, Jordan was himself the prime Stanford symbol. Hardly a graduate left the campus without bearing his mark." Emeritus biology professor Donald Kennedy, who researched Jordan's life at the beginning of his own presidency in the 1980s, concurs. "Jordan's own scientific accomplishments were, to be fair about it, significant but not monumental," Kennedy notes. "He left important survey work on the fishes and a major contribution to our understanding of the importance of geographical isolation in the origin of new species. But the institutional seeds of growth he left behind germinated into something more far-reaching than any of his own ideas.

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; Nilan, 1997; Veysey, 1965). 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). Metzger commented that Mrs. Stanford "had all the prejudices of her class, and they had been hardened by her ignorance into absolutes" (Metzger, 1955).

Jordan's relationship with the founders was complex. While Leland Stanford encouraged the young president to use his own judgment running the campus on a day-to-day basis, the two exchanged lengthy philosophical letters and spent many evenings on the porch discussing details of the infant University's future. Jordan's ties with Jane Stanford

A young Jane Lathrop Stanford.

grew stronger during the shared financial sacrifices that followed Leland's death. Writing to Jordan's wife in 1899, after the Stanford estate was released from probate, Jane describes the president with almost a motherly tenderness:

He has been the loyal, true friend through the past dark years of sorrow and anxiety. I almost forgot to treat him merely as a president of a university… I regard him as the most truly truthful, honest man I ever met, singularly pure in thought and simple in taste, untouched and unspoiled by superficial conventionalities of life.

In later years–to the delight of newspaper wags–Jordan's respectful relationship with the aging widow grew increasingly tense. He wanted to beef up the faculty, lab facilities and library collection, while her first priority was building the physical plant. Feeling that her life might be cut short at any moment, she was feverishly eager to complete, while she could, as much as possible of the original architectural scheme. To prepare for the long future was her immediate duty, she said, even though the academic side should temporarily suffer, and a board of trustees might easily be dilatory in the matter of buildings. As Jordan remarked:

All of which was no doubt sound reasoning from that point of view. Yet in her natural desire to compass a great deal while strength and "pin money" remained, the brave woman allowed here and there a considerable and disastrous divergence from the monumental structural character of the Inner Quadrangle. In particular she left out for economy's sake the steel framework which is the essential in "Class A" buildings. That she did not have to see the ruin subsequently wrought by the earthquake of 1906 was a matter of thanksgiving to all her friends.

She worried that Stanford was neglecting the students' souls, and she deplored the lack of discipline in sororities and other houses on campus, while he was reluctant to deal with such matters. With resources now available, Jane focused on building projects at the university: the Memorial Arch (1902), Memorial Church, dedicated to her husband (1903), and the Museum received new wings, making it the largest privately-owned museum in the country.

To the latter great additions had been made by Mrs. Stanford. Practically all this later construction was paid for out of the three millions reserved by the surviving founder "to play with." New buildings were also constructed for a library, a gymnasium and a chemistry laboratory. In 1900, she established the first student scholarship and a room in Encina Hall was designated the Leland Stanford Jr. Memorial Room. It was at her direction that Stanford University gained an early focus on the arts. She also advocated the admission of women; the university had been co-educational since its founding. As the remaining founder she wielded a great deal of legal control over the university until her death though she allowed the Board of Trustees greater authority after June 1, 1903.

The Leland Stanford Jr. Museum. Mrs. Stanford had added two side extensions before she died.

BOOK 2

1. THE POWERS AFFAIR

Stanford sociology professor, Harry Huntington Powers, was dismissed in 1898 because he 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.

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 as he 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 badly if he raised the issue of academic freedom. Edward Ross, who was a member of the Sociology department at the time, came to Jordan's assistance by assuming a substantial part of Powers' former duties (Veysey, 1965, p. 401; Furner, 1975, pp. 234-235).

After leaving Stanford, Powers acquired a Ph.D. and ultimately received an appointment as a sociology professor at Cornell University. On October 24, 1901 Powers shocked a group of students by advocating the euthanasia of mentally retarded Americans as reported in the *Chicago Daily Tribune* (Anon., 1901):

I am strongly in favor of killing off the weak in society for the benefit of the strong," he said. "Kill off the feeble-minded and those who are a burden to the rest of society as you would kill off so many rattlesnakes, not because we hate them but because they are troublesome to have around. I believe the time will come when society will see the benefit of exterminating the weak by artificial means."

Perhaps Mrs. Stanford was right after all in recommending the dismissal of Powers from the Stanford faculty!

2. THE DEATH OF JORDAN'S DAUGHTER

The summer of 1900 year was marked by the most interesting and instructive of all Jordan's scientific excursions, the exploration of Japan, made possible by Timothy Hopkins, a trustee of Stanford University who again came generously to his aid by arranging to send Professor John O. Snyder, with him as associate. But the joy of his successful summer in Japan was soon turned to deepest mourning. At Honolulu he received a letter from his wife saying that Barbara was ill with scarlet fever. This was very disquieting news as he remembered the treacherous nature of that malady, so often followed by insidious sequels. The following is his account of returning to San Francisco, about two days after her death:

Arrived at Angel Island quarantine station, I found myself treated with unusual consideration by the officials, who furnished a special launch to take me to San Francisco. I was now joined by a friendly physician from our neigh-

Barbara Jordan (1891-1900).

borhood, who, when we reached the city, informed me that Barbara was dead! This was the most crushing blow that ever befell my wife or me; the brightest light had gone out of our lives.

As I write today after twenty years, the wound seems as deep as yesterday. Barbara was our joy and hope, for she united all that was finest in her mother and the best in me, without any of the dross. She had Jessie's dark eyes, fine features, and warm coloring, her quick apprehension, critical mind, and delight in all lovely things. From me she inherited in full measure the power of immediate and accurate grasp of details in Natural History, and although no special effort was made to teach her, she knew all the land birds of California, and had in one way or another gathered a choice collection of skins. At the same time, recognizing my pleasure in her bent for nature study, it pleased her to feel that in other ways also we were very close. "I understand all of Father's jokes," she sometimes asserted with gentle pride and satisfaction.

Yet though keenly enjoying my freaks of fancy so long as they "kept their place," she had an unusually mature grasp of reality as distinguished from imagination or sentiment. Walking once with her in the garden, I repeated Riley's poem, "The Gobelins will get you if you don't watch out." "But there isn't any such thing as a goblin, there never was and never is going to be such a thing," said she. "Maybe," I remarked, reminiscent of Bishop Berkeley's idealism, "there isn't any such a thing as anything.'" "Oh, yes, there is," she answered, "there is such a thing as anything," and, looking around for an unquestioned reality, added triumphantly, "There is such a thing as a squash."

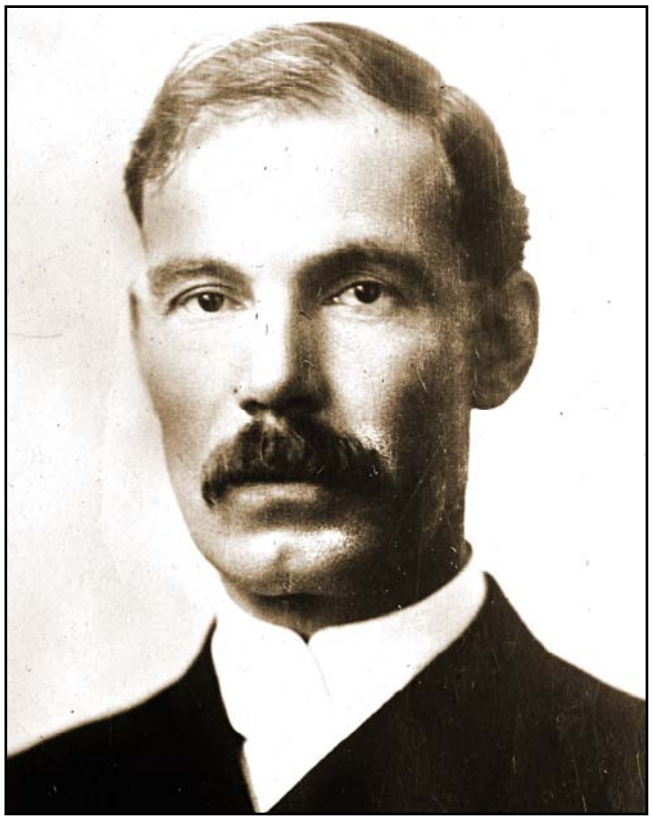
Afterward, Jordan and his wife presented to the University "the Barbara Jordan Library," for which they provided special shelves in one of the rooms of what is now Jordan Hall. In the center on the cabinet containing her birds is a beautiful bronze plate designed by Professor Bolton Coit Brown, and bearing this inscription:

TO THE STUDY OF
ORNITHOLOGY THIS
ROOM IS DEDICATED
IN TENDER MEMORY OF
BARBARA JORDAN
WHO KNEW AND LOVED
THE BIRDS

In October 1903, Jordan's youngest son, Eric Knight Jordan, would die at the age of 22 in a traffic accident in San Jose. Eric had participated in a paleontological expedition to the Revillagigedo Islands (home to many endemic plant and animal species, and are sometimes called *Mexico's* "little Hawaii") and was considering an academic career.

3. THE ROSS AFFAIR

President Jordan had recruited Edward Alsworth Ross (who was then 26 year's old) to Stanford in 1893 to head the Department of Economics. Ross was a commanding and charismatic figure—a popular teacher and a very influential leader in the sociological profession. He was never an empirical re-

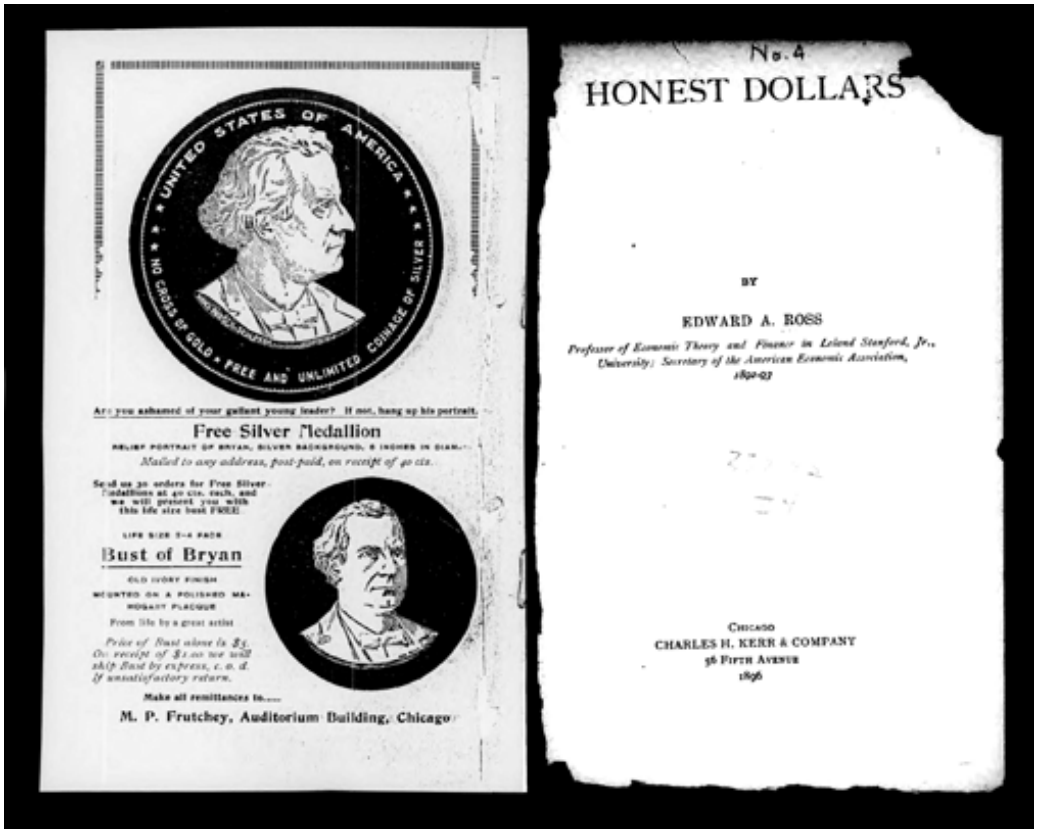


Edward Alsworth Ross (1966-1951).

searcher 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.

In 1896, while teaching summer school at the University of Chicago, the student William Jennings Bryan Club had encouraged him to pen several articles on free silver for the *Chicago Record*, and these were compiled into a pamphlet, *Honest Dollars*. They featured a young boy who lectured bankers on the intricacies of global finance. Witty, anti-Semitic and grossly simplistic, in it the Robber Barons were portrayed as enemies of the people's welfare. It spoke in favor of free silver, a fiscal change that would have halved the value of Mrs. Stanford's stock. The author of the pamphlet was named as Edward A. Ross, professor of economics, Stanford University. It was embellished with political cartoons and published by the Democratic National Committee for use in Bryan's presidential campaign. Ross enjoyed the notoriety but Mrs. Stanford found the pamphlet vulgar and was shocked that it bore her university's name.

That fall, Ross had found himself in demand to speak on free silver at Bryan political rallies. He spoke at two, under the auspices of the *National Silver League*. Both speeches, Ross said, were nonpartisan, dispassionate and scholarly arguments against gold mono-metallism. Fortified by the tasteless campaign pamphlet and news clippings, however, Mrs. Stanford advised President Jordan that, in her opinion, Professor Ross was not fit to be a department head at Stanford and should be dismissed. By the terms of the founding grant of Stanford University, Leland Stanford and his wife were to exercise complete control over the university; in the event of the death of either, the survivor would assume this absolute power. Consequently, when Senator Stanford died in



The *Honest Dollars* pamphlet.

1893, just two years after founding the university, this unusual oligarchy was converted into a still more unusual "matriarchate" in which Mrs. Stanford alone exercised complete control over the university. Under the founding rules, however, she could not fire anyone than Jordan himself.

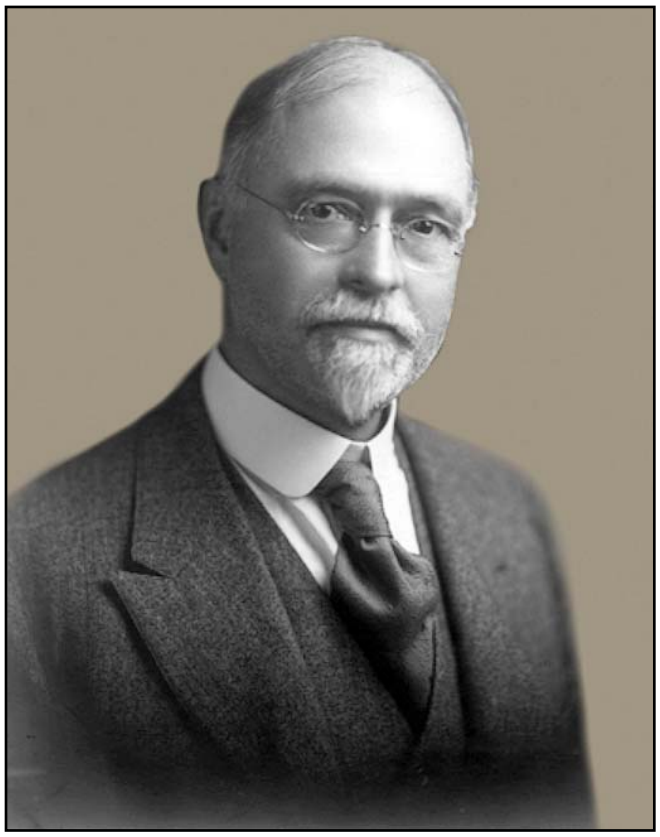
In any event, the principles in the case were easily categorized in the public mind from the outset: Mrs. Stanford was on one side, Professor Ross was on the other and President Jordan seemed to be squeezed uncomfortably between them. This neat categorization worked definitely to Ross's advantage and he fully exploited the situation. In his original statements to the press he deliberately made oblique references to some sort of undefined "influences" which he felt were behind Mrs. Stanford's decision to remove him from the faculty and thereby gag the voice of popular reform.

Jordan played into Ross's hands and unintentionally succeeded in further polarizing the two sides by releasing a press statement attributing Mrs. Stanford's opinions to the influence of "Men of large interests, Eastern financiers as a rule." This proved to be only the first of several ill-advised public statements by Jordan, who had earlier sought to mediate between Mrs. Stanford and Professor Ross. But any middle ground left to Jordan had become so eroded by the time of the dismissal that several papers predicted that the president would probably be the next to follow Ross out the back door of Mrs. Stanford's university

After Jordan had assured Mrs. Stanford of Ross's sound scholarship and outstanding teaching, as well as his concern that the professor's involuntary departure might bring unwanted publicity to the university, a compromise was reached: Jordan counseled Ross, informing him that his resignation would be requested were such transgressions to be repeated and gave him the title of professor of sociology as a precaution. Ross accepted the terms; he liked Stanford University and wanted to remain. He was clearly pleased to be out of economics and into sociology, the field in which he was to make his reputation.

On his return in 1899 from a sabbatical leave in Europe, Ross once again received invitations to give public lectures. It was Jordan, Ross later said, who recommended his participation at a labor meeting in San Francisco, to give the "scholar's view" on the Japanese immigration question that was so hotly debated at the time.

It was a scholarly fashion, circa 1890, to declare the U.S. frontier "closed" and to sound a Malthusian alarm about excess American population growth. But the professional economists who wrote on immigration increasingly emphasized not the quantity of immigrants, but their quality. "If we could leave out of account the question of race and eugenics," Irving Fisher said in his presidential address to the *Eugenics Research Association*, "I should, as an economist, be inclined to the view that unrestricted immigration…



Irving Fisher (1867-1947). Fisher wanted to restrict both the number of immigrants and their nationalities and this resulted in the Immigration Act of 1924 which would later become a factor in preventing Jewish refugees from escaping Nazi persecution.

is economically advantageous to the country as a whole…" But, cautioned Fisher, "the core of the problem of immigration is… one of race and eugenics," the problem of the Anglo-Saxon racial stock being overwhelmed by racially inferior "defectives, delinquents and dependents."

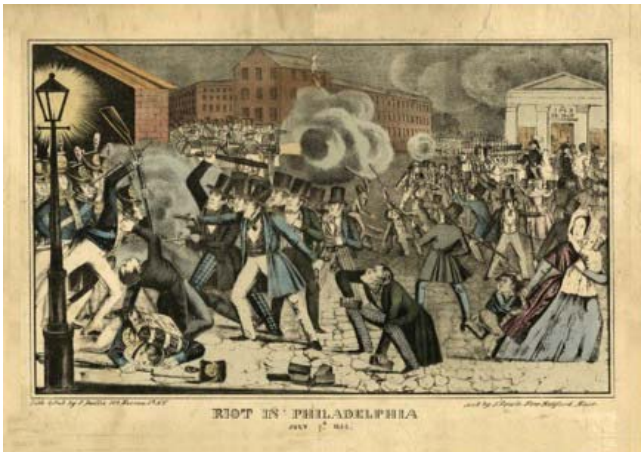
The leading professional economists were among the first to provide scientific respectability for immigration restriction on racial grounds. They justified race-based immigration restriction as a remedy for "race suicide," a Progressive Era term for the process by which racially superior stock ("natives") is outbred by a more prolific, but racially inferior stock (immigrants). The term was coined by Ross in his article, "The causes of racial superiority" (1901), who believed that "the higher race quietly and unmurmuringly eliminates itself rather than endure individually the bitter competition it has failed to ward off by collective action."

Ross was no outlier. He was a founding member of the *American Economic Association* (AEA), a pioneering sociologist and a leading public intellectual who boasted that his books sold in the hundreds of thousands. Ross's coinage gained enough currency to be used by Theodore Roosevelt, who called race suicide the "greatest problem of civilization." Ross regularly returned to the theme of "the elimination instead of the survival of the fittest." More than 40 years after the American Civil War Ross wrote: "The theory that races are virtually equal in capacity leads to such monumental follies as lining the valleys of the South with the bones of half a million picked whites in order to improve the conditions of four million unpicked blacks."

Ross was an avid eugenicist (Ross, 1904), worried about the Civil War's effects on the American "type." As Ross saw it, "the human stuff here was some carats finer [before the war] than it is today." The effects of immigration caused Ross additional concern. Sounding a nativist [the political policy of promoting the interests of native inhabitants against those of immigrants, including by supporting immigration-restriction measures] chord not unfamiliar to eugenicists of the period, he argued that while earlier immigration had drawn on Scotch-Irish and Scandinavian sources, the new immigration tapped "lower human levels than the earlier tide." The current influx was primarily from Croatia, Dalmatia, Sicily and Armenia and Ross warned, "they throng to us, these beaten members of beaten breeds." While America might select from them their best, Ross's of their worth seems written between every line of his article from *The Independent*:

Do these Slovaks and Syrians add as much to the strength of the human piers that support our civilization as the Scotch-Irish or the Scandinavians? As undersized in spirit, no doubt, as they are in body, the later comers lack the ancestral foundations of American character, and even if they catch step with us they and their children will, nevertheless, impede our progress.

For a progressive nativist such as Ross, who was closely associated with the Social Efficiency Movement in curriculum, race typing logically informed the negative eugenic policies of immigration restriction and later, "the necessary for sterilization legislation" (Pickens, 1963). Since Ross's eugenics ideas were the same as those of Jordan, it is no wonder that he tried his best to persuade Mrs. Stanford to permit Ross to stay.



NATIVIST RIOTS OF 1844.
In May and July 1844, Philadelphia suffered some of the bloodiest rioting of the antebellum period, as anti-immigrant mobs attacked Irish-American homes and Roman Catholic churches before being suppressed by the militia.

By 1912, Simon Patten, the reformist Wharton School economist who served as AEA president in 1908, could say, "The cry of race suicide has replaced the old fear of overpopulation." In explaining why those of inferior stock were more prolific, early Progressive Era economists emphasized how economic life under industrial capitalism was increasingly dysgenic, that is, it tended to promote the survival of the *un*fit. Patten, for example, argued that "every improvement… increases the amount of the deficiencies which the laboring classes may possess without their being thereby overcome in the struggle for subsistence that the survival of the ignorant brings upon society."

Frank Fetter, who was to serve as president of the AEA in 1912, also worried that "the benefits of social progress are being neutralized by race degeneration owing to the suspension of the selective process." Henry Farnam, who cofounded the *American Association for Labor Legislation* (AALL)–an influential reform organization led by academic economists– and later served as the AEA president in 1911, emphasized aid to the poor as a cause of dysgenic selection: "We are," Farnam proposed, "by means of our very improvements, setting forces in operation which tend to multiply the unfit." The increase in the unfit, Farnam concluded, "renders more and more imperative the solution of that exceedingly difficult problem which Mr. Arnold White calls 'sterilization of the unfit.'" Ross, Patten, Fetter and Farnam all saw higher living standards and Progressive Era reforms less as a victory for social justice than as an impediment to Darwinian weeding out. Their response was not to argue against reform, as might a social Darwinist, but to advocate for eugenics, the substitution of state selection for natural selection of the fittest.

Ross's presentation on the question of Japanese immigration, as confirmed by Jordan's reading of Ross's lecture notes, warned of population pressures: "I tried to show that, owing to its high, Malthusian birth-rate, the Orient is the land of 'cheap men' . . . scientifically coordinating the birth-rate with the intensity of the struggle for existence," as illustrated by the famines of overpopulated China and India. And, Ross adds, "to quote one of the newspapers, [the lecture] 'made a profound impression.'"

However, it was the quotation from the *San Francisco Call* that made the profound impression on Mrs. Stanford the next morning. The *Call* reported that Professor Ross had rallied the crowd with, "And should the worst come to the worst it would be better for us to turn our guns on every vessel bringing Japanese to our shores rather than to permit them to land." The next day she wrote Jordan that Ross's radical actions–his association with the evil elements of socialism, his intolerant "drawing of distinctions between man and man, all laborers and equal in the sight of God"– had brought her to tears. "I must confess I am weary of Professor Ross," she concluded, "and I think he ought not to be retained at Stanford University."

It is thought that Jordan did not read the newspaper clipping but instead reiterated his respect for Ross, writing Mrs. Stanford that "He is … always loyal to

Henry Farnum (1803-1883).2-19220

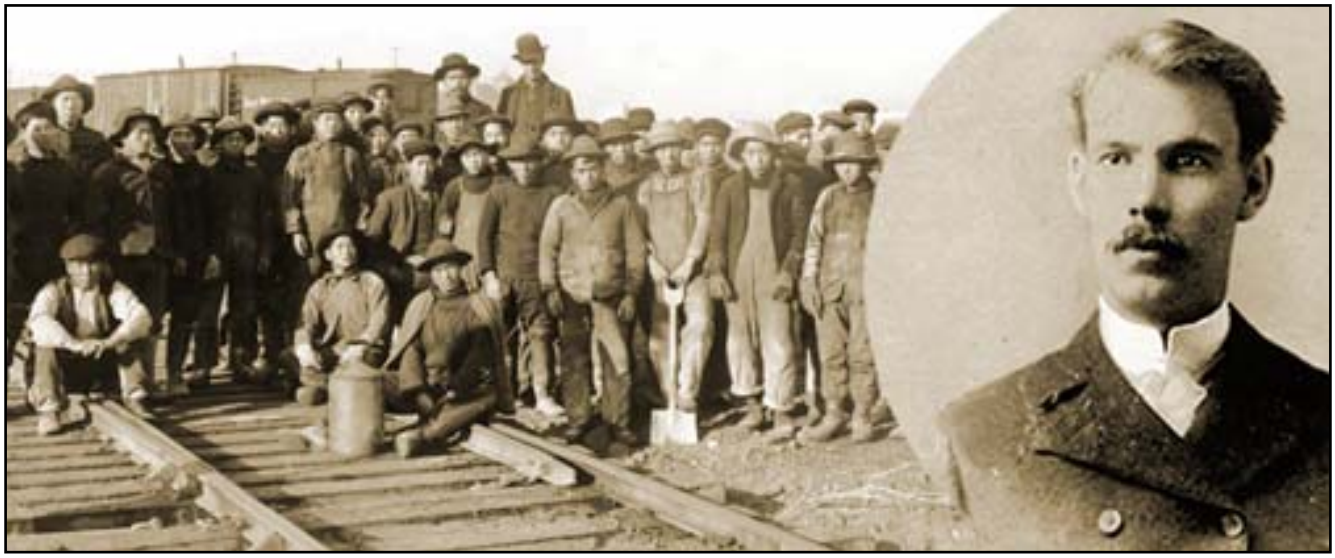
what he thinks right… the best informed man on the Coast on matters of social and economic history… always very fair, always giving just treatment to both sides of every question." Further exchanges, as well as a personal letter from Ross to Mrs. Stanford confirming his loyalty to her as the Mother of the university (she sent the letter to Jordan unanswered), did not sway Mrs. Stanford's opinion that Ross was a dangerous man and should be dismissed, although she agreed to a terminal year appointment were he to tender a letter of resignation at once.

Jordan could no longer avoid taking sides. While going to great pains to assure Ross that he felt badly about the decision, Jordan chose to placate Mrs. Stanford rather than the professor. Then and later Jordan believed that Mrs. Stanford might have abandoned the promising young university had he not acceded to her long-standing desire for Ross's removal. Using the metaphor of a ship, Laurence R. Veysey summarizes Jordan's decision very neatly:

As long as Mrs. Stanford lived, she could take away what she had given or she could change the character of the institution in some eccentric fashion. The vessel had weathered... severe gales [in] the mid-nineties; amid the new internal threats to its safety, the captain could not desert his post for any reason-friendship, personal debt, or abstract principle. In a crisis only the ship mattered.

Jordan characterized his dilemma by saying that the President had but one plain duty, to accept or to demand the resignation of any member of the faculty engaged in promoting slander against either the university or Mrs. Stanford who was at all times within the line of her recognized right and duty. His own actions, he insisted, were motivated primarily by a desire to save the University. Jordan was willing, however, to give Ross a temporary reappointment until the professor could find a position elsewhere. Ross reciprocated by submitting a letter of resignation on June 5th with the understanding that it would be accepted as soon as he had secured another job. Once this was out of the way, Jordan left for a summer in Japan.

Throughout the summer of 1900, both Jordan and Ross sent out inquiries concerning the possibility of a new academic appointment for the latter. From his many professional acquaintances among American economists and sociologists Ross received a great deal of encouragement but no offers. Jordan was in touch with Harvard, Chicago, Cornell and Wisconsin, but apparently expected nothing to come of his efforts. And in this regard he was only too accurate, for he discovered upon his return to Stanford in Sep-



Ross did not help his image with one sentence in particular, which quickly found its way back to Jane Stanford: "Should the worst come to the worst, it would be better for us to turn our guns upon every vessel bringing Japanese to our shores than permit them to land," Ross said.

tember that the problem of Professor Ross had still not been resolved. Desperate enough to try anything, Jordan made a last halting appeal to Mrs. Stanford. Fortunately for Ross, but unfortunately for Jordan, since it deprived him of any chance to reason with Mrs. Stanford on a face-to-face basis, she was touring in Europe and North Africa during the crucial autumn of 1900. The final discussions had to be conducted by mail, which usually took weeks to cross the country and the Atlantic. "You will pardon me," begged Jordan,

… for adding that while your criticisms of Dr. Ross have a serious basis of fact, they do not cover the whole size of the man. I know better than anyone else his faults and his limitations. I do not wish to belittle them. At the same time, in his strength he is head and shoulders above other men in his field, and I do not know where to turn to fill his place. But this I can do much better if he goes quietly and with dignity, and this is all I ask.

This request for patience, however, was not to be granted. From Locarno Mrs. Stanford wrote what she categorically declared to be "my final answer in regard to this subject: Ross must go."

The resignation was to be effective at the end of the academic year, 1900-1901, at which point the president read to Ross Mrs. Stanford's letter in which she had recommended his dismissal. Ross may have then decided that when the time came, he would make a public protest. When Jordan finally accepted his resignation on November 12, assuring him "once more of the high esteem in which your work as a student and a teacher, as well as your character as a man, is held by all your colleagues," Ross, however, was ready with a response.

The next day, Ross presented the reporters of the campus newspaper with a full account of the events that culminated in his dismissal. It was a factual account containing nothing disrespectful of Mrs. Stanford or Dr. Jordan. Ross's statements to the press were shrewdly calculated to elicit the support of large segments of the American public.

He condensed four years of hard feelings between himself and Mrs. Stanford into two popular issues and then cited them as the only reasons for his dismissal: his opposition to Oriental immigration and his belief in the regulation of municipal utilities. (His stand against Oriental immigration appealed to workingmen, especially to workingmen on the Pacific slope, and also to the many who held currently popular assumptions about white supremacy. The regulation of municipal utilities, particularly the municipal railways, appealed to the kind of people who would soon discover a national champion in Theodore Roosevelt.) Furthermore, Ross claimed for his ideas the sanction of science. "The scientist's business," Ross wrote, "is to know some things clear to the bottom, and if he hides what he knows, he loses his virtue." The very word "science" seems to have had an almost magical appeal to Americans at the turn of the century, and it figured prominently in many editori-

Morton Arnold Aldrich (1874-1956), the first faculty member who resigned from Stanford after Jordan fired Ross.

als and articles in the popular press (it was also used to justify the so-called "science" of eugenics, a topic I will address later.

He was not "a martyr to freedom of speech," Jordan assured newsmen the following day after he had seen Ross's full statement. "I know that Mrs. Stanford's decision was reached only after long and earnest consideration and that its motive was the welfare of the University and that alone."

Overwhelmingly, academicians, professional associations and newspapers throughout the nation did not agree. To make matters worse, Professor Morton Aldrich resigned in protest that week, followed shortly by the popular and respected history professor, George Howard, and six others. But it was the adverse press coverage (particularly virulent from the San Joaquin Valley where Stanford's Southern Pacific Railroad was hated) that had such a profound effect on Mrs. Stanford:

Have not matters reached a pretty state when a profound thinker like Professor Ross cannot freely express his convictions reached only after exhaustive research without being pulled down by the power of a wealthy but un-learned woman? – *Bakersfield Californian*

Professor Ross . . . has expressed opinions on economic subjects which do not please Mrs. Jane Stanford, who is not a scholar nor an economist, and whose opinion on the subjects discussed is of not the slightest importance to anybody. – *Fresno Republican*

These insults–heaped upon an aging woman who had selflessly worked to build the splendid memorial to her son; followed scrupulously the plans she and Leland had laid down to serve the youth of California, of whatever class, means, or gender; abandoned her lifestyle and sold many of her jewels to fund the operating budget; and taken on the U.S. government in the Supreme Court and won–must surely have been felt most deeply when she read in Jordan's press release a quotation from her confidential letter to him: "My decision has not been the result of any hasty conclusion, but of disappointment, reflection and prayer." As Bertha Berner recalled the occasion (Berner, 1934), "When the storm broke she was… very unhappy and became ill and discouraged."

Many of Ross's professional colleagues realized that he could be headstrong and aggressive. Charles H. Hull, for example, a professor at Cornell University who later joined the attempt to vindicate Ross in the eyes of the academic community, thought that Ross had

… a good deal of ability and absolutely no judgement. I think he is a kind- hearted man, but that his kindness of heart fails to control his conduct in such a way as to prevent him from saying things that are often unnecessarily rude and offensive to people who hear them. I think, in short, that he is the victim of his own ability to make striking phrases, and when he has said something either taking or shocking he feels such a boyish delight in his own accomplishment that he does not stop to inquire whether the expression means what he intended to say or whether in point of fact, it is strictly accurate. Under such circumstances, and with this view of Ross, I can easily believe that it might have been

Jane Elizabeth Lathrop *Stanford*
(1828-1905)

both desirable and proper to dismiss him from his position in Stanford University.

As things stood in the public mind in mid-November 1900, Ross had been fired by Mrs. Stanford in flagrant disregard of principles of academic freedom. Jordan, many thought, had yielded to the dictates of an "uncultured old woman." He ought to have resigned, they believed, in protest of Mrs. Stanford's dismissal of a professor he publicly avowed to be one of the best in the country. But as far as Mrs. Stanford was concerned, she had only *recommended* the dismissal, just as her husband had made recommendations to the president about faculty appointments. Under the terms of the founding grant, only the president of the university could discharge a member of the faculty. All Mrs. Stanford could do, in her capacity as surviving trustee, was discharge the president.

Mrs. Stanford wrote to Jordan from Rome on December 14th: "I know that you thought Prof. Ross 'a consummate fool, a miracle of tactlessness,' but found 'that he was at bottom just a dime novel villain.' This really expressed your honest opinion, and it is time the world should know it." She desperately wanted the university defended, as of course did Jordan.

In fact, his defense had begun just two days after he had praised Ross to the newsmen. Jordan, who was understandably more than peeved that Ross had gone to the press, wrote a number of letters to disclaim his public characterization of Ross. Faculty members, alumni and university presidents were told now that Ross had a flawed character, his methods were "slangy and scurrilous"; "appealing to the poor against the rich"; "an unsound, unscientific, impassioned appeal at a mass meeting led by professional agitators." He was "a dangerous man," as Mrs. Stanford had said all along.

The San Francisco alumni had called an urgent meeting with the intent of drafting a statement supportive of Ross and critical of Mrs. Stanford's action. The alumni met at the YMCA to discuss how to deal with the crisis. The debate among pro-Ross and pro-Stanford factions was so lengthy the group had to move to a vacant store on Mission Street after the YMCA closed, and it was concluded only when those needing streetcar or ferry transportation realized the last runs for the night were imminent. Fortunately for the university, the group agreed to appoint a committee of four to investigate the matter. Not long after, at the annual meeting of the American Economic Association in Detroit, another committee was appointed with the same objective. Professor Edwin Seligman of Columbia University was named the chair.

The Stanford Alumni Report was finalized on January 26, 1901. It was brief, legalistic ("circular reasoning," reported the *Chronicle*), and completely exonerated Mrs. Stanford. It did not mention Jordan. Later Mrs. Stanford told Trustee George Crothers (who surely had a hand in writing the report) that without the support of the alumni, she "could not have borne the abuse of the Ross case."

The Report of the Committee of Economists on the Dismissal of Professor Ross from Leland Stanford Junior University was issued on February 20, 1901.

Edwin R.A. Seligman (1861-1939) of Columbia University was appointed Chairman of the *American Economic Association* committee to investigate the Ross case.

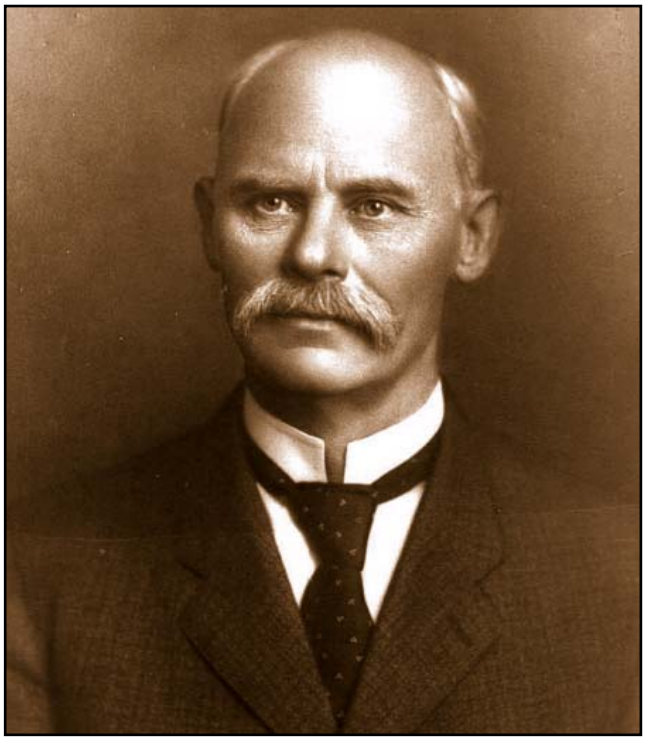
The committee's findings, not as clearly expressed as the alumni's, but nonetheless endorsed by fourteen leading academic economists, put the blame on Mrs. Stanford. The committee was also critical of President Jordan.

Both reports were published in the March 8, 1901, issue of *Science* magazine, the official publication of the *American Association for the Advancement of Science* (of which Jordan was to become president in 1908). The *Science* editorial writer, calling attention to the opposite conclusions of the reports, came down on the side of Stanford, arguing that, in exercising his own freedom, Ross had ignored his obligation to the university to protect her right to nonpartisanship. The editor also quoted a paragraph from one of Ross's articles on Social Control that he thought was illustrative of his radicalism. A more explicit attack on Ross's writings appeared the following month in *Popular Science Monthly:*

…his published writings and his lectures before his classes are extreme in their rhetorical opposition to the wealth and conditions that made Stanford University possible. Thus, if we glance through his articles we find them strewn with statements such as "the lawlessness, the insolence and the rapacity of private interests"; "Under the ascendancy of the rich and leisured, property becomes more sacred than person, moral standards vary with pecuniary status, and it is felt that 'God will think twice before he damns a person of quality.'

In 1903, President Jordan prepared a paper entitled "The Ross Case, by David Starr Jordan." Mrs. Stanford asked to read the manuscript. She opined that it simply rehashed old events and assigned to her the responsibility for discharging Ross; she refused to have it published. Unknown to Jordan, she had prepared her own position paper on the case, which she intended to present to the Board of Trustees and, eventually, the public. She delivered her address, "On the Right of Free Speech," to the board on April 25, 1903. She reminded the board that the powers to appoint and dismiss faculty were exclusively in the hands of President Jordan. She pointed out that her opinion of Ross had been expressed more than four years before the president took action.

The organization most directly affected by this aspect of the Ross case was the *American Economic Association*. Ross had been one of its founding members in 1885, and he had also served as the AEA's general secretary. In fact, his election as secretary had been part of an effort to bring about a shift in the overall character of the AEA away from moralistic reform and sentimentality towards a more rigorously "scientific" and theoretical stance. Leaders of the older generation of economists had often been readily identifiable as spokesmen for free trade, protection or laissez faire; but, in the 1890's, conscious efforts were being made to consolidate the profession, to avoid unseemly partisanship and to enhance the scientific reputation of the discipline. Since Ross was now vigorously claiming that his opinions about Oriental immigration and municipal railways were based on scientific investigation and not on any moralistic or political preconceptions, and since the press loudly supported his claims, the AEA felt strong pressures to intervene.



George E. Howard (1849-1928). After Aldrich resigned, Howard and six others followed suit. And resigned from Stanford.

The day after Ross gave his story to the press, Professor George E. Howard of Stanford's history department digressed from his announced lecture for that day and offered instead a passionate defense of Ross and a scathing attack upon the Stanford administration. Shortly thereafter, Howard released a statement to the press, deploring "the summary dismissal of Dr. Ross for daring in a frank but thoroughly scientific spirit to speak the simple truth on social questions." It was an act, he asserted,

… which will cause the deepest grief and profoundest indignation on the part of every friend of intellectual freedom in the United States… This blow at education really proceeds from the sinister spirit of social bigotry and commercial intolerance which is just now the deadliest foe of American democracy.

This turn of events deeply affected that academic community in general and the AEA in particular, for Howard was considered both cautious and dignified. He had been one of the original professors at Stanford and was widely considered to be one of the university's very best men. The *American Economic Association* could hardly afford to ignore a case involving one of its own members, especially now that a distinguished academician from outside its own guild had helped to elevate the case to the level of principle.

On January 15, 1901, Professor Howard announced that he too had been dismissed from the university, and he claimed that his only offense had been his support of Ross two months earlier. (Howard, incidentally, was correct in this claim. In a letter from Jordan to Jane Stanford, he expressed his hope that Howard would be treated "as gently as we can," and the reply Stanford asserted that even a public apology could never atone for Howard's "un-Christian attack upon you, me, my husband and the University.") The following day two Stanford professors resigned in protest and yet another left on the succeeding day. Altogether, seven members of the Stanford faculty resigned in protest over the dismissals of Ross and Howard. Stanford University, barely nine years old, was facing the most serious crisis of its history. The Department of Sociology, the source of the trouble, was abolished by Jordan's administrative decree (Furner, 1975).

On March 18, 1901, the following appeared, signed by 36 members of the faculty (*Science*, 1901):

The undersigned, members of the University Council [professors and associate professors] of the Leland Stanford Junior University, in view of the numerous publications following upon the resignation of Professor Ross, which reflect on the University and its founder, and on our connection with it, deem it wise to issue the following statement.

In doing this we do not impeach the good faith of those who have interested themselves in this matter because of the question of university policy involved, but we wish to affirm our confidence in the University, its founder and its president.

We have examined all records, letters and copies of letters in the possession of the Uni-versity bearing upon this case, and are agreed:
1. That in the dismissal of Professor Ross, no question of academic freedom was involved.
2. That in the dismissal of Professor Ross, President Jordan was justified.

***J. C. Branner,* Professor of Geology.**
***O. P. Jenkins,* Professor of Physiology and Histology.**
***Melville B. Anderson,* Professor of English Literature.**
***J. M. Stillman,* Professor of Chemistry.**
***Fernando Sanford,* Professor of Physics.**
***Chas. D. Marx,* Professor of Civil Engineering.**
***Charles H. Gilbert,* Professor of Zoology.**
***Douglas Houghton Campbell,* Professor of Botany.**
***Ewald Flügel,* Professor of English Philology.**
***Chas. B. Wing,* Professor of Structural Engineering.**
***Frank Angell,* Professor of Psychology.**
***W. R. Dudley,* Professor of Botany.**
***A. T. Murray,* Professor of Greek.**
***Julius Goebel,* Professor of Germanic Literature and Philology.**
***Nathan Abbott,* Professor of Law.**
***John* E. *Matzke,* Professor of Romanic Languages.**
***George M. Richardson,* Professor of Organic Chemistry.**
***James O. Griffin,* Professor of German.**
***Rufus L. Green,* Professor of Mathematics.**
***O. L. Elliott,* Registrar.**
***Vernon L. Kellogg,* Professor of Entomology.**

Lionel R. Lenox, **Professor of Analytical Chemistry.**
A. G. Newcomer, **Associate Professor of English.**
Arthur B. Clark, **Associate Professor of Drawing and Painting,**
F.M. McFarland, **Associate Professor of Histology.**
Clem. A. Copeland, **Associate Professor of Electrical Engineering.**
G.C. Price, **Associate Professor of Zoology.**
J. C. L. Fish, **Associate Professor of Civil Engineering.**
H.C. Nash, **Librarian.**
Ellwood P. Cubberley, **Associate Professor of Education.**
Guido H. Marx, **Associate Professor of Mechanical Engineering.**
George A. Clark, **Secretary to the University.**
James P. Hall, **Associate Professor of Law.**
Oliver M. Johnston, **Associate Professor of Romanic Languages.**
George J. Peirce, **Associate Professor of Botany.**
Herman D. Stearns, **Associate Professor of Physics.**
STANFORD UNIVERSITY, CALIFORNIA
March 18, 1901.

It is interesting to note that this list contains both friends of Jordan (e.g., Charles H. Gilbert) and those who disliked him (e.g., Julius Goebel).

I had a double problem," Jordan wrote in his autobiography, "to shield the University from uninformed or unsympathetic criticism . . . and to protect the reputation of a young professor from the natural consequence of his indiscreet adventures in thorny paths of partisan politics. I failed in both efforts." Ross left Stanford and seven other faculty members resigned in protest. Jordan was attacked by the press and his reputation as an educational leader was marred for his having been associated with an infringement of academic freedom. He recalled this as a "painful and trying episode

The students were the first to restore some sense of order to the campus and some sense of unity to the university community. Acting in a way which seems almost unimaginable today, the students gave one of their number a ducking in the campus lake for speaking out against the administration's apparent capitulation to Mrs. Stanford's prejudices, and the student body prepared for a mass rally and declaration, not against, but in favor of its president, David Starr Jordan. Publication in late January of an alumni report on the dismissal of Ross further calmed the situation at Stanford. The alumni report, which had been in preparation for almost two months, was very favorable to both Mrs. Stanford and President Jordan. "The action of Mrs. Stanford in asking the dismissal of Dr. Ross," it concluded, "involved no infringement of the right of free speech." Ross was dismissed, it explained, not because of his speeches on Oriental immigration and municipal railways but because his conduct was offensive and out of place in a dignified university.

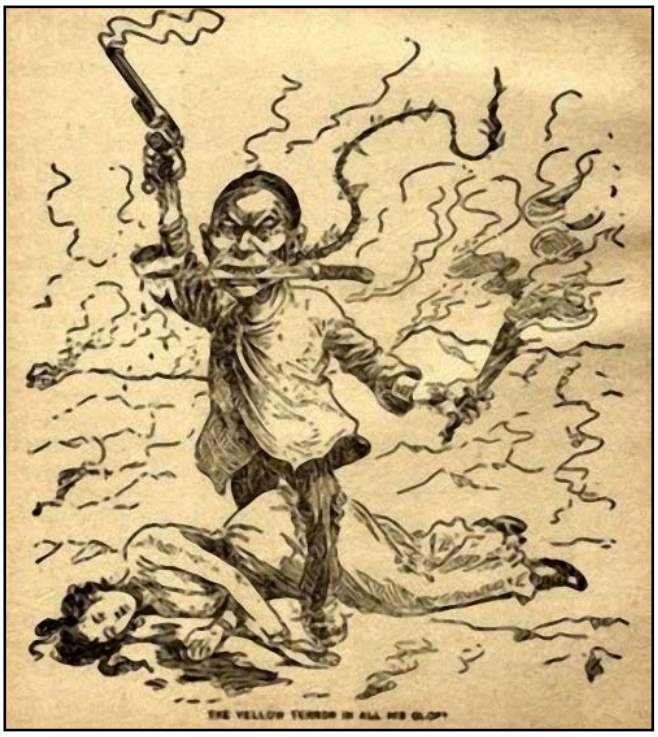
Even as the combined actions of the students and the alumni began finally to quiet the local situation at Stanford, however, the national impact of the Ross case continued unabated as the committee of economists finally published its own long-awaited report. This account condemned Mrs. Stanford's actions directly and President Jordan's actions indirectly. It is difficult to see how the economists could have done otherwise in light of the fact that their sources of information were limited to the public press and to documents which Ross himself supplied.

An attempt by the committee to elicit Jordan's side of the story met with denials by the loyal Stanford faculty that any irregularities existed in the dismissal of Ross. The economists never even tried–or dared–to solicit Mrs. Stanford's views, although her motives were the central point at issue. Seligman, for one, had apparently prejudged the case anyhow. Prior to his selection as chairman of the investigating committee he had referred to Mrs. Stanford as a "dictatress" in a letter of sympathy and support to Ross. And yet somehow, despite the obvious bias of the committee, the economists' summary was clearly and evenly stated; men of much more moderate views than Seligman found no difficulty in endorsing the report's conclusions.

Hofstadter and Metzger, in *The Development of Academic Freedom in the United States* (Hofstadter and Metzger, 1965), point out what they consider to

be the two most obvious tactical blunders committed by the economists: their committee was constituted on an unofficial basis rather than under the auspices of the AEA, and their inquiry was limited to "the reasons that led Mrs. Stanford to force Professor Ross's resignation," thereby ignoring many of the larger questions concerning academic freedom. Perhaps Ross's successful efforts to thrust his case onto the front pages of the popular press served a far more valuable function than he might have realized; perhaps it jarred the academic community into considering more closely its own responsibilities with regard to expressions of public opinion in the nation.

If the Ross affair did help initiate this process, then it highlighted for the first time a myriad of shifting and ambiguous relationships which are still far from precisely defined today. By the conscious and skillful manipulation of his story, Ross had managed on the eve of the Progressive era to draw support from previously untapped reservoirs of popular opinion. A whole new range of non-academic pressures had been brought to bear upon the development of academic life. A sometimes perilous game, whose rules still remain unclear, had begun. In any case, in my view Jordan–although not an innocent bystander–was caught up in something that he had not intended, Mrs. Stanford was right in demanding Ross's removal and Ross was the culprit in all. Had this had happened today, Ross would have been summarily fired from any university and the *American Economic Association* would have been severely criticized for supporting him.



Legend: THE YELLOW TERROR IN ALL ITS GLORY

While Ross was racist towards Chinese immigrants (as it is likely that most of the board of trustees at Stanford were), the problem with Ross is that he attacked the railroads. He used remarks such as "A railroad deal is a railroad steal." As Jane Stanford's husband was a railway tycoon and built his railroad empire, Southern Pacific, on the backs of Chinese immigrant laborers, this was unacceptable. Edward Ross was fired and in protest, several professors at Stanford resigned. As professors across the country feared their loss of "freedom of expression" and losing "control of universities by private interest," they created the *American Association of University Professors*.

THE JULIUS GOEBEL AFFAIR: PART 1

In the autumn of 1904, Jane Stanford was planning a luncheon for faculty members of the university that she and her late husband, Leland, had founded as a memorial to their son. Mrs. Stanford wanted more guests than those proposed by President David Starr Jordan. Enlarging the guest list, she wrote Jordan on October 3, "will enable you to have three Professors more, why not invite Professor Goebel." Coming from Jane Stanford, that casual-sounding question had the strength of an order.

Julius Goebel, the first chair of Stanford's German department, was born at Frankfurt am Main in 1857. He studied at Leipzig from 1879 to 1881, took a doctorate at Tubingen in 1882 and came to the United States soon thereafter. From 1885 to 1888 he taught at Johns Hopkins, where he made considerable difficulty–for his department and for the administration of President Daniel Coit Gilman. He resigned in 1888 and became editor of a German-American liter-

ary journal in New York City before being appointed, in 1892, to chair the German department at Leland and Jane Stanford's new university. Goebel was one of two distinguished German scholars to join the early faculty; the other was Ewald Flügel, one of the international pioneers of the study of Old and Middle English Literature and Language and one of the founding professors of English Studies at Stanford University

Flügel was born in Leipzig, August 4, 1863. On his father's side he came of a line of dictionary makers; his mother's family had contributed rectors to the University of Leipzig. He passed through the Nicolai School, did some work at Freiburg and obtained his doctorate at Leipzig in 1885. In 1888 he married Helene Burckhardt, and five children, of whom four are now living, were born of this marriage. Dr. Flügel was for some years associated with his father in representing the Smithsonian Institution in Germany. From 1888 to 1892 he was privatdocent at Leipzig, and in 1892 became professor of English Philology at Leland Stanford Junior University. In 1896 he lectured at the summer session of the University of Chicago. From 1901 to 1902 he was President of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Philological Association; and in 1909 he represented Stanford University at the celebration of the five-hundredth anniversary of the foundation of the University of Leipzig. He died in Palo Alto, November 14, 1914.

Goebel appears to have been a temperamental firebrand, Flügel a solid citizen–though that was not the opinion that Goebel would eventually form. The two men lived within a block of each other in Palo Alto. Goebel was a favorite of Jane Stanford and Flügel a favorite of Jordan, who praised him in his autobiography as "a fine example of the best type of thorough and patient German scholar … An excellent teacher as well as investigator, always considerate and optimistic, Flügel was much beloved by his students and colleagues." Of Goebel, Jordan says not a word and of Edward Ross he says only that he came to Stanford from Cornell and left to go to the University of Nebraska in 1900. Jordan was not one to mention a past unpleasantness, especially not when–as in the Goebel case–it involved a ferocious controversy that was unflattering to Jordan. Yet the dismissal of Julius Goebel, in retrospect, appears to have been even more of an embarrassment to Stanford than that of Edward Ross.

As a history professor, Goebel's modus operandi seems to have been "Deutschland über Alles," crediting Germany over the United States for a number of things. For example, Goebel made the contorted claim that the German philosopher Christian Wolff guided Jefferson's thinking in June 1776: "What had been slowly evolved in the quiet workshop of the German philosopher now loomed in historical reality by the establishment of a democracy such as the world had not seen before" (Goebel, 1818/1919). In actuality, Wolff's philosophy amounted to a commonsense adaptation or watering-down of the system devised by Leibniz or, more charitably, Wolff was said to have methodized and "reduced" to dogmatic form the thoughts of his great predecessor.

Marion Dexter Learned was a professor of Germanic languages and literature at the University of Pennsylvania. He helped found the *German-American His-*

Julius Goebel (1857-1931).

torical Society in 1901 and became the editor of its *Annuals*. Its contributing editors were not always as circumspect as he, or so loath to generalize on the basis of scant historical knowledge. Julius Goebel, for example, an outspoken nationalist who at the time taught German at the University of Illinois, lectured Theodore Roosevelt about German-American hyphenates in the *Annual Report* of the *American Historical Association* and asserted modestly that "we Germans have furnished in modern times" more and better champions of the "higher spheres of life" than any other nation (Goebel, 1909). In the *Annuals* Goebel said that nicknames like "Dutchman" and "Dutch" for Germans in the United States and England were a "mirror" of English feeling toward Germany and the Germans and demonstrated the ignorance, jealousy, and haughty pride of the English (Goebel, 1905).

In his "The German element in the United States" (Goebel, 1909/1912) Goebel wrote:

It was granted the forty-eighters [i.e., the German immigrants of the 1848's] to take active and successful part in the political life of the American nation. It is no exaggeration to say that, without their cooperation, Abraham Lincoln would hardly have been elected president and thus slavery would not, at least so soon, have been abolished.

Goebel also claimed that Nazism had its beginnings in the United States. However, the National Socialist German Workers' Party (*Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei*, NSDAP), commonly known as the Nazi Party, existed in Germany between 1920 and 1945 and ruled the country from 1933 to 1945 (Adolf Hitler rose to power in 1933, becoming Chancellor of Germany on January 30, 1933). Previously, German-Americans had attempted to create pro-Nazi movements within the United States, often bearing swastikas and wearing uniforms; however these groups had little to do with Nazi Germany and lacked support from the wider German-American community in the United States. In May 1933, German immigrant and member of the German Nazi Party, Heinz Spanknöbel was given authority by Nazi Deputy Führer Rudolf Hess to form an American National Socialist organization. The result was the creation of the *Friends of New Germany* in July 1933. The party had a strong presence in Chicago but was based in New York, having received support from the German consul in the city. Spanknöbel's organization was openly pro-Nazi; one such engagement focused around storming the U.S. German language newspaper *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung*, demanding that the paper publish Nazi-sympathetic articles. These dates show that the Nazi Party was formed, contrary to Goebel's assertions, in Germany long before there was one in the United States.

Starting with Indiana in 1907, many States had passed involuntary sterilization laws, and Nazi propaganda later defended Germany's forced sterilization program by citing the U.S. as an ally in the eugenic movement. World War II and the atrocities committed by the Nazi government would rapidly change U.S. attitudes towards eugenics but in no way can the ill-advised and mindless involuntary sterilization laws of the United States be equated to Nazism.

The following is a letter sent by Jordan to Theodore Roosevelt in 1905:

Ewald Flügel (1863-1914).

Sept. 20, 1905
Hon. Theodore Roosevelt
The White House
Washington, D.C.
Dear President Roosevelt:

I find in the papers this morning a great noise ("Viel Geschrei und wenig Wolle") over the alleged fact that the dismissal of Dr. Goebel was in part due to me having called him to task for his strictures on your "Winning of the West." I need not assure you that there is no truth in this. I have never taken him to task for any of his public utterances whatsoever, and the sole causes of his removal are found in traits of his personal character and the acts resulting from them as shown within the University.
Very truly yours,
David S. Jordan

"Viel Geschrei und wenig Wolle" is a German proverb meaning Great boast, small roast." At the bottom left-hand corner of the letter is handwritten, "Goebel has gone to Harvard!" Both Roosevelt and Jordan were astonished that Harvard would have added someone like Goebel to its faculty.

Four months before advising Jordan that she wanted Julius Goebel on her luncheon guest list, Jane Stanford had quietly turned to Goebel for information about how things were going in her university. On June 6, 1904, Goebel wrote her a long letter, full of passionate indignation that would grow more violent in the aftermath of what was to come. Goebel began with a disclaimer:

Dear Mrs. Stanford:
I beg to submit to you in the following my answers to a number of questions concerning the state of affairs at the University which I gave you orally at our last meeting and which you requested me to put in writing so that you might use them for your reports to the Board of Trustees. While I consider your request an honor and a sign of the esteem and confidence which you place in me, I should, nevertheless, have preferred not to make the following statements had it not been impossible for you, as you told me, to ascertain the truth from the proper authority of the University. Moreover I feel that the wish and request of the founder in a matter of such great importance is to me equivalent to a command.

Mrs. Stanford's foremost question had been, which departments were strong and which were weak. Goebel classified eight departments, based on the number of majors and students in their courses. Some were in the sciences, but the last was "English Philology," the domain of Ewald Flügel, in which "there were last semester two courses consisting of one student, one course in which two, one course in which three and one course in which eight students participated. The latter course was an obligatory one for students of English." Goebel and Flügel, once on friendly terms, had fallen out by 1904 and Goebel seemed to be at pains to discredit his colleague. However, small enrollments in English philology should have been no surprise at a new university in Palo Alto early in the century.

Mrs. Stanford had also considered shutting down weak departments. Goebel responded that "while I cannot agree with your plan of entirely closing the weakest departments I should advise that in future the strong departments be strengthened before anything more is done for the former." He then added that "among the departments that ought to be strengthened is, in my opinion, the department of English, both in Literature and Philology." And, as Mrs. Stanford surely wanted to hear, "I beg to advocate most strongly the establishment of a department of Philosophy and Ethics." He thought perhaps Stanford could lure William James or Josiah Royce (who had earlier declined an appointment) from Harvard, or, failing that, hire "one of the coming young men from one of the German universities."

As Goebel became more shrill, he lamented that "the resignation from Stanford of a number of men and the frivolous if not infamous ousting of others," a seemingly bold tack to take in view of Mrs. Stanford's purported role in the Ross affair and other forced resignations. David Starr Jordan was the enemy, and now Goebel warmed to his task, taking care

that Mrs. Stanford understood his almost abject (if perhaps self-interested) devotion to her cause:

The confidence in the management of our University is shaken to such an extent in die academic circles of our country that scholars of reputation and self-respect are refusing to come here. I have personally been blamed by more than one of my Eastern colleagues for staying here, and it is only my appreciation of your lofty purposes and my friendship and devotion to you, that have kept me here.

But your high ideals of the University and your noble desire to realize them stand in strange contrast to the actual conditions existing here. We are a University only by word or tide, in reality we are nothing but a college of the Middle Western type. Not many of our professors are productive scholars doing original research work such as should be done in a University. Some of the men are incompetent to do such work, others, especially the younger men of the faculty, cannot do it because they are obliged to devote all their time and strength to teaching For there are men at this University who are entirely out of place in an institution like ours. They are kept here, as I know on good authority, solely for the purpose of doing the detestable work of detectives among the students and faculty.

After this ugly charge of administrative spying, there followed a fierce indictment of Stanford's management:

This brings me to the worst and most contemptible feature of present conditions here, a feature which I can describe best by comparing it to the "political rings" and "gangs" of our large cities. Soon after the Ross affair the management considered it advisable to bring together more closely the "faithful ones," so as to forestall possible opposition and revolt in the future. This process of consolidation was all the more successful since many men were only too glad to ingratiate themselves at all cost, in view of the apparent danger of being ousted as undesirable elements and disturbers of the peace of the newborn "gang." Merit based on faithful work as a scholar and teacher ceased to count, if it ever had counted much. Events, such as the Gilbert affair, which called for concerted action for the purpose of "whitewashing" one of their members brought the "clique" together still closer. When new appointments were made–the candidates as a rule came from third class institutions–the chief question asked was: "is the candidate going to be loyal." The salary-roll, as you observed long ago, is another proof for the favoritism that alsways [sic] ruled here and now began to rule still more. The "patronage" extended even to the relatives of the favorites who are holding positions in the library and elsewhere ...

The demoralizing influence of conditions like these is apparent: it means the death blow to manhood, self-respect and independence of character. This is felt not only by me, but also by a number of the younger and more independent members of the faculty who dare, however, not speak or act without risking their heads. Conditions like these are, as you said yourself, a disgrace to scholarship and they must be remedied at once, if your plans of a great University are to be carried out at all.

In conclusion I beg to assure you that I am not prompted by any personal feelings in making these critisisms [sic], but that I am guided solely by the love of truth and die interests of true scholarship.
Yours respectfully Julius Goebel

Re the Gilbert affair, in 1901, the zoologist Charles Henry Gilbert (1859-1928)–who had studied with Jordan at Indiana and was one of his closest friends–in Goebel's account had been charged with carrying on an improper relationship with a young woman working at the library. According to the story, Jordan had bullied the "innocent young man" (then an assistant librarian, and a Stanford graduate) who blew the whistle on Gilbert, threatening him with "incarceration in the insane asylum for sexual perversity ... if he did not leave California at once." Although the press got hold of these allegations, nothing more came of it. There was no evidence that any of

this had actually happened. The information came from Goebel and the implication is that it was he who started the rumor.

As a pioneer descriptive ichthyologist, Charles Henry Gilbert (1859-1928) described either alone or with others about 120 new genera and 620 species of fishes and he ranks with Jordan as the foremost ichthyologist of the American West. He married his wife, Julia, in 1882 and she died in 1915. There were three children, Carl, Winnifred and Ruth, all of whom were graduated from Stanford University. Always formal and proper, he was a man of high moral standards and would hardly have an improper relationship as described by Goebel. Gilbert nevertheless was a demanding person with a sharp eye and an even sharper temper and it possible that Goebel had devised this story because of Gilbert's close association with Jordan.

5. THE MURDER OF JANE STANFORD

Haunting the hallowed halls of Stanford for almost a century is a hushed-up whodunit that has reared its head only from time to time, and only in whispers. It concerns the mysterious death of the University's co-founder, Jane Stanford. Though most history books attribute Mrs. Stanford's death at 76 to heart failure, a closer look at the documents and drama surrounding her demise reveals a quite different picture. With the publication of his book, "The Mysterious Death of Jane Stanford" (Cutler, 2003), Stanford physician Robert W.P. Cutler, an emeritus professor of neurology and neurological sciences who served on Stanford's faculty for some 30 years, unequivocally answered the question of how Mrs. Stanford met her end: she was murdered. Yet even the investigators most familiar with the case hesitate to speculate on who the culprit might have been.

The basic facts are these. On the evening of January 14, 1905, at her Nob Hill mansion in San Francisco, Mrs. Stanford drank a glass of Poland Spring mineral water from a bottle placed in her room, as it was every night, by a household servant. Detecting a bitter taste, she immediately induced herself to vomit and called for her secretary, Bertha Berner and her maid, Elizabeth Richmond. They each tasted the water and agreed that it had a "queer" and "bitter" taste. Richmond took the water and brought it to a local pharmacy for analysis, and some weeks later the verdict was returned. The Poland water had been poisoned with enough strychnine to prove fatal in a matter of minutes. Elizabeth Richmond, the maid, fell under suspicion and was dismissed. Richmond had previously worked in Britain and had reportedly regaled Stanford's domestic staff with tales of English aristocrats being poisoned by their servants. The Poland water could have been poisoned by Richmond as she took it to the pharmacy. However, the strychnine could have already been in the un-washed jar the in which the sample was placed.

Deeply troubled by the chemist's report and suffering from a chest cold made worse by San Francisco's winter fog, Mrs. Stanford decided to sail for Hawaii, where she could rest and recuperate. The Stanford party left San Francisco on February 15, 1905. On the night of February 28, before retiring to bed at the

Charles Henry Gilbert (1859-1928), pioneer ichthyologist and fisheries biologist, and one of first four founding faculty at Stanford.

Moana Hotel in Honolulu, Mrs. Stanford requested bicarbonate of soda as a digestive aid, which Bertha Berner, prepared. At 11:15 p.m., Mrs. Stanford woke her servants with cries of "I am so sick!" and "Run for the doctor! I have no control of my body! I think I have been poisoned again!" Cutler notes that Berner was the only person present during both poisoning incidents.

He describes the scene that Dr. Francis Howard Humphris found when he entered Mrs. Stanford's hotel room:

As Humphris tried to administer a solution of bromine and chloral hydrate, Mrs. Stanford, now in anguish, exclaimed, "My jaws are stiff [Humphris confirmed the contraction of her jaw muscles by palpation]. This is a horrible death to die." Whereupon she was seized by a tetanic spasm that progressed relentlessly to a state of severe rigidity: her jaws clamped shut, her thighs opened widely, her feet twisted inwards, her fingers and thumbs clenched into tight fists, and her head drew back. Finally, her respiration ceased.

With the help of several other physicians called to the hotel, Humphris evidently did everything he could to revive Mrs. Stanford. He tried to administer an emetic, he called Dr. Francis R. Day to hurry over with a stomach pump, he sent for his medical bag and for another colleague, Dr. Harry Vicars Murray, but none of these steps was enough to keep Mrs. Stanford alive.

An autopsy and an inquiry by a coroner's jury followed. After reviewing the autopsy report and hearing three full days of testimony, the jury took only two minutes to reach its conclusion: "... Jane Lathrop Stanford came to her death ... from strychnine poisoning, said strychnine having been introduced into a bottle of bicarbonate of soda with felonious intent by some person or persons to this jury unknown.... "

By this time, Jordan was *en route* to Honolulu with a party of his own. Upon his arrival, he quickly hired a local physician, Ernest Coniston Waterhouse, to dispute the cause of death. How he chose Waterhouse is not certain, but with that doctor's brief report in hand, and Mrs. Stanford not yet laid to rest, Jordan made a pronouncement to the press. Contrary to the earlier reports of poisoning, Mrs. Stanford had died of heart failure, he said, and that is the story that made the history books.

This brings us back to Honolulu and Jordan's surprising announcement with only the slapdash report from Waterhouse to support his conclusion that Mrs. Stanford had died of a heart ailment. Jordan's motives for involvement in the case are uncertain; however, he had written the new president of Stanford's board of trustees offering several alternate explanations for Jane Stanford's death, suggesting they select whichever would be most suitable. The university leadership may have believed that avoiding the appearance of scandal was of overriding importance. The cover-up evidently succeeded to the extent that the likelihood that she was murdered was largely overlooked by historians and commentators until the 1980s.

One thing is clear. Jordan took issue with Humphris and his medical colleagues in personal correspondence and press reports in an effort to cast doubt over them. Jordan went so far as to accuse Humphris of adding the strychnine to the bicarbonate of soda *after*

Bertha Berner (1861-1945).

Mrs. Stanford had died, and "after he had time to read up [on] the symptoms a little.... [He is] a man without professional or personal standing," Jordan wrote in a March 22 letter to new Board president Judge Samuel F. Leib. In addition, Jordan advised authorities in Honolulu to "keep watch of the actions as well as of the past history of the two physicians at the Moana Hotel.

When Humphris confronted him directly, Jordan denied making the derogatory statements. Yet he never publicly corrected his denigration of the skills and judgment of the Honolulu physicians and the toxicologist, leaving a record that impugns their competence and integrity. However, once it was clear there was nothing more to be done for Mrs. Stanford, Humphris and Murray took great care to gather the material evidence at the death scene: the bicarbonate of soda, the glass and spoon used to prepare it, the chamber pot, an ounce of gastric vomit and the cascara capsules on the nightstand. They gave these items to the sheriff in the presence of Judge William Stanley, who in turn watched the sheriff hand off the evidence to the chief sanitary officer of the Hawaii Territorial Board of Health. The autopsy was conducted by seven physicians and a toxicologist, including three doctors who had not attended Mrs. Stanford on the night of her death. A mortician and a morgue assistant were witnesses.

Although Jordan referred to an "investigation" when he revised the cause of death, the Waterhouse report was never made public. Jordan would later hint at conspiracy among the medical practitioners in Hawaii. However, the rapid unfolding of events on the night of the death, the sheer number of people involved in the incident, eyewitness accounts made public by the coroner's inquest, and the independent autopsy evidence render that notion "preposterous."

The only doctor of questionable character was the one Jordan hired. On September 7, 1905, the *San Francisco Call* described Ernest Waterhouse as "the only medical man in Honolulu who ... would express an opinion in accordance with the views held by Dr. Jordan."

Jordan paid Waterhouse the present-day equivalent of $7,000 for a four-page report slapped together without much independent investigation. Confronted by Humphris, who accused him of unethical conduct for consulting on the case without any firsthand knowledge, Waterhouse sought an attorney. Then, within days of receiving his payment from Stanford, he sailed for Ceylon. It is unclear whether he fled to escape threats of exposure by his colleagues or to explore agricultural ventures. Waterhouse had always wanted to start a rubber plantation. When he returned to Honolulu three months later, charges of unethical conduct awaited him. But there is no evidence that the accusations were ever formally pursued.

The records show that only one person was present at both poisoning incidents, and that was the personal secretary, Bertha Berner. (The maid–and yes, the butler–had been questioned and exonerated by San Francisco police; they were not in the Hawaii party.)

Dr. Francis Howard Humphris (1866-1947). Humphris was the first physician on the scene after Mrs. Stanford was poisoned.

Berner had been Mrs. Stanford's companion for 30 years, and every indication is that a caring association had developed. Berner was treated well and accompanied Mrs. Stanford on all her exotic travels; the two seemed fond of each other. While the rest of the household staff each received $1,000 in Mrs. Stanford's will, Berner inherited $15,000–equivalent to about $100,000 today After Mrs. Stanford's death, the papers announced she had left $15,000 to Berner in her will–almost $400,000 in today's money. "I give and bequeath to Miss Bertha Berner, secretary and devoted friend to me through nineteen years of trial and sorrow, the sum of fifteen thousand dollars," the will stipulated. With the money, Berner built herself a lovely two-story home in Menlo Park; she lived there until her death in 1945.

Although police and private investigators interviewed her after the death, and she testified at the inquiry, Berner was quickly discounted. Berner was whispered about, but she was never arrested by the Honolulu police because of lack of firm evidence. Over the years, Berner's story changed multiple times, both in interviews with Hawaiian and San Francisco police and in public statements. Her final written account of Mrs. Stanford's last day included the claim Mrs. Stanford ate four Swiss cheese sandwiches, two tongue sandwiches, two lettuce sandwiches, two or three large pieces of gingerbread, two cups of cold coffee, and 12 or 14 pieces of French candy at lunch, a dubious-sounding justification of the "heart-failure-by-overeating" theory.

There is no question Berner had the means and ability to commit the murder. She filled Mrs. Stanford's prescriptions, had unrestricted access to her food and drink, and could come and go in her private quarters without suspicion. Her motive is more mysterious. Berner was already living comfortably with Mrs. Stanford. Perhaps, in a moment of weakness, Berner grew impatient for the payoff she knew was coming. Finally, Cutler examined and rejected the idea that Jordan was responsible for Jane Stanford's murder: "No evidence linked Jordan to the poisonings; there is no basis for a belief that he constructed the cover-up to conceal his own guilt."

Cutler shows that Mrs. Stanford almost surely died of strychnine poisoning, and while he may be overly critical of Jordan's behavior after her death, at least he stops short of accusing him of murder. Carnochan, on the other hand, crosses the line (Carnochan, 2003). "He had the motive," Carnochan says in his *American Scholar* article. Then, referring to rumors that Mrs. Stanford was thinking of dismissing Jordan, he defends this assertion with a rhetorical question: "Who at the time would have known his presidency was at risk?" This is not merely speculation, it's fantasy. It posits a motive for which there is no proof and blithely ignores questions of whether Jordan acted on his "motive" or even had any opportunity to do so. The following is by Dr. Luther Spoehr, a Stanford Ph.D. whose dissertation focused on David Starr Jordan's Stanford presidency (Spoehr, 2004):

Even the notion of Jordan's "motive" doesn't hold up. It assumes that (1) Jordan heard rumors

Dr. Ernest Waterhouse, hired by Jordan and the only doctor that supported Jordan's opinion that Mrs. Stanford died of natural causes.

that he was to be fired; (2) believed them; and (3) chose murder as his response. But even if he had heard and believed the rumors (and rumors were always flying at Stanford; it was like a medieval court), why would he conclude that his best course was to murder Mrs. Stanford? Since the University's founding in 1891, his relationship with her had sometimes been difficult, as he navigated between her controlling instincts and the expectations of an increasingly professionalized faculty. But it also involved respect and affection on both sides.

Jordan's respect for what Mrs. Stanford had done for the University and his generally protective attitude toward women would have kept him from acting on this "motive" - even if he were so motivated. And Jordan had to know that if he were dismissed, he would not be jobless for long. In short, to assume that Jordan even pondered murder requires us to believe that he would betray both his principles and his interests.

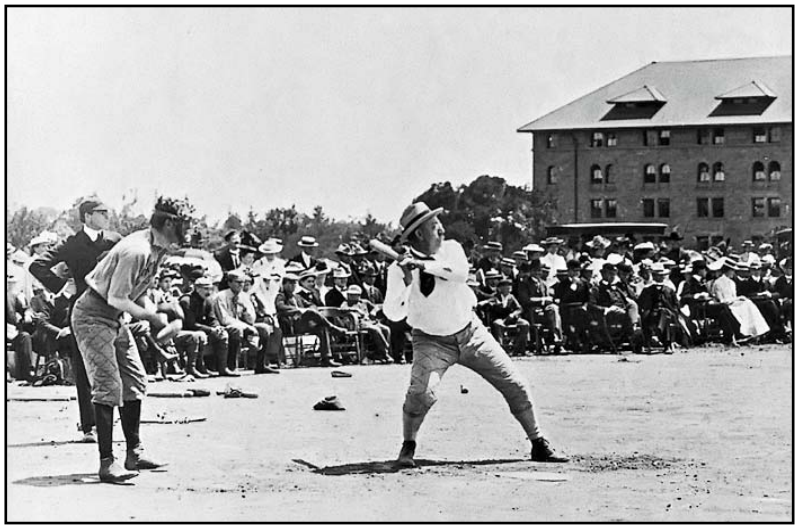
In the past quarter-century, interpretations of the University's early history have given Mrs. Stanford a more prominent and sympathetic role than she played in previous versions of the story. Now it seems that improving her reputation involves taking an ax to Jordan's. Neither Mrs. Stanford nor President Jordan was a saint or a villain. The history of Stanford's early years abounds in both drama and complexity; it does not need oblique accusations of murder or melodramatic portrayals of its two principal characters to spice it up any further.

6. THE JULIUS GOEBEL AFFAIR: PART 2

Mrs. Stanford was murdered in Honolulu on February 28, 1905 and Jordan arrived there to bring her body back to California. After he returned to university business, getting rid of Professor Goebel was apparently high on his agenda.

Under the terms of the university's original charter, all powers of dismissal at Stanford rested solely with the president. But although they lacked the formal power to effect or override dismissals, the trustees had recently created a presidential advisory board to establish a modest system of checks and balances. New articles of faculty organization were in the works and it was late spring before the Goebel drama played itself out.

Much of the notoriety of the case centered on Goebel's charge, well-covered in the newspapers, that Jordan had tried to bribe him. This was not true, however, as a bribe is some compensation for influencing a person of trust to commit something illegal or unethical. Facing certain dismissal, Goebel had applied for the one-year sabbatical leave to which he was entitled, while he sought another academic position. Jordan promptly responded that he would recommend the leave on receipt of Goebel's letter of resignation. The resignation was to be effective no later than July 31, 1906, but, Jordan warned, the arrangement might be terminated at any time "should conditions arise affecting the interests of the university which would make such action desirable." According to Goebel, the president's secretary, George Clark, made it clear to him that if he were to go to the press, the salary would cease. Nothing was suggested that Goebel was enjoined by Jordan to do anything illegal or unethical. What Jordan offered Goebel was a proposition and Goebel declined to accept it.



David Starr Jordan at bat in the 1891 faculty-senior baseball game, played on a dirt lot in front of the Encina Dormitory.

7. THE EARTHQUAKE OF 1906

At thirteen minutes after five on the morning of April 18th, the very day on which Jordan should have been due in Philadelphia, he and his wife were awakened by several tremendous jolts, after which the house was shaken with great violence as a rat might be shaken by a dog, and objects began to fly through the air. Jordan managed somehow to get to Eric's room, grab him and started to descend the front stairs. But the stairs jumped about in the most violent fashion, so that it was by no means easy either to stand up or to go down. Yet when they did reach the outside, everything was perfectly still. In less than a minute the solid earth between them and the mountains had been torn open to a depth of no one knows how many miles, and then clapped together again as if nothing had happened! The linnets, who get up early, had already resumed their singing, and the face of Nature, brazen with spring, seemed absolutely to deny the catastrophe.

The temblor over, Knight, who had been sleeping on the roof each night for a week, came down and reported that the University was "gone bum." Clinging to a wobbling balustrade around his high perch, he had witnessed much of the destruction the fall of the beautiful Church tower with its graceful flying buttresses, the collapse of the Memorial Arch, the stones of which flew in every direction "like water from a fountain," and the crumbling of the great unfinished library and almost-completed gymnasium, which (having no adequate support of steel) went down like a house of cards. This was staggering news. The whole lower floor of Jordan's home was an indescribable.

Furniture, books, pictures, and vases were thrown down and mingled with great heaps of plaster, the piano standing rakishly in the middle of the room over the now wingless Victory statue, the four grates opening into the cellar like yawning gulfs but up to the moment of Eric's announcement it had not occurred to either Jordan or his wife that stone buildings could have seriously suffered. Full of apprehension, Jordan hurried as quickly as possible to the University. The Inner Quadrangle and Encina Hall, the former of a single story, the latter having all its angles strengthened within by vertical bars of railroad iron and both built of massive blocks cemented together, showed comparatively little damage. Yet the two high stone chimneys on Damage at the Hall were each thrown down, one of them completely demolishing the six rooms below and carrying twelve students in a pile of stratified rubbish to the basement.

Ten minutes later, Professor Green reached the spot and put every available man to the work of rescue. Junius R. Hanna had been killed by the direct fall of a chimney; his companions were more or less injured, though not fatally; one or two others hurt themselves in jumping from lower floors, and a prominent literary student living on the upper story was only saved by his roommate, who thoughtfully seized his nightshirt just as he was going out of the window. The Roble chimneys also fell, but without hitting anybody. The contents and occupants of one room, however, were carried down to the first floor, and when their neighbors screamed to know what had become of them, one of the girls said, "I think we are in the parlor," which was in fact the case!

The original Museum, being like Roble of reinforced concrete, had also escaped serious injury, though the collections were promiscuously rattled about, "shaken like peas in a gourd," and many things irretrievably smashed. But where the Arch had stood lay huge heaps of jagged rock, the Church was a sickening ruin, the Outer Quadrangle a depressing sight with tipsy walls and fringe of rubble, the site of the

The ruins of the Memorial Church.

new Library and Gymnasium a desolation of brick and stone, the extensive additions to the Museum an apparently hopeless wreck! In the engineering shops great pieces of machinery lay tossed about. The tall smokestack, one hundred feet high and reputed to be the most symmetrical ever put up, had been rent into three segments, the fractures passing through the stone, not through the cement which held the blocks together. Under the upper section lay the crushed body of the electrician, who at the first jar had faithfully turned off the power, thus averting all danger of fire, but was then stricken down as he ran outside.

It was with a very heavy heart that Jordan made his tour of inspection, for besides the loss of life– surprisingly small, however– two and a half million dollars' worth of academic property had been destroyed, all in the brief space of fifty-six seconds. A day or two later the Stanford residence in San Francisco, a huge frame building which had itself cost a million and which now belonged to the University, was burned with practically all its contents, including many valuable paintings, books, and statuary. On this also there was no insurance, it having been Stanford's policy to be his own insurer.

The university's collection of thousands of bottles containing the type specimens of countless species of fish also suffered major damage. Although 1,895 jars and bottles were broken, the majority survived intact. The wreckage lay on the floor, kept wet with water from hoses manned day and night by Professors John Otterbein Snyder (Assistant Professor of Zoology) and Edwin Chapin Starks (Curator in Zoology), until new bottles and alcohol could be secured, which would be a matter of some days since this material was not immediately available at the time. An effort was made to match specimens and data, this work being done by each member of the entire ichthyological group who had most actively been working on the

The faculty of Stanford's Zoology Department. From back row, left, are Edwin C. Starks, Walter K. Fisher and Charles H. Gilbert. From front row, left, are John O. Snyder, Harold Heath and George C. Price. Starks and Snyder manned the hoses day and night that kept the fish on the floor wet.

specimens concerned. As a result, many of the specimens from the broken containers were saved, although there were numerous instances in which the material had to be discarded. In others, some doubt could not be avoided. A small printed label stating "Bottle broken during earthquake" was inserted in each bottle. Unfortunately, according to Professor Snyder, a careless curatorial assistant later removed these labels from each half of the jars bearing them. However, it is improbable that all 1,895 specimens had their original containers broken, ended up on the floor, were misidentified from their original labels, and had their "earthquake labels removed. Jordan himself, however, did not participate in these activities.

Many ichthyologists have wondered why after the 1870's Jordan rarely published ichthyological papers except in collaboration with others. Some have even criticized some of his later work for occasional lack of care with details. Part of this was due to Jordan's extremely busy life and the necessity of leaving scale and fin-ray counts to a collaborator. However, there was a still more compelling reason. Early in his career, in Indiana, Jordan developed what are today called allergies to both formaldehyde and alcohol and was forced to refrain from handling preserved fishes or breathing the fumes from them. The effect of this disability upon a man as devoted to fish study as Jordan can be appreciated only by a person who saw him trying to work on alcohol-preserved fishes with a collaborator! It can be said that Jordan personally made few or none of the counts and measurements in his collaborative papers after about 1885.

8. THE JULIUS GOEBEL AFFAIR: PART 3

On May 25, Jordan wrote to Goebel: "You are hereby removed." Goebel was livid and he released the letters to the newspapers, which did not hesitate to print them. The case was to reverberate nationally and on June 2, the *San Francisco Examiner* declared that it "surpasses in general interest the scandal of six years ago from the dismissal of Professor Ross."

The first evidence of the chain of events that was climaxed by Goebel's firing is a letter of February 23

***Evermannia panamensis*. This was one of the specimens saved during the earthquake of 1906.**

sent to the chairman of the trustees, Judge Samuel Franklin Leib, by George Crothers, a San Francisco attorney with a good legal mind. A graduate of Stanford's first class, Crothers later served as a superior court judge; in 1905 he had become the first alumnus to sit on the board of trustees. Crothers's letter states that "about a month ago"–that is, before Jane Stanford was murdered–"Dr. Jordan expressed the opinion that it would be well to let [Professor Goebel] go in the near future on the sole ground that he was the source of much disturbance among the Faculty."

The letter goes on to cite abuses within the university, as perceived by Crothers and his fellow trustee Horace Davis–then in charge of writing new articles of organization for the faculty, and a former president, briefly, of the University of California. These abuses included "other cases of virtual or actual dismissal alleged to be for criticisms of the administration," and a concomitant "state of terror." Crothers suggested to Leib that "it might have a wholesome influence if Dr. Jordan were cautioned against giving color to the claim that he is systematically 'smoking out' all of the members of the Faculty who do not agree, without comment, in all his policies. He should rather favor such parties when he is in doubt."

On April 6, Jordan Wrote to Goebel from Waco, Texas, telling him that he planned to bring charges before the advisory board. He had confronted Goebel with the charges ("I have already spoken to you in regard to certain actions on your part"), and now "it becomes my duty to investigate these matters and to ask the opinion of the Advisory Board … concerning the line of action which I should pursue." Even if true, the charges, as reported both to the trustees and to the advisory board, amounted to little more than that Goebel was a difficult character; that he had misreported the results of a German a departmental meeting in which he gave the decision to stop teaching elementary German as a consensus when only he had voted in favor of the proposal (Goebel's later claim that his report was a simple error was likely to have been met with incredulity); that he had removed many books from the library without checking them out; that he had had a nasty falling-out with his compatriot Flügel, which might lead to a lawsuit between them; and that Goebel had preempted the chair of the music department by planning a reception for the great contralto Ernestine Schumann-Heink. Goebel's criticism of Theodore Roosevelt's *Winning of the West,* on the grounds that it neglected the German-American contribution to Goebel's view of the expansion of the frontier, may also have been held against him.

Though Jordan told Goebel on April 6 that he was seeking advice "concerning the line of action which I should pursue," he had already raised the matter with the trustees. On March 25 he had written the board, "I ask your approval of the suspension of the senior professorship (in German] at the end of the present year. This would involve the retirement of Professor Goebel." He then explained that "my chief reason for recommending this lies in the fact of Professor Goebel's utter disregard of the rights of others in his personal and university relations."

George E. Crothers (1870-1957). He alerted the Board of Trustees of Jordan's firing of Goebel.

On April 28, after private hearings, the advisory board passed a resolution: "Resolved, that the Advisory Board, in the light of such evidence as it has been able to obtain, sees no reason for disapproving of the position taken by the President with regard to the dismissal of Dr. Goebel."

In a copy of a letter, dated May 5, 1907 and written on Goebel's behalf by Nathan Abbott, a professor of law at Stanford and addressed to someone at Harvard (the salutation is lacking): "I never felt that he [Goebel] was understood at Stanford nor treated right," wrote Abbott. "I have had several talks with Dr. Goebel about matters there and I can truthfully say that one could only characterize what he said as critical and not improperly so." Motivated (or so Goebel believed) by the injustice of Goebel's dismissal, Abbott left Stanford for Columbia the next year. His hands, like those of Crothers and Davis, had been tied. Jordan alone had authority in tenure proceedings.

The local press, delighted by any Stanford scandal, played up the Goebel case hugely. The German-American community, a cohesive and powerful lobby, reacted with fury. Petitions were circulated and signed. Martin Singer, a local high school teacher who had taken a Stanford M.A. in German in 1902, wrote a stinging article titled "Autocracy in an American University." "Scarcely were the remains of Mrs. Stanford put to rest in the mausoleum," wrote Singer, "when Dr. Goebel was ousted." Singer also wrote the trustees, insisting that "Dr. Jordan's speedy removal is an absolute necessity."

Joseph Hutchinson, a Palo Alto resident, San Francisco attorney, and friend of Goebel's, wrote Horace Davis: "Jordan will, not do. It is only *a* matter of time." Starr Willard Cutting, a former student at Leipzig and future chair of the University of Chicago's German department, initiated a petition urging the *Modern Language Association* to lodge a protest when it met in December. "Such a protest," argued Cutting, "if accompanied by the refusal of our society members to accept any position whatever in the Leland Stanford University, could not fail to exert a helpful influence." But no formal protest seems to have been filed–partly, perhaps, because Goebel had by then found new employment.

It was Charles William Eliot, Harvard's president since 1869, who came to Goebel's rescue. Believing that Stanford's governance was flawed and that Jordan was acting like a despot, Eliot hired Goebel almost immediately after the dismissal as a lecturer in Harvard's German department (though not its chair, as the papers gleefully reported at first). That the venerable president of the country's oldest university would offer haven to this outcast from the upstart university in Palo Alto was a serious rebuke.

On September 14, 1905, he wrote Davis, "Isn't it remarkable that such intelligent people as the Stanfords should not have perceived that an advisory committee of the Faculty, every one of whom is liable to be summarily removed by the President, would not be much of a check on a president disposed to arbitrary action?"

On October 22, Eliot wrote to Jordan himself, some-

Trustee Horace Davis was in charge of writing new articles of organization for the faculty.

what cautiously: “What an extremely disagreeable and inexpedient power of dismissal the Stanfords forced on the President of their University! For all I know it may work well in a railroad; but it will certainly be extremely inconvenient and injurious in a university.” And on October 31, he wrote Jordan more frankly: “I think I differ from you fundamentally on the nature of the responsibility of a University President. In my judgment he should be absolutely a constitutional and not a despotic ruler.”

With the December meeting of the Modern Language Association coming up, Jordan dispatched Karl Rendtorff, an assistant professor in the German department, on a mission to the East Coast. Karl Gustav Rendtorff was born June 28, 1864, as the tenth and youngest child of the Lutheran pastor in the village of Preetz near Kiel, which at that time belonged to Denmark. (Later he was wont to say that he was “annexed at the age of six weeks.”) He responded to his father’s wish that two of the five sons should study for the ministry, cut but after two years of theological study, Rendtorff had come to the conclusion that he could not spend his life as a Lutheran minister, and for the time being he gave up university study and became Private secretary to the famous surgeon, Johannes Friedrich von Esmarch. Through Esmarch, who was the first president of the German Friedens- Gesellschaft (Peace Society), Karl became an ardent pacifist - an unpopular trend in the Germany of those days.

Like so many restless young Germans in the l9th century, he turned his eyes to North America, and reached New York in 1893, less than two years after the founding of Stanford University. Thinking that the new school might have need of an assistant librarian, he wired the University, received an encouraging response and proceeded westward. Arriving in San Francisco, he was met by the news that Senator Stanford had just died. The resultant “freezing” of the University’s funds made it impossible for Rendtorff to be added to the library staff. However, the then head of the German Department, Julius Goebel, took him on as an assistant, helped him to get tutoring to eke out his income and encouraged him to train himself as a Germanist. Rendtorff now applied himself to Germanics, taking the degree of Master of Arts at Stanford in 1894 and the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in 1896.

Mistakenly or not, Professor Rendtorff thought himself not well qualified to publish in English, and so he gave all his energies to his teaching. He became the finest type of college teacher, profoundly learned, sensitive to all the finer things of the spirit, tolerant, gentle, modest and unassuming, with a genuine gift of quiet humor, and an unfailing devotion to his courses and his students. His teaching covered a wide range of subjects, from Middle High German language and literature to the latest trends in German letters. Greatest popularity was achieved by his illustrated courses or the history of German civilization.

Karl Rendtorff (1864-1945). An assistant professor in the German department, Jordan dispatched him on a mission to the East Coast to present his side of the Goebel controversy.

He died after a lingering illness on May 5, 1945. Rendtorff left a widow, Emma Meyer Rendtorff, Stanford 1898 and a daughter Gertrude, Stanford 1928. The professional life of Karl Rendtorff can perhaps best be characterized and evaluated in the following tribute by a member of the Stanford faculty, written to his widow upon the news of his death:

...what I most admired in him was his uncompromising intellectual and moral integrity, what I most loved was the infinite kindliness and gentleness of his nature. I regard it as a great privilege to have had him for a teacher, and as a still greater privilege to have had him for a friend."

Just what passed between Goebel and Rendtorff between 1896 and 1905 is beyond recovery (Rendtorff and Flügel were good friends), but we do know that the affairs of Stanford's small German-American community were in disarray. According to an undated note from Rendtorff's wife to Jordan (very likely solicited at the time of the Goebel affair), Mrs. Goebel had warned the young Mrs. Rendtorff about Professor Ewald Flügel: "She told me that Dr. Flügel was not the proper man for a young woman to associate with, that he was unfaithful to his wife, and that he had a woman friend in the city whom he often visited." One again, after his character assassination of Charles Gilbert, Goebel applied the same modus operandi on Ewald Flügel. Such a story helped corroborate Jordan's branding of Goebel as a dangerous troublemaker. That Rendtorff had been sent to the East as a damage-control measure, by the way, was Goebel's hypothesis.

Among those he visited was the Harvard psychologist Hugo Munsterberg, the most influential of German emigre scholars. The message Rendtorff carried, evidently at Jordan's behest, was that Goebel had conspired with Jane Stanford to oust Jordan and become president himself, and that this was the reason for his dismissal. There is no palpable evidence that Goebel actually hoped to replace Jordan, though it is not impossible. But it is certainly true that when Mrs. Stanford asked in her letter to Jordan of October 3, 1904, "why not invite Professor Goebel," she was instructing the president to welcome a fierce antagonist.

If Goebel's letter to Mrs. Stanford about the state of her university was in the main cautious, and even in some respects temperate, he no longer had to be cautious once he had been fired–and especially not after taking up his new duties in Cambridge. By this time his anger and resentment were boundless. Some of his ire must have stemmed from his belief that had it not been for Jane Stanford's sudden death, she would have effected Jordan's removal. On July 7, 1905, Goebel wrote the trustees to protest "the refined cruelty" to which he had been subjected "since Mrs. Stanford died." In January 1906, in the wake of Rendtorff's travels, he wrote a letter that referred to her as "the good woman whose noble memory I cannot permit to be ... tarnished." Of Jordan he wrote, "This man is loathed and despised not only by his students and professors but practically by the whole academic world." When it came to restraint, the word was not in Goebel's vocabulary.

John Maxon Stillman (1852-1923). He was the head of the chemistry department and another friend of Jordan's.

Only in 1908, when Goebel became chairman of the German department at the University of Illinois, did the reverberations of his case begin to subside. Obtaining his new position had not been easy. Reviewing Goebel's candidacy, the university's president, Edmund James (who held a doctorate from Halle and, in 1899, had translated the German federal constitution), prudently wanted to know just what *had* happened at Stanford. To find out, he wrote to J. M. Stillman, who was serving as Stanford's acting president while Jordan was in Europe. The head of the chemistry department and another friend of Jordan's, Stillman had chaired the advisory board at the time of Goebel's dismissal. On May 7, 1907, he replied to James that the board had concluded "*unanimously*" (Stillman's emphasis) that "they could raise no objections'' to the firing; that it had nothing to do with Goebel's scholarship or teaching, but with his "personal relations to and conduct toward his colleagues"; and that his conduct "was considered as unprofessional and incompatible with his future usefulness as a member of this university community."

Unprofessional is the killer word. Goebel now sought help from Horace Davis, the senior of his two friends among the trustees. Having written President James to ask that he contact Davis for an account more accurate than Stillman's, Goebel also wrote Davis on June 22: "No one but God knows what I have suffered for the last two years under the persistent cruel persecutions emanating from Stanford: they have almost driven me to desperation. It is for this reason that I appeal to you."

President James wrote Davis on July 1, 1907: "I should like to get exact information as to why [Professor Goebel) was dismissed." At last the real story began to come out. On June 28, Goebel's other ally on the board of trustees, George Crothers, had written to Davis citing "the continued persecution of Professor Goebel" and offering his view of the advisory board's proceedings: "They delivered him up and washed their hands in the good old classical manner." Crothers's final expostulation was, "Heaven defend those whose characters are in our keeping!" Davis, by then president of the trustees, wrote President James on July 1; his letter must have crossed James's to him. Davis laid out the whole story. Behind Jordan's vendetta was the Gilbert affair, as well as the letter that Goebel had written Jane Stanford.

Dear Sir:

Professor Goebel has asked me to send you the circumstances leading up to his leaving Stanford, which I do with pleasure as an act of justice to him.

Professor Goebel had been connected with Stanford for thirteen years and was a very successful teacher, his classes being exceptionally large and well attended, but he fell under Dr. Jordan's displeasure, partly through a personal difficulty with Professor Gilbert, one of Dr. Jordan's closest friends, in which praise rather than blame should be

Edmund Janes James (1855-1925), President of Indiana University. Goebel had a hard time finding a new job and he gave the job of chairman of the German department to him.

awarded to Professor Goebel, and partly because at Mrs. Stanford's request he wrote her his opinion of the University, that it cherished the Physical Sciences at the expense of the Humanities.

As soon as Mrs. Stanford died, Dr. Jordan asked the Trustees to remove Dr. Goebel, which the Trustees declined to do. Dr. Jordan asked the Trustees to abolish the chair occupied by Dr. Goebel, which the Trustees also refused to do. Dr. Jordan, then, by the arbitrary power committed to him in the trust, summarily removed Dr. Goebel.

Professor Goebel's friends brought pressure to bear on the Trustees to re-instate him, but the Trustees replied that as the President under the trust had full power to remove all professors, they could not take cognizance of the matter. The Trustees then presented to Dr. Goebel a full year's salary in consideration of his long and faithful service. Soon after this the Trustees recognizing the evil of such arbitrary measures, made an arrangement with Dr. Jordan whereby he was allowed to initiate all appointments, and in return for this gave up his power of summary removal.

A little later when Professor Goebel was a candidate for an appointment at Harvard I sent President Eliot a copy of these proceedings and now send them to you at Goebel's request. I may add that President Eliot wrote me that he had a conference with Dr. Jordan before appointing Dr. Goebel.
That you may have all the substantial facts I enclose you [sir] copy of Dr. Jordan's letter to the Board quoting the singular verdict of the Advisory Board, and removing Dr. Goebel. I may add in closing that the Advisory Board was not unanimous ... for I know that at least one of the Advisory Board [presumably Nathan Abbott] thought he was wronged, and secondly, I may add that Professor Gilbert, Goebel's enemy, was on the jury that approved his removal.

Up to the present time the Trustees have no information or evidence of anything more specific brought against Goebel except the vague charge of "certain qualities or traits of character" alluded to in Dr. Jordan's letter, and what these were we do not know.

I shall be glad to give you further information if you desire.

I am with great respect,
Yours very truly,
Horace Davis

A week later, Davis wrote James again, adding details about Gilbert and his "improper conduct toward one of the girls in the University Library. Dr. Goebel was unfortunately an eye-witness of some of these questionable incidents and strenuous efforts were made to induce him to declare publicly that he believed the accusation was groundless, but this he refused to do, and this refusal caused permanent coldness between Goebel and the President's intimates." One might think that President James, with so much evidence before him, would have hired Goebel straightaway; but he did not. Another year would pass before Goebel could write to Davis, on June 29, 1908, 'You have probably learned through the papers of my recent appointment as Head of the department of Germanics

Charles Henry Gilbert and
Ruth VanNoy (Diament) Gilbert.

and professor of German at the University of Illinois. Thanking you once more for all your kindness."

If Goebel was an eye-witness to the alleged incident in the library, why didn't he–or the librarian–speak out? Why wasn't the date of the incident identified? What was the nature of the "incident"?

The cause of his long wait, Goebel believed, was the "deadly effect" of acting president J. M. Stillman's disparaging letter to President James. Sensing that the deliberations of the advisory board now formed an increasingly crucial piece of the puzzle, Goebel asked Nathan Abbott, the supportive professor of law who had subsequently left Stanford to teach at Columbia, for assistance. Abbott declined to become formally involved, but wrote back that "you must let me work out this matter in my own way. I shall be surprised if I do not succeed in helping you, and I wish to do it without arousing antagonism. Please have patience with me, and I hope you will not be disappointed." We can assume that Abbott did in fact work behind the scenes and. in all likelihood, was the agent of Goebel's salvation.

A Letter from Goebel to Horace Davis, dated July 25, 1907, evokes the overcharged atmosphere of the times in which this strange, disturbing, and (as the letter attests) sometimes grotesque melodrama took place. Goebel recounts a moment so bizarre as to tilt the balance of the melodrama toward farce. Having made public some of her correspondence with Jordan relating to the Ross case, he writes that Jane Stanford expected **… that the President would resign. He did not do this, but at their next meeting, much to her disgust, knelt down and kissed**

The Leland Stanford Jr. Memorial Library, 1891.

her hand!! The image of Jordan, large and portly, kneeling to kiss Mrs. Stanford's hand is ludicrous and further adds doubt to the veracity of some of Goebel's charges.

Reviewing the case in August 1907, another Stanford trustee, the San Francisco attorney Charles Eels, was less well disposed to Goebel than were Davis, Crothers and Abbott. But having concluded that "Dr. Goebel was a very dangerous man of whom Stanford is well rid," even Eels agreed that Goebel's treatment had been "without excuse" and that Jordan should go. I agree with Eels that Goebel was a very dangerous man but there had been a better way to deal with him than by firing him.

Certainly Goebel had overstated his friendship with Mrs. Stanford. On February 6th, for example. a few days before Mrs. Stanford learned that the Poland water had contained a lethal dose of strychnine, she wrote a letter to Jordan and addressed him as "Dear friend."

If Mrs. Stanford was the mother of the University, then Jordan was its stepfather. Between them, they operated the University, promoted its idealism and educated thousands of students. Their relationship was one of compromise–albeit most often on Jordan's part –and one of sincere mutual support. Regardless of their many disagreements, Mrs. Stanford continued to depend upon, and express gratitude for, President Jordan's sympathy and understanding of the burdens he shared in part with her. While Mrs. Stanford began privately to express strong opposition to Jordan's methods and threatened to remove him, she took no final action and continued to express her support publicly.

Many of the disagreements between President Jordan and Mrs. Stanford can be traced to the complaints and fears of others. Jordan, a highly idealistic and ambitious administrator, made enemies at the University who gave voice to their enmity in strongly worded correspondence with the anxious Mrs. Stanford who,

BOOK 3

1. JORDAN & EUGENICS

A century ago, it was fashionable in the US to advocate selective human breeding; many people thought the idea progressive and enlightened. "It's all scientific stuff–it's been proved!" says a character in Fitzgerald's "Great Gatsby" (1925) arguing the superiority of the Nordic races. Eugenics was a popular notion in Jordan's era and it was one of his major passions. History, however, is strewn with mistakes. Many of them were made by well-intentioned people who were bright, intelligent and capable, but who just made the wrong decision. Many fall into the simplest category of error–they took Route A instead of Route B. And a lot of those decisions "seemed like a good idea at the time." However, there were also some monumentally stupid decisions made, and Jordan made one when he elected to embrace Eugenics.

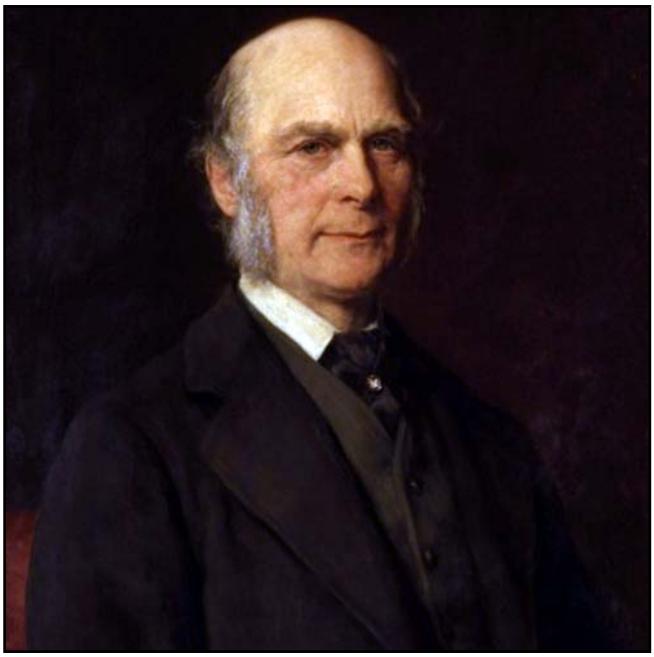
Sir Francis Galton first coined the term "eugenics" in 1883. Put simply, eugenics means "well-born." Initially Galton focused on positive eugenics, encouraging healthy, capable people of above-average intelligence to bear more children, with the idea of building an "improved" human race. Some followers of Galton combined his emphasis on ancestral traits with Gregor Mendel's research on patterns of inheritance, in an attempt to explain the generational transmission of genetic traits in human beings.

W. E. B. Du Bois maintained the basic principle of eugenics: that different persons have different inborn characteristics that make them more or less suited for specific kinds of employment, and that by encouraging the most talented members of all races to procreate would better the "stocks" of humanity.

One of the earliest modern advocates of eugenics was Alexander Graham Bell. In 1881 Bell investigated the rate of deafness on Martha's Vineyard, Massachusetts. From this he concluded that deafness was hereditary in nature and, through noting that congenitally deaf parents were more likely to produce deaf children, tentatively suggested that couples where both were deaf should not marry, in his lecture "Memoir upon the formation of a deaf variety of the human race" presented to the National Academy of Sciences on November 13, 1883.

However, it was his hobby of livestock breeding which led to his appointment to Jordan's Committee on Eugenics. This committee was under the auspices of the American Breeders' Association (ABA), the first eugenic body in the U.S., established in 1906 under the direction of biologist Charles B. Davenport. The ABA was formed specifically to "investigate and report on heredity in the human race, and emphasize the value of superior blood and the menace to society of inferior blood." Membership included Alexander Graham Bell, David Starr Jordan and Luther Burbank (along with breeding plants, Burbank believed human beings should be selectively bred).

President Theodore Roosevelt, a Republican and Woodrow Wilson, a Democrat, were proponents of eugenics; they believed in science and expertise and eugenics seemed scientific. Roosevelt was an advocate of eugenic interventions that prevented individuals with undesirable traits from reproducing. For example, Roosevelt encouraged sexual sterilization for criminals and individuals with certain cognitive disabilities (the so-called 'feeble-minded'). Roosevelt was worried about the loss of a special American quality of strength and ingenuity that supposedly had evolved among whites on the frontier. As eastern European and Jewish immigrants flooded into



Sir Francis Galton (1822-1911).

the country with their big families, and with the birthrates of white Protestant Americans declining, in 1895 he warned of impending "race suicide," a term, by the way, that was introduced by Edward Ross in 1901.

However, on February 13, 1905 Roosevelt delivered a stirring speech to the New York City Republican Club. Roosevelt had just won reelection, and in this speech, he discussed the country's current state of race relations and his plan for improving them. In 1905, many white Americans' attitude of superiority to other races still lingered. Much bitterness still existed between North and South and, in addition, Roosevelt's tenure in office had seen an influx of Asian immigrants in the West, which contributed to new racial tensions.

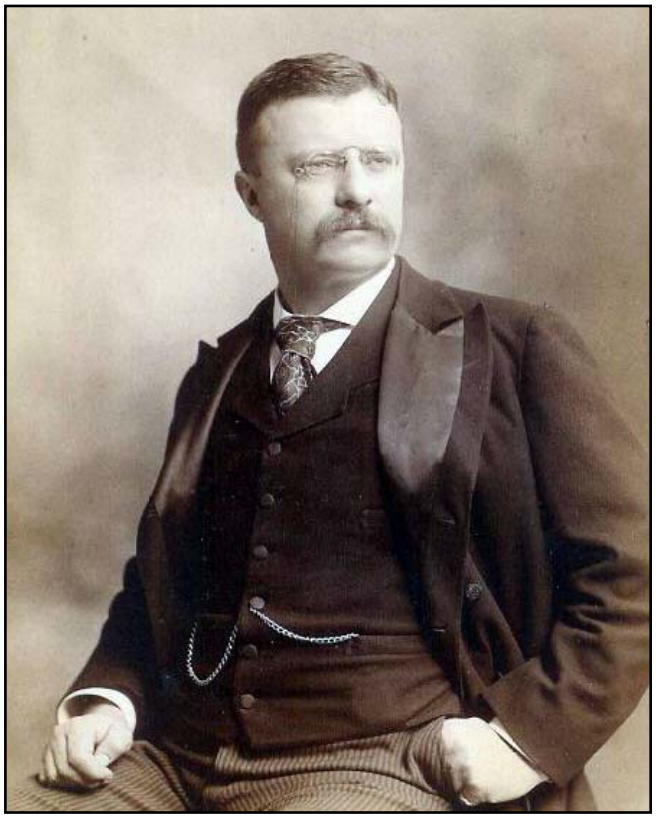
In his argument for racial equality, Roosevelt used the rising tide raises all ships metaphor, stating that if morality and thrift among the colored men can be raised then those same virtues among whites, already assumed to be more advanced, would rise to an even higher degree. At the same time, he warned that the debasement of the blacks will in the end carry with it [the] debasement of the whites.

Roosevelt's solution to the race problem in 1905 was to proceed slowly toward social and economic equality. He cautioned against imposing radical changes in government policy and instead suggested a gradual adjustment in the attitudes of whites toward ethnic minorities. Unfortunately, he referred to white Americans as the forward race, whose responsibility it was to raise the status of minorities through training the backward races] in industrial efficiency, political capacity and domestic morality. Thus, he claimed whites bore the burden of preserving the high civilization wrought out by its forefathers.

Woodrow Wilson supported eugenics, including policies that would result in eugenic reform. In 1911, while acting as the governor of New Jersey, he signed a eugenic sexual sterilization bill into legislation. Under this legislation, criminals or adults considered to be "feeble-minded" could be forced to undergo sexual sterilization. As part of enacting this legislation, Wilson was also responsible for appointing a board of examiners. These examiners were responsible for determining who ought to be sexually sterilized given the new legislation. The law was eventually struck down because it was deemed to be inhumane.

We can also include the following well-known personages of their time who championed eugenics:

Margaret Sanger
W.E.B. Du Bois
Clarence Darrow
Oliver Wendell Holmes
Jacques Cousteau
John Harvey Kellogg
Plato
Karl Pearson
William Beveridge
Alice Lee Moqué
Sidney Welt
Francis Crick
Robert Foster Kennedy
Thomas Malthus
Herbert Hoover



Theodore Roosevelt (1858-1919).

Linus Pauling
John Maynard Keynes
Bertrand Russell

Karl Pearson was one of the principal architects of the modern theory of mathematical statistics. He was a polymath whose interests ranged from astronomy, mechanics, meteorology and physics to the biological sciences in particular (including anthropology, eugenics, evolutionary biology, heredity and medicine). In his creation of biometrics, out of which the discipline of mathematical statistics had developed by the end of the nineteenth century, Pearson introduced a new vernacular for statistics (including such terms as the standard deviation, mode, homoscedasticity, heteroscedasticity, kurtosis and the product-moment correlation coefficient).

Largely owing to his interests in evolutionary biology, Pearson's ideas were underpinned by Charles Darwin's ideas of biological variation and "statistical" populations of species, arising from the impetus of statistical and experimental work of his colleague and closest friend, the Darwinian zoologist, Walter F.R. Weldon. Additional developments emerged from Francis Galton's law of ancestral heredity, although his eugenic views were much harsher. For instance he believed that "superior and inferior races cannot coexist; if the former are to make effective use of global resources; the latter must be extirpated."

The center of the eugenics movement in the United States was the Eugenics Record Office (ERO) at Cold Spring Harbor, New York. Charles Davenport established the ERO, and was joined in his work by Director Harry H. Laughlin (an American educator, eugenicist and sociologist). Davenport became one of the most prominent American biologists of his time, pioneering new quantitative standards of taxonomy. He had a tremendous respect for the biometric approach to evolution pioneered by Karl Pearson, and was involved in Pearson's journal, *Biometrika.* However, after the re-discovery of Gregor Mendel's laws of heredity, he moved on to become a prominent supporter of Mendelian inheritance.

Both Davenport and Laughlin were members of the American Breeders Association. Their view of eugenics, as applied to human populations, drew from the agricultural model of breeding the strongest and most capable members of a species while making certain that the weakest members do not reproduce.

As the science continued in the 20th century, researchers interested in familial mental disorders conducted a number of studies to document the heritability of such illnesses as schizophrenia, bipolar disorder and depression. Their findings were used by the eugenics movement as proof for its cause. State laws were written in the late 19th and early 20th centuries to prohibit marriage and force sterilization of the mentally ill in order to prevent the "passing on" of mental illness to the next generation. These laws were upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1927 and were not abolished until the mid-20th century. All in all, 60,000 Americans were sterilized. Beginning with Connecticut in 1896, many states enacted mar-

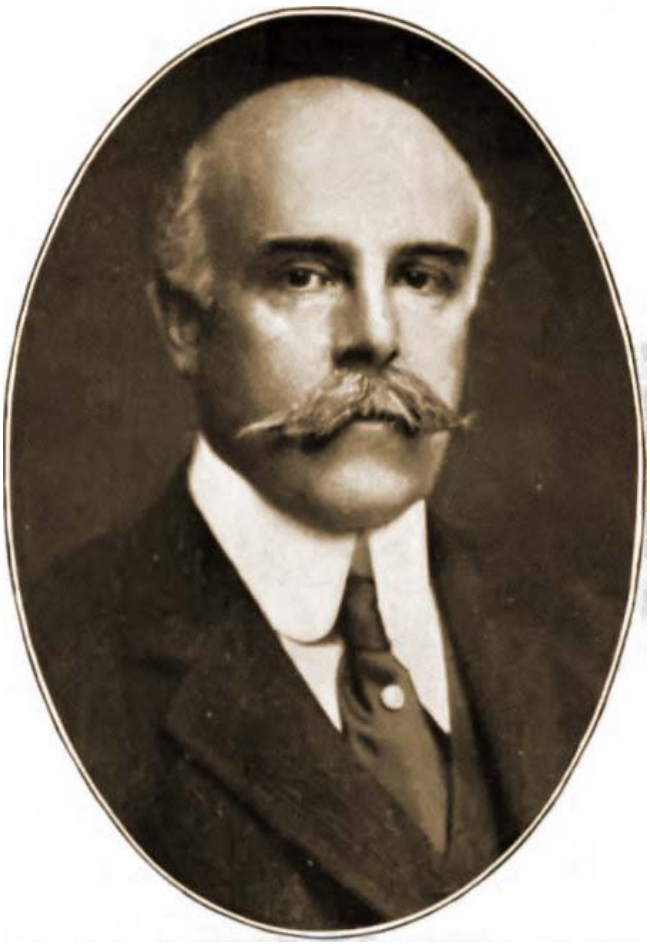
Charles Benedict Davenport (1866-1944).

riage laws with eugenic criteria, prohibiting anyone who was "epileptic, imbecile or feeble-minded" from marrying.

The Immigration Restriction League (founded in 1894) was the first American entity associated officially with eugenics. The League sought to bar what it considered dysgenic members of certain races from entering America and diluting what it saw as the superior American racial stock through procreation. They lobbied for a literacy test for immigrants, based on the belief that literacy rates were low among "inferior races." Literacy test bills were vetoed by Presidents in 1897 (Grover Cleveland), 1913 (William H. Taft) and 1915 (Woodrow Wilson); eventually, President Wilson's second veto was overruled by Congress in 1917.

Membership in the League included: A. Lawrence Lowell, president of Harvard, William DeWitt Hyde, president of Bowdoin College, James T. Young, director of the Wharton School and David Starr Jordan, president of Stanford University. The League allied themselves with the American Breeder's Association to gain influence and further its goals and in 1909 established a eugenics committee chaired by Jordan with members Charles Davenport, Alexander Graham Bell, Vernon Kellogg (entomologist, evolutionary biologist, and science administrator; he became shocked by the grotesque Social Darwinist motivation for the German war machine and decided that their ideas could be beaten only by force and, using his connections with America's political elite, began to campaign for American intervention in the war.), Luther Burbank, William Earnest Castle (a pioneer mammalian geneticist), Adolf Meyer (the first psychiatrist-in-chief of the Johns Hopkins Hospital), Herbert J. Webber (American plant physiologist and professor of sub-tropical horticulture at the University of California) and Friedrich Woods (head of the mathematics department at MIT). The ABA's immigration legislation committee, formed in 1911 and headed by League's founder Prescott F. Hall (an American lawyer and author who championed xenophobia and eugenics), formalized the committee's already strong relationship with the Immigration Restriction League.

In years to come, the ERO collected a mass of family pedigrees and concluded that those who were unfit came from economically and socially poor backgrounds. Eugenicists such as Davenport, the psychologist Henry H. Goddard and the conservationist Madison Grant (all well respected in their time) began to lobby for various solutions to the problem of the "unfit." Davenport favored immigration restriction and sterilization as primary methods; Goddard, who wrote "The Kallikak Family: A Study in the Heredity of Feeble-Mindedness," favored removal from society either through institutionalization, sterilization or both; Grant favored all of the above and more, even entertaining the idea of extermination (Grant's book particularly incited Hitler, who wrote him a fan letter calling it his "Bible" before inscribing its hatred upon the flesh of millions of people.).



Madison Grant (1865-1937).

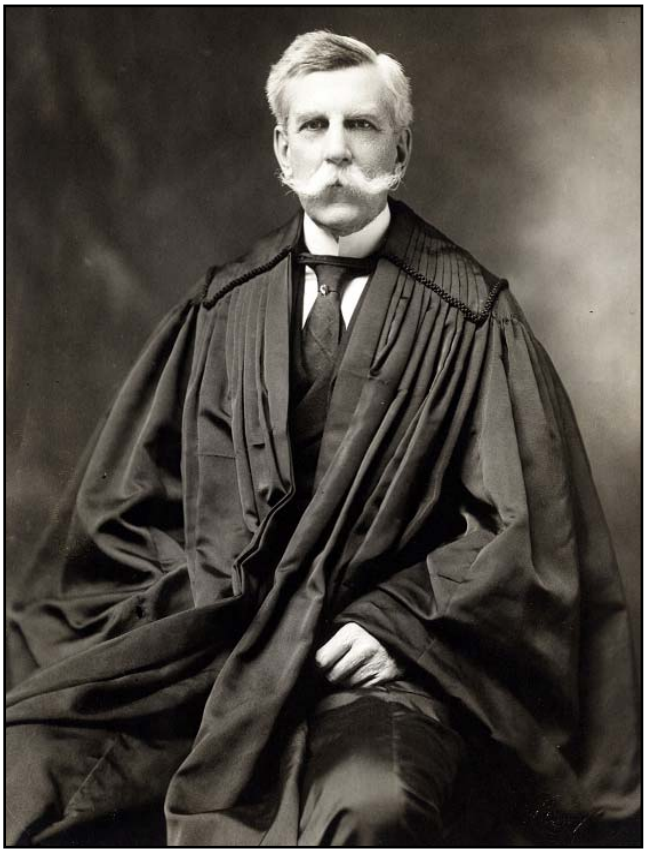
Some states sterilized "imbeciles" for much of the 20th century. The U.S. Supreme Court ruled (the decision was written by Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr.) in the 1927 Buck v. Bell case that the state of Virginia could sterilize individuals under the Virginia Sterilization Act of 1924. The most significant era of eugenic sterilization was between 1907 and 1963, when over 64,000 individuals were forcibly sterilized under eugenics legislation in the United States. A favorable report on the results of sterilization in California, the state with the most sterilizations by far, was published in book form by the biologist Paul Popenoe and was widely cited by the Nazi government as evidence that wide-reaching sterilization programs were feasible and humane.

Such legislation was passed in the U.S. because of widespread public acceptance of the eugenics movement, spearheaded by efforts of progressive reformers. Over 19 million people attended the Panama-Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco, open for 10 months from February 20 to December 4, 1915. The PPIE was a fair devoted to extolling the virtues of a rapidly progressing nation, featuring new developments in science, agriculture, manufacturing and technology. A subject that received a large amount of time and space was that of the developments concerning health and disease, particularly the areas of tropical medicine and race betterment (tropical medicine being the combined study of bacteriology, parasitology and entomology while racial betterment being the promotion of eugenic studies). Having these areas so closely intertwined, it seemed that they were both categorized in the main theme of the fair, the advancement of civilization. Thus in the public eye, the seemingly contradictory areas of study were both represented under progressive banners of improvement and were made to seem like plausible courses of action to better American society.

The state of California was at the vanguard of the American eugenics movement, performing about 20,000 sterilizations or one third of the 60,000 nationwide from 1909 up until the 1960s. By 1910, there was a large and dynamic network of scientists, reformers and professionals engaged in national eugenics projects and actively promoting eugenic legislation.

Their methodology and research methods of eugenics are now understood as highly flawed, but at the time were seen as legitimate scientific research. It did, however, have its scientific detractors (notably Thomas Hunt Morgan, one of the few Mendelians to explicitly criticize eugenics); G. K. Chesterton, Clarence Darrow, H. L. Mencken and other less famous writers also grasped the errors and pointed them out), though most of these focused more on what they considered the crude methodology of eugenicists, and the characterization of almost every human characteristic as being hereditary, rather than the idea of eugenics itself (Selden, 199).

The question now becomes, why did Jordan, a highly-educated man and a scientist to boot, become so passionate about eugenics? Eugenics was not a mere footnote in Jordan's life; it was a central aspect. For the sake of studying the matter of feeble-mindedness



Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr. (1841-1935).

at first hand, for example, Jordan visited the Valley of Aosta, Italy, four times: in 1881, 1883, 1900 and 1910. After the first visit he wrote on the congenital deficiency disease, cretinism, caused by lack of iodine. Clinging to strongly-held eugenic principles of "betterment," even after iodine administration to pregnant women had been proven to prevent cretinism, Jordan reiterated his long-held sentiments about these unfortunate children:

Cretins were seen on the streets everywhere and on the roads which lead to Aosta. Everywhere were these feeble little people, with silly faces and sickening smiles, incapable of taking care of themselves, and all disfigured by the goiter at the neck. Not every person with the goiter is an idiot, but every idiot has the goiter. In fair weather the roads about the city are lined with these awful human beings, human beings with less intelligence than the goose, with less decency than the pig. The asylum for cretins in Aosta is a veritable chamber of horrors.

Although Jordan did not coin the term eugenics, he was among the first to call attention to it in the U. S. when he published "*The Blood of the Nation: A Study of the Decay of Races through the Survival of the Unfit"* (Jordan, 1902).

Epistemology is the study of knowing and René Descartes' solution to the epistemological problem of what we can know is called *rationalism*. It is the belief that the mind is capable of knowing things even without experience. While Descartes was philosophizing about rationalism in France, philosophers in England (Francis Bacon, John Locke, George Berkeley and David Hume) were thinking up a different solution to what we can know. This alternative solution is known as *empiricism*. It is the belief that the best way to be certain of something is to it with your senses–through actual experience. Empiricism became a major aspect of what we now call science–figuring things out by running tests and experiments. It appears that Jordan was more prone to rationalism than to empiricism when it came to human beings.

Although geneticists in the 1930's generally abandoned the ideal of using science to *prescribe* policy, to construct *ends* for social action, it was this ideal which initially attracted many of them to the eugenics movement in the first place. In the early years of the century, geneticists viewed science in a new light: as a restraint upon conduct. Hitherto, science had been valued for its products, for releasing man from old burdens, for supplying him new opportunities to enjoy and to explore life.

In supporting the eugenics movement, geneticists departed from this mode. They now appealed to science, not for a particular product, but to determine who should and who should not reproduce. They let science act as a constraint upon their actions; they let science tell them that individual desires are less important than the biological and moral imperative of improving the human race. Thus, it becomes understandable why many geneticists for a time regarded eugenics as a religion, for they had permitted biology to assume religion's traditional function of defining permissible conduct. The history of geneticists' involvement with the eugenics movement reminds us that science can play many roles and be put to many purposes.

René Descarte (1596-1650). Perhaps Jordan's thinking was more like those of Descartes, i.e., rationalism rather than empiricism?

2. JORDAN RETIRES AS PRESIDENT

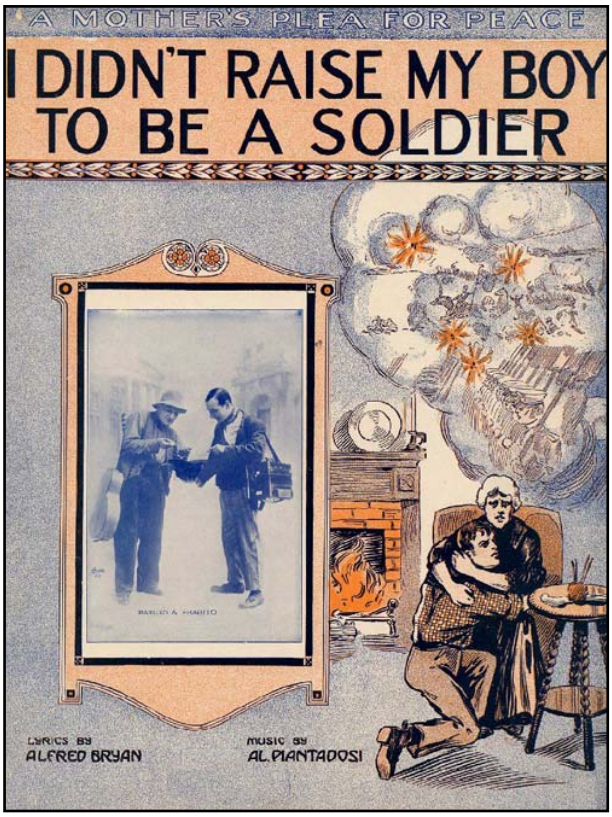
The following appeared in the *Press Democrat*, Volume XL, Number 119, 20 May 20, 1913:

JORDAN MADE CHANCELLOR

Retires As Active Head of the Stanford University to Devote His Time to Work in Behalf of World Peace

Palo Alto, May 19.—Dr. David Starr Jordan, president of Leland Stanford Junior University, resigned his position today to accept the office of Chancellor, which will be created by the board of trustees next Friday for his especial benefit. The announcement was made by Dr. Jordan to the student body in the course of an address he delivered today during the commencement exercises on "The Conquest of Europe by America." President Jordan's retirement as active head of the university will leave him free to devote his time to his work In behalf of world peace. He will receive the same salary he is drawing now. John Caspar Branner, professor of geology at Stanford, and since 1899 vice president of the university, will succeed Dr. Jordan as president. Upon Professor Branner will fall the burden of the administration of the university, though Dr. Jordan as chancellor will continue to be the ranking head of the Institution. The change was made as a recognition of the distinguished services to humanity which have made David Starr Jordan a world figure. The work of Dr. Jordan from this time on will be Stanford's gift to the world. He will be free to carry on his work wherever and In whatever way he desires. His first task will be the Investigation of conditions In the Balkans following the war to obtain Information later to he used in the peace movement.

In 1916 1,200 women from Britain, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy, Poland, Belgium and the United States met in the Hague to campaign to stop the war. This is the American delegation.



An anti-war poster from the early 1900s.

Throughout 1916, Americans remained undecided about intervention, but popular sentiment became increasingly anti-German. When the United States entered the war in April 1917, Stanford University came under attack. Jordan's reputedly pacifist campus was accused of harboring faculty who promoted "peace at any cost," faculty who had attended universities in Germany and who, therefore, must have German sympathies. Stanford was, in fact, modeled on the German research university, and it continued to teach German literature and language. Even its motto, "Die Luft der Freiheit weht [The Wind of Freedom Blows," was, quite uncommonly, in German rather than Latin. Critics questioned Stanford's loyalty and its place as a viable institution of higher

learning for the youth of America. Faculty found themselves individually and collectively attacked in the press, from lecture audiences, and by parents.

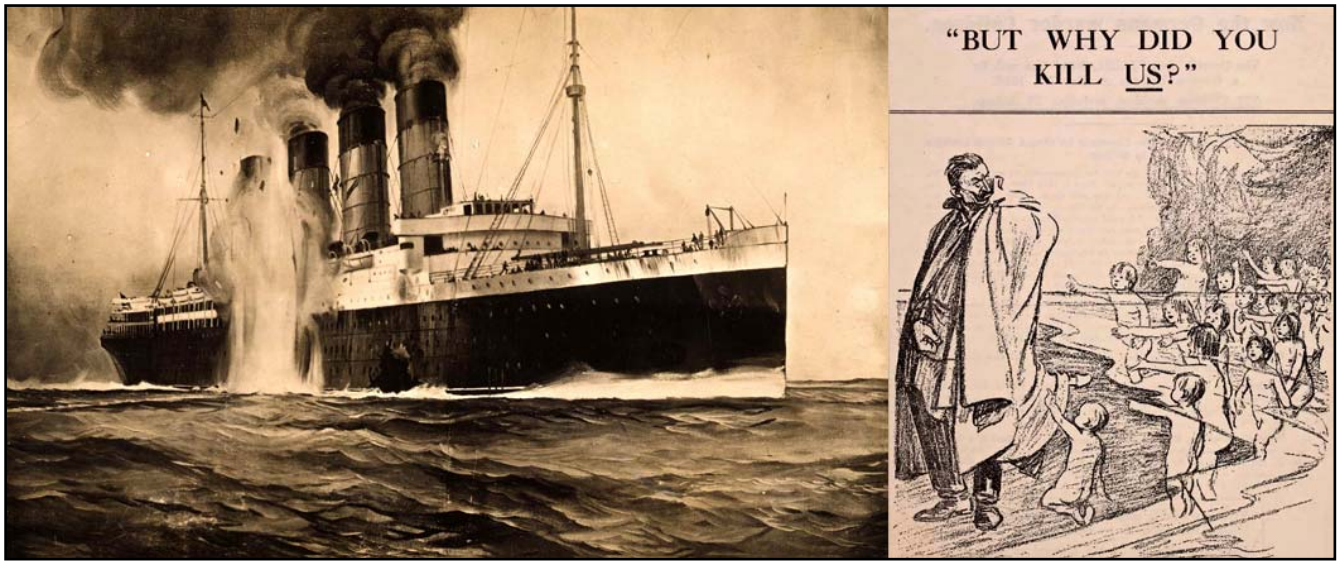
Jordan's pacifist convictions were in part based on the pseudo-science of eugenics. He believed that war destroyed the best of humanity, leaving the weaker members of society to produce the next generation. He, nevertheless, did not support the more radical implications of eugenics. "The artificial breeding of the superman" he said in ""The Heredity of Richard Roe, a Discussion of the Principles of Eugenics (Jordan, 1911), "would defeat its own ends." He explained, "It would breed out of existence the two most important factors the race has won . . . love and initiative. The superman produced by official eugenics would not take his fate into his own hands, and his descendants would not know the meaning of love."

In 1914, Jordan's popular talk "Confessions of a Peace-maker" had drawn large audiences. By 1916, he was jeered and threatened. That year the Board decided not to renew Jordan's three-year term as chancellor and thus ended his formal relationship with Stanford's faculty and administration. To what extent Stanford's Board of Trustees had been swayed by popular opinion is difficult now to document. Despite the loss of his valued chancellorship, in 1917, a mob chided Jordan in the streets of Baltimore singing, "Hang Dave Jordan in a Sour Apple Tree." The following year some Cornell alumni asked that his degree be rescinded for un-American activity. In a statement issued to the press, the unrepentant Jordan then declared, "I would not change one word I have spoken against war. But the issues are now changed. At home and abroad the first question is now the worldwide defense of government by the people and for the people."

3. EPILOGUE

Jordan was the first president of the Indiana Academy of Science, 1887; the president of the California Academy of Science, 1895; and a charter member of the Sierra Club, 1891. In 1909 he was elected president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science and in 1921, named an honorary Associate in Zoology in the Smithsonian. In 1900 Jordan chaired the committee that established the constitution for the Association of American Universities. He was the president, 1915, of the National Education Association, and in 1906 he became a member of the first board of trustees for the Carnegie Foundation for the Improvement of Teaching, a position he held for the next ten years.

Jordan served as chief director, 1909-11, of the World Peace foundation and dean of the American section of



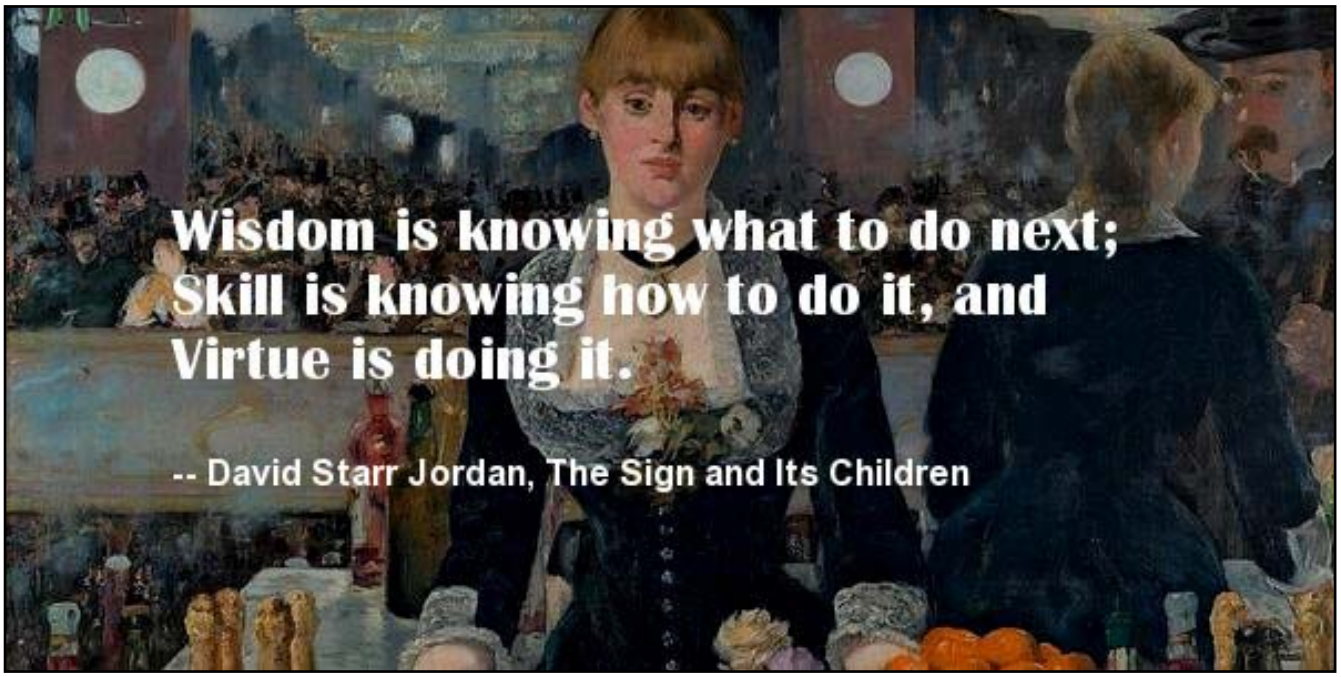
Left: An illustration from the *New York Herald* of the moment the torpedo hit the *Lusitania* in 1915. Right: Anti-German propaganda showing the ghosts of the children killed when the *Lusitania* went down haunting the Kaiser. Jordan's days advocating staying out of the war were over.

the World Peace Congress at The Hague, 1913. In 1925 he won the Herman Peace Prize for the best educational plan for preserving world peace. Among writings on peace are "World Peace and the College Man," 1916; "to Lasting Peace," 1916; and The Outlawry of War," 1927. Along with nineteen other educators, Jordan was invited by the American Civil Liberties Union to serve on the Tennessee Evolution Case Fund advisory committee to raise money for the defense in the John Scopes trial. At the end of the 1925 trial, Jordan chaired a committee to raise scholarship funds for Scopes to attend graduate school at the University of Chicago.

Jordan was the number-one author for Beacon Press during the tenure of Charles Livingston Stebbins, 1902-13. During that period, Beacon published 19 of Jordan's books, more than by any other single author. In addition to his many professional publications, Jordan wrote poetry, children's books, and texts on religious themes, including "The Story of the Innumerable Company," 1895, (reissued as "The Wandering Host," 1904) and "The Religion of a Sensible American," 1909. These latter books were published by the American Unitarian Association.

In 1875, while at Northwestern Christian University, Jordan joined Plymouth Congregational Church in Indianapolis. He later claimed that "it was the only religious organization I ever formally joined." He was attracted to the congregation by its pastor, Oscar McCulloch, "a most humanly genial and broadminded man" whom Jordan admired because of his "fine work, religious, social, political, and charitable." But Jordan did not remain a member of the congregation for long, and he was never baptized. At that time, moreover, he was disturbed by and resisted the religious pressures being applied to the faculty members by the Christian trustees. Although not a member, Jordan did associate with Unitarians, was published by Unitarians, and spoke at their events. For example, in 1898 Jordan addressed an evening session of the Pacific Unitarian Conference at Oakland. His speech, entitled "The Religion That Will Endure," was published in *Pacific Unitarian* (May 1898).

Throughout his life, Jordan remained uncomfortable with organized religion, claiming that the "machinery of worship is mistaken for its essence," and that "much that we have called religion is merely the debris of our grandfather's science." "Intolerance is unscientific," he wrote in 1883. "So is it unchristian." For him, true religion was "individual, not collective," and "concerned with life, not with creeds or ceremonies." In "*Ulrich Hutten, a Knight of the Order of Poets*," 1910, he said "no man can follow or share the religion of another. His religion, whatever it may be, is his own." Jordan felt that religious groups could



even be pernicious: “when organizations in the name of religion strive to resist the progress of knowledge and to punish or ostracize men and women who think for themselves and by the truth are made free, their influence is evil.”

For Jordan, “true religion concerns our relation to each other and to unseen and unmeasured powers surrounding us.” He was fond of saying that wisdom “consists in knowing what to do next, virtue in doing it”; and that religion “should provide a reason why.” In “The Call of the Twentieth Century,” 1903, he said that “those who control the spiritual thought of the Twentieth Century will be religious men,” but not in “the fashion of monks, ascetics, mystic dreamers, or emotional enthusiasts,” or active in discussing the “intricacies of creeds.” Instead, he believed that the religious expression of the new century would “deal with the world as it is in the service of ‘the God of things that are.’”

In the final paragraph of “The Wandering Host,” an allegory on the life of Jesus, Jordan encapsulates the convictions that guided his life: “Choose thou thine own best way, and help thine neighbor to find that way which for him is best.”

4. APPENDIX I - LULU MILLER’S BOOK

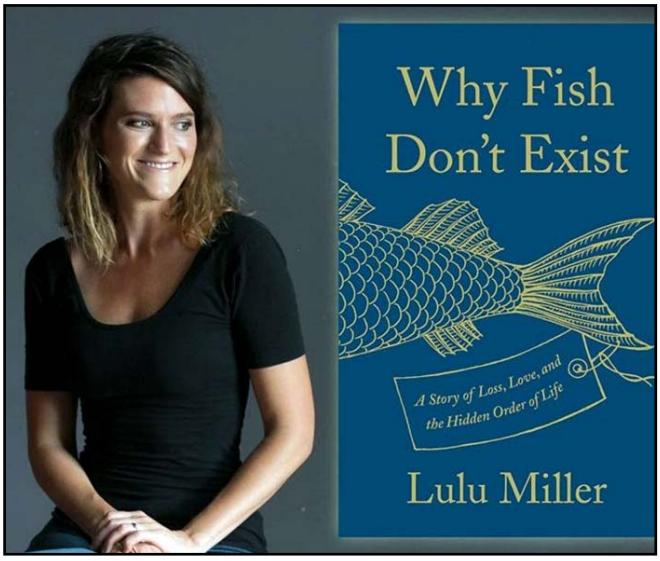
I first got the idea of writing a biography of David Starr Jordan after reading Lulu Miller’s book, “Why fish don’t exist” (Miller, 2020). Although not a scientist herself - she attended Swarthmore College where she graduated with a degree in history - she is a Peabody Award–winning NPR science reporter. It should be noted that Miller’s book is a fictionalized biography belong to the genre of biographical literature only by courtesy. It is subjective and has no standard identity. The sources used are molded into a vivid narrative, worked up into dramatic scenes that always have some warranty of documentation. Although the material is not invented it is quite freely manipulated, that is to say, interpreted according to the author’s distinctive mental and moral character, biases and point of view. Scenes and conversations are sometimes imagined and often depend almost entirely upon secondary sources and cursory research. The character of the subject is more important than every word being “true.” Sometimes authors use their imagination in writing about a person’s thoughts, feelings and conversations. The bottom line is that a fictionalized biography may be a good story, but it is not necessarily true and this is the case with the Miller book, which is part biography, part memoir and part scientific adventure.

4A. TROUBLED TIMES

Lulu Miller had a troublesome childhood and it started when she was in the fifth grade. Around this time her oldest sister got bullied so badly she had to drop out of high school. Lulu hated her sister’s classmates for not going easier on her, for not cutting her some slack and for her having to walk the school hallways and not finding a single pair of eyes offering her refuge.

But when Lulu got to middle school, the hallways started turning on her, too. “Where’s your hammer?” the boys sneered, tugging at the loops in her carpenter pants. They mocked the way she wore her baseball cap, apparently too low. They called her “Jerry” and she didn't understand why. In ninth grade she walked by a group of boys who shouted, “Seven!” It was clear they were rating girls, ranking them as they walked by. *Seven*, Lulu thought. *Not bad!* Until she found out it was the number of beers they would need to drink to have sex with her.

As she grew older, things only got worse for her sister. She tried going to community college but had to come home after things blew up with her roommate.



She earned a degree but had trouble holding jobs. She was too flustered by the cash register, too chatty for the library. She'd come home at night to her mom's worry, my father's disappointment, and bellow behind her bedroom door. She would go into her bedroom and it scared Lulu when she emerged with her face vacuumed of its eyebrows and lashes. Not because it looked alien, but because Lulu knew a sadness that powerful lurked inside herself and vented it by slicing little nicks into her skin.

When her father's mood was off, when he'd had too long a day, too many sips of beer or bourbon, he'd stomp up the stairs to communicate he'd had enough of his daughters by slamming doors or shaking them, a few times slapping her sister so hard it left pink imprints on her skin. Her mother would cry under the mounting tension of it all. As Miller puts it, "Mom, Dad, curled into each other [in bed], great at not fighting when not conscious…" Her middle sister, who had once been the pillar to all her sisters, had understandably begun to extract herself, studying abroad by the time Lulu had landed in the tenth grade.

To Miller, the outside world offered only vicious hallways and empty horizons; to the inside world, only slamming doors. "I see nothing gleaming," she wrote in her journal on April 8, 1999. It was a Sunday and she was newly sixteen. After school the next day, she drove to Walgreens and made her my way to the aisle full of sleeping pills and slipped a few boxes under her coat. She went home, had dinner, and then after everyone was asleep she downed the pills one by one. As Miller put it,

I awoke to bright lights. The humiliation of a nurse, my worried mother in a hospital chair, paper sheets beneath my ass, a grid of Styrofoam ceiling tiles as far as the eye could see. I thought about how they looked like Saltines. No, Stoned Wheat Thins. No, Saltines. It was the next day. I was prescribed Paxil, which I was too proud to take. I was banned from attending a school field trip, deemed too much of a risk. The knowledge of what I did snaked odorlessly through the school hallways. I bought pink lip gloss and smiled extra hard and vowed next time I'd do it right. I began fantasizing about an object. A shiny metal object that would do the job better than pills. By the end of high school, there were days the temptation was so great, I could hardly see past it.

When Lulu got to college a male student brushed by her in the hallway one day. After graduating college they moved in together, to a small one-bedroom apartment in Brooklyn and she felt like she had found the thing she had thought could never exist - Refuge - and her head became full of visions for the future. Seven years into it, she destroyed the whole thing. Late one night on a beach five hundred miles away from him, possessed by moonlight and red wine and the smell of a bonfire, she reached out for the blond girl she had been trying not to eye all night. She was wet from swimming and prickled in goose bumps that Lulu wanted to press flat with her tongue. She smiled as Lulu placed her hand on her waist and touched her lips to her neck. Miller is parsimonious with the details but she remarked that "The stars wrapped around us. Her steam became mine." When she told her partner back home what she had done he told her it was over. Once again the "grand temptation [i.e., suicide] reared its ugly head but she came up with a better plan and wrote him countless letters over a three year period but to no avail.

Years later, she described what she was doing during her freelancing period:

I decided to do the thing that best helped me hope. Drink. Red wine or beer or whiskey. I didn't care. I was still in Chicago. It had been two months. Now it was December. I was freelancing, writing for a science blog and filing as many radio stories as I could. I did one about violence in crickets. One about violence in humans. One about violence in ticks. Heather and I filled the evenings by cooking, watching movies, sometimes going to talks. I'd make sure each activity came with an alcoholic beverage, and another, and another. It felt great to feel *warmth without warrant.* I could rediscover my laughter, the springs that made my smile go. When I'd awake the next morning, the world would feel extra bleak, yes, my face extra puffy and unlovable, yes, but I'd just wait till evening, when I could try to make it all go sparkly again.

But on nights when Heather was gone, gone with her boyfriend across town, when the city light poured in purple through the window, I'd realize I could not ignore the reality of it all, the emptiness of my life. An emptiness that was only growing wider and colder as I warmed by the light of my hope. And so. I was desperate. Simply put. I was desperate to come up with some way of continuing forward on what looked like a doomed mission.

4B. DEFEATING CHAOS

To Lulu then, Chaos was the only sure thing in this world. The master that rules us all. Her scientist father taught her at an early age that there was no escaping the Second Law of Thermodynamics: the universe will expand perpetually, leading to "heat death," a slow, agonizing progression toward a temperature of absolute zero; it can never be diminished, no matter what we do. But an article she chanced to come across about David Starr Jordan belied this belief. In many ways, it was his day job to fight Chaos. He was a taxonomist, the kind of scientist charged with bringing order to the Chaos of the earth by uncovering the shape of the great tree of life - that branching map designed to reveal how all plants and animals are interconnected. His specialty was fish, and he spent his days sailing the globe in search of new species, i.e., new clues that he hoped would reveal more about nature's hidden blueprint.

For years he worked so tirelessly that he and his crew would eventually discover a full fifth of the fish known to man in his day. By the thousands he reeled in new species, dreaming up names for them, punching those names into shiny tin tags, dropping the tags alongside their specimens into jars of ethanol and slowly stacking his discoveries higher and higher.

Until one spring morning in 1906, an earthquake struck and toppled his shimmering collection to the ground. Hundreds of jars shattered against the floor. His fish specimens were mutilated by broken glass and fallen shelves. But worst of all were the names. Those carefully placed tin tags had been launched at random all over the ground. In some terrible act of Genesis in reverse, his thousands of meticulously named fish had transformed back into a heaping mass of the unknown.

But as he stood there in the wreckage, his lifes work eviscerated at his feet, this scientist did something strange. He didn't give up or despair. He did not heed what seemed to be the clear message of the quake: that in a world ruled by Chaos, any attempts at order are doomed to fail eventually. Instead, he rolled up his sleeves and scrambled around until he found, of all the weapons in the world, a sewing needle.

According to the article [which Miller does not identify], Jordan took the needle between his thumb and forefinger, laced it with thread, and aimed it at one of the few fish he recognized amid the destruction. With one fluid movement, he plunged the needle through the flesh at the fish's throat. Then he used the trailing thread to stitch a name tag directly to the flesh itself. For each fish he could salvage, he repeated this gesture. Miller thought it was a small innovation with a defiant wish, that his work would now be protected against the onslaughts of Chaos, that his order would stand tall next time it struck.

When Miller first heard about David Starr Jordan's

attack on Chaos, she was in her early twenties, starting out as a science reporter. She noted that although the needle technique might work against a quake, what about fire or flood or rust or any of the other various modes of destruction he hadn't thought to consider? His innovation with the sewing needle seemed so flimsy, so shortsighted, so magnificently unaware of the forces that ruled him. Jordan seemed to Lulu to be a lesson in hubris. An Icarus of the fish collection.

But as Miller grew older, as Chaos had her way with her, as she made a wreck of her own life and began to try to piece it back together, she started to wonder about this taxonomist. Maybe he had figured something out - about persistence or purpose, or how to go on - that she needed to know. Maybe it was okay to have some outsized faith in yourself. Maybe plunging along in complete denial of your doomed chances was not the mark of a fool but a victor? So, one wintry afternoon when she was feeling particularly hopeless, she typed the name David Starr Jordan into Google and hence Lulu Miller's book was born.

4C. A MATTER OF SEWBRIETY

Miller describes Jordan's efforts of the recovery of the specimens affected by the San Francisco earthquake of 1906 not only in the Prologue but it is the main topic in Chapter 6, "Smash." Unfortunately for Miller, none of this happened. She simply made it up. Because of Jordan's serious allergies to alcohol traceable back to his University of Indiana days, he could not enter the room filled with the broken bottles and reeking with ethanol vapor. He left the actual handling of the fish to his team in the Department of Ichthyology of the university. The error here is clearly Miller's, which is surprising since she knew about Jordan's allergies, citing George S. Myers' estimate that Jordan made "few to none" of the actual measurements of his fish after 1885. The following is from Chapter six of Miller's book:

So what does David do? What does our careful man of science, who wants above all else to see the world for what it is, do? Does he hear what seems to be the obvious message of the earthquake? That entropy is the way of the world and no human can ever stop it? Nope. This is when the bastard, the wonderful bastard, takes out his sewing needle and plunges it straight into our rulers throat.

Where did the idea come from? The idea to stitch a name directly to flesh? Did it rise from somewhere deep within David, the needle surfacing from his boyhood memories of sewing rags into rugs? Did someone else suggest it? A colleague? A student? His wife? I don't know. Unfortunately, I haven't been able to find the genesis story of the stitching technique. He was likely not the first

taxonomist to think of sewing a label directly to a specimen. All we know is that he was the one who oversaw the procedural change in his own collection, and that his desperation to restore order to his fish is evident in the paper trail of requests he issues for help. He asks for "the services of a carpenter ... to put small slats along the front of the shelves containing bottles of specimens," for "alcohol [to preserve the fish specimens]," for a "steel wall and floor braces]."

Miller should have realized something was amiss when Jordan mentioned details such as slats in front of the shelves and steel wall and floor braces but omitted the sewing story. Furthermore, she should have realized that as Jordan was the President of the University, he more important things on his mind. As the earthquake struck when many local residents were asleep or still at home, initial reports centered on damage to campus housing. However the word spread quickly of major destruction at Encina Hall, the men's dormitory.

One student, Junius R. Hanna, had been killed by the direct fall fatality of a chimney; his companions were more or less injured, though not fatally; one or two others hurt themselves in jumping from lower floors, and a prominent literary student living on the upper story was only saved by his roommate, who thoughtfully seized his nightshirt just as he was going out of the window. Young men in various states of dress streamed from the building and worked to free those trapped by fallen debris. Students and faculty members living in other areas of campus took quick stock of their own circumstances, returned briefly to their residences to get proper clothing, and set off to see the destruction elsewhere on campus, and help where they could.

A survey of campus began as soon as faculty and students were dressed and had attended to those in urgent need. The Main Quad and adjacent buildings were the first destination for many, and the sight was overwhelming. The second of the two deaths that day occurred at the university's Power House, located just to the south of the Quad. Otto Gerdes, a staff member, realized the danger of fire and rushed back into the building to turn off the power and steam. He was crushed as he exited, when the upper section of the one-hundred-foot smokestack crumbled.

Deep piles of rubble lay around all areas of the Quad, and keystones dangled out of the tops of arches. The entire south outer arcade fell and sections of walls in numerous buildings had collapsed. Crowds, gathered in front of Memorial Church and the Memorial Arch, were awestruck by the damage. Students went to the campus telegraph office to cable their parents, but were told there were no lines open in any direction. Cables sent to the university by parents and friends went undelivered for many days.

The hours following the quake were filled with fears of aftershocks. Everyone was warned to keep clear of buildings, and one report sent students into the foothills to await another major shock. Work was undertaken to erect tents or other makeshift accommodations on lawns and tennis courts. As the day wore on, security concerns grew, and students were recruited to act as guards at the Quad and at the dormitories for the night. On top of all this, Jordan had to deal with the multitude of parents who wanted to know if their sons or daughters were alive, injured or safe. Perforce, Jordan had to leave the matter of the smashed bottles of fish to the members of the Zoology Department. As the Stanford community attempted to grapple with the damage on campus and Jordan announced the university would close for the rest of

the term, Jordan, the students and the faculty had to consider their next step.

4D. WHAT'S IN A NAME?

A more serious error appears in the book when Miller asserted that David Starr Jordan named a fish after himself. The following is her story when she visited the Smithson Institution to see the fish:

I am on my way to behold the only fish in the entire sea that David Starr Jordan named after himself. The precious holotype is housed behind guarded gates inside our national collection - the Smithsonian's massive annex specimen library some twenty miles outside the capital. …

Finally, we arrive at the holotype I have come to see. Specimen #51444. *Agonomalus jordani*. It was discovered by David Starr Jordan off the coast of Japan and given its name in 1904. It is a tiny black dragon at the bottom of a mason jar.

One of the scientists unscrews the top, sticks a pair of metal tongs down into the jar, clamps hold of the dragon, and lifts it into the air. She holds it there for a moment, its black scales gleaming under the bright lights, the ethanol dripping onto the linoleum tiles; then she places it into the palm of my hand.

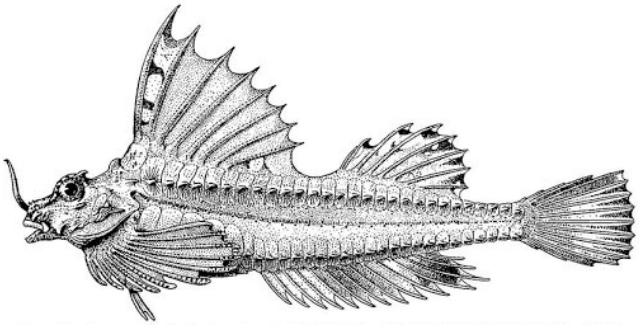
I didn't imagine I'd be allowed to touch something so holy. The creature itself is sharp. It is covered in spines. Spines that could draw blood if you press hard enough, but I resist the urge. I touch the knot of thread that ties its name to the skin, burly, defiant, still there over a century later. I wonder if David's own fingers tied it. The creature's snout is barbed. Its body twirls around itself like a spiral staircase. Its fins look like dragon wings, serrated and sharp. Poacher fish, the family to which the *Agonomalus jordani* belongs, are known for being extraordinary hunters. They camouflage themselves in seaweed to blend in with the gunky outcroppings where they stalk their prey - little crabs and shrimp. Then they use their massive pectoral fins, those dragon wings, to strike at incredible speeds. The unsuspecting crustaceans rarely know what hit them before it's too late.

An eerie quiet falls over me. I wonder why, of all the thousands of fish David encountered, this was the one he chose to name after himself. It's breathtaking, absolutely, but frightening, too, in the way of an M. C. Escher drawing. Something about its form doesn't seem to quite obey the laws of physics. But when you trace your finger along its contours, searching for where the breakdown in geometry occurs, you come up empty. Indeed, its genus name, *Agonomalus,* comes from the Greek for no corners." A = without + *gonias* = angle, corner. Taxonomists from long ago had also noticed how its kind seems to defy the laws of physics. *Agonomalus jordani.* Jordan of the No Corners. Like a Mobius strip, two sides, but one, somehow. The boundary between them an unfindable thing.

Why was this the creature David felt reflected him? Was there some sort of confession in the choice? Of some dark side lurking beneath the friendly man so capable of winning hearts, jobs, awards? I didn't know.

However, this is hardly Miller's fault. The two taxonomists that accompanied her knew she wanted to see the fish that Jordan allegedly named after himself and I am astonished that they didn't know that the story was false. After all, it is the business of a taxonomist to know all about names and these were Smithsonian taxonomists! In any event, the true story is as follows.

In 1903 David Starr Jordan and Edwin Chapin Starks were preparing a review of the Japanese fishes of the family Agonidae. They had in hand a number of specimens of the genus *Agonomalus*, described by



Agonomalus jordani Jordan & Starks 1904.

Alphonse Guichenot in 1866 that comprised a new species and they had a name for it. However, Jordan received a note from the Russian ichthyologist Peter Schmidt telling Jordan he was going to publish a paper on a new species of *Agonomalus*, naming it after him, i.e., *Agonomalus jordani* in honor of Jordan's contributions to the ichthyology of Pacific fishes. He also sent Jordan a manuscript copy of his paper dated August 13, 1903 and discovered that Schmidt's new species was the same fish that Jordan and Starks had discovered.

In their paper (Jordan & Starks, 1904) they wrote:

This species is in Dr. Schmidt's collection from the Ochotsk Sea. Dr. Schmidt writes of it: "Das ist wohl die schönste neue Species die ich in meinen Sammlungen gefunden habe." [This is probably the most beautiful new species that I have found in my collecting] In view of the possible priority of Dr. Schmidt's paper we suppress the name we had devised for this fish.

Jordan and Starks also presented the fish as "*Agonomalus jordani* Schmidt" and credited Schmidt's manuscript of August 13, 1903. However, Jordan and Stark's paper was published in February 1904, while Schmidt's paper was published in October 1904. Following the rules set down by the International Code of Zoological Nomenclature (ICZN), the correct name is "*Agonomalus jordani* Jordan & Starks" by virtue of priority. The bottom line is that Jordan did NOT name the fish after himself. *Agonomalus jordani* Schmidt 1904 is now considered a junior subjective synonym of *Agonomalus jordani* Jordan & Starks 1904.

With regard to the meaning of the name *Agonomalus*, there is nothing in the ICZN that regulates the meaning of any scientific name. For example, FishBase (https://www.fishbase.se/summary/23989) translates *Agonomalus* as (using Romero, P., 2002, An etymological dictionary of taxonomy, Madrid, unpublished):

Agonomalus: Greek, a = without + Greek, gonias, -as = angle, corner + Greek, mala = a lot of; in other words, with few angles or corners.

In one sense, therefore, Miller cannot be said to be in error. In any event, those two taxonomists from the Smithsonian should have provided her with the definitions at least given by those ichthyologists who have defined *Agonis* since that is the basis of the generic word. Guichenot basically defined it in his 1866 paper thusly:

Il a, comme nous l'avons déjà dit plus haut, la tète et le corps remarquablement comprimés, d'où nous avons imaginé la dénomination d'Agonomalus, sous laquelle nous le faisons connaître génériquement dans cette notice.

[As we have already mentioned, it has a remarkably compressed head and body, for which we have bestowed the name of Agonomalus under which we make it known generically in this document].

The following also appear in the ichthyological literature"

Agonus; ὁμαλός, level, even or flat, i.e., **compressed** (Jordan & Starks, 1904) **or**

Agonus; ἀ-, without; yαωνια, joint, i.e., **rigid** (Jordan & Evermann, 1898).

4E. MISCELLANY

Miller's rapid shifts in subject and perspective results in a frustratingly disjointed work and her use of endnotes does not help. An endnote refers to a foot-

Cogito sum pisces, pisces ergo sum.
[I think I am a fish, therefore I am a fish.]

note readers can find at the end of the book rather than on the page itself. Instead of a bibliography, Miller unfortunately uses endnotes and so the reader must wade through all of them in order to see the sources from which she drew her material. Now the usual footnote has a number on the page so the exact matter can be pin-pointed in the endnotes. Miller doesn't do this so one can read the whole book before one even realizes that these footnotes exist. If one stumbles across the endnotes, Miller only provides the page number where the footnote resides. However, one must re-read the page and guess exactly which of the text the endnote refers to, a very unsatisfactory system, to say the least. I had a devil of a time trying to uncover her sources and extracts from them.

Miller's research methods are remarkably detailed and include interviews and site visits as well as the usual written references. However, I must warn prospective readers of the book to be extremely cautious about anything she says about Jordan. A good deal of it is made up of whole cloth and she frequently takes an author's words as gospel without checking the facts; Carnochan's "The Case of Julius Goebel" is a case in point. She frequently does not pay attention to her own findings, such as referring to Luther Spoehr as "an historian" rather than a Stanford Ph.D. whose dissertation focused on Jordan's Stanford presidency. She also failed to take into consideration Jordan's allergy to ethanol when she knew about George S. Myers comment about his condition.

A real coup de recherché, however, is her Chapter 12 - Dandelions, where she visited the old Virginia State Colony for Epileptics and Feebleminded and discovered Anna, a woman who had been sterilized against her will in 1967. Other parts of the book were new to me. I was particularly fascinated by Chapter 7 - The Indestructible and Chapter 6 - On Delusion. Also, the book's illustrations by Kate Samworth are an absolute delight.

I had originally thought that Chapter 13 - Deus ex Machina, which deals with the title of her book, "Why Fish Don't Exist," was merely a device to sell the book as it has nothing to do with Jordan since cladistics was not envisioned by Willi Hennig until after May 9, 1945 when the Germans surrendered and he became a German prisoner of war. However, the following short piece in her book tells why - in addition to her innate curiosity - she put it in:

That's how his story ends. David Starr Jordan was allowed to emerge unscathed, unpunished for his sins, because this is the world in which we live. An uncaring world with no sense of cosmic justice encoded anywhere in its itchy, meaningless fabric. And yet that is not the end. Because our world, our bottomlessly chaotic world, had one more trick up her sleeve. One last way of wrecking David's order, of stealing away that thing most precious to him.

Did you see it there? Flashing across the spectacles of the taxonomists, refracting off their scalpels, glimmering across the cover of this very book - the insidious way that Chaos finally demolished his fish collection once and for all? It wasn't lightning or flood or decay or a massive sinkhole opening up and swallowing them all away. No, she had a far crueler method. She made him do it by his very own hand. What David Starr Jordan set in motion by practicing the art of taxonomy, by following Darwin's advice to sort creatures by

evolutionary closeness, led to a fateful discovery. In the 1980's taxonomists realized that fish, as a legitimate category of creature, do not exist.

Well, it's a long stretch but it will sell a lot of books! And as far as it being one last way of wrecking Jordan's order and of stealing away that thing most precious to him, unless he rises from his grave, he will never know.

5. APPENDIX II - THE CANCEL CULTURE

The cancel culture (also known as the call-out culture) is a form of boycott in which someone who has performed an act that is considered a violation of today's social justice norms, even if those acts occurred very long ago, is thrust out of social or professional circles –either online on social media or in the real world or both. They are said to be "canceled." It has become a reliable way to achieve upward mobility, establish social connection, and identify allies and enemies by isolating people who have violated ideological rules about race or gender.

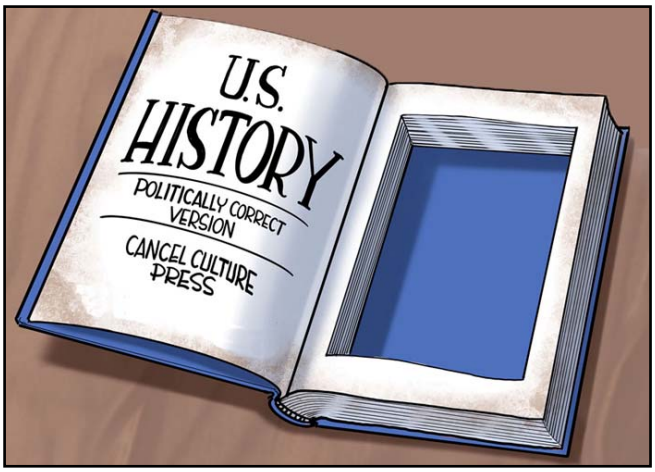
The phrase itself is suggestive: we can cancel Netflix subscriptions or smartphone services, so why not cancel human beings through reputation destruction and social exile? Canceling has become an entertaining hobby–an indulgent, dopamine-feeding activity practiced on social media until its practitioners, ultimately bored, follow the algorithms elsewhere. Perhaps George Orwell said it best when he defined an "unperson" as one whose past existence is expunged from the public record and memory, practiced by modern repressive governments (Orwell, 1949).

Both the term "cancel culture" and the activity itself are becoming more popular, especially among young people. Robert Henderson, who received a B.S. in Psychology from Yale University and is currently a Ph.D. student in psychology at Cambridge University, brought to my attention the following incident he observed while he was at Yale (Henderson, 2019a):

In August of 2015 at Yale University, Professor Nicholas Christakis lived at Yale where he presided over one of its undergraduate colleges. His wife Erika, a lecturer in early childhood education, shared that duty. They resided among students and were responsible for shaping residential life [at Yale, every residential college has a "master"—a professor who lives in residence with their family and is responsible for its academic, intellectual, and social life]. Before Halloween, some students complained to them that Yale administrators were offering heavy-handed advice on what Halloween costumes to avoid. Erika Christakis reflected on the frustrations of the students, drew on her scholarship and career experience, and composed an email inviting the community to think about the controversy through an intellectual lens that few if any had considered. Her message was a model of relevant, thoughtful, civil engagement:

This year, we seem afraid that college students are unable to decide how to dress themselves on Halloween. I don't wish to trivialize genuine concerns about cultural and personal representation, and other challenges to our lived experience in a plural community. I know that many decent people have proposed guidelines on Halloween costumes from a spirit of avoiding hurt and offense. I laud those goals, in theory, as most of us do. But in practice, I wonder if we should reflect more transparently, as a community, on the consequences of an institutional (bureaucratic and administrative) exercise of implied control over college students.

It's hard to imagine a more deferential way to begin voicing her alternative view. The reaction against Christakis and her husband Nicholas–a Yale sociologist–was fierce. Students claimed that Christakis defended "cultural appropriation" and that her email



was an emblem of systemic racism within the university. Hundreds of students marched in protests, with hateful insults, shouted epithets and a campaign of public shaming. In doing so, they showed an illiberal streak that flowed from flaws in their well-intentioned ideology and demanded that she be terminated. They claimed that Christakis violated the "safe space" of the residential college and that her presence posed a threat to their mental health. Students succeeded in turning her into a pariah on campus. Eventually, she withdrew from her positions. She was, in other words, "cancelled."

5A. WHY THE CANCEL CULTURE IS POPULAR

Henderson did some research on why social mobs enjoy canceling people and came up with the following five reasons (Henderson, 2019b):

1. IT INCREASES SOCIAL STATUS.

The most powerful motive underpinning cancel culture is social status. Research reveals that sociometric status (respect and admiration from our peers) is more important to our sense of well-being than socioeconomic status. Furthermore, a recent study found that a high social class predicts a greater desire for wealth and status than a low social class. Put differently, it is those who already have status and money who have a stronger craving for status and money relative to other people. For many affluent people, that drive is how they got to their lofty positions in the first place. Aggravating this drive is that they are typically surrounded by people just like them–their peers and competitors are also affluent status-maximizers. They are constantly seeking new ways to either move upward or avoid slipping downward. For social strivers, cancel culture has created new opportunities to move up by taking others down.

2. IT REDUCES THE SOCIAL STATUS OF ENEMIES.

Plainly, if there is an activity that will elevate the status of oneself or one's group, people will do it. One approach to elevation is to do something good. But doing something good requires effort and the possibility of failure. Fortunately, another option exists: Broadcasting the bad behavior of others. This method works because social status is relative. One person losing social rank is the same as another gaining it. If you're a 6 on the social-status ladder, working up to a 9 is hard. But scheming to bring a 9 down to a 3 is easier and more thrilling. It is much easier to unite people around bringing a 9 down to a 3 than to lift themselves up from a 6 to a 9. Additionally, people are slow to give moral praise for a good act and quick to assign moral blame for a bad one. The relative difficulty of doing something good and the prolonged waiting period to receive credit for it is why cancel culture has flourished. It offers quicker social rewards. Indeed, research shows that people engage in moral grandstanding to enhance their social rank.

3. IT STRENGTHENS SOCIAL BONDS.

Cancel culture is not a solitary activity. People enjoy uniting around a common purpose. They derive satisfaction from coming together against a perpetrator. They enjoy the sense of solidarity it provides. Cancel culture is a collective activity that strengthens social bonds for members within the group. While doing something good can increase the status of one's group and bring members closer together, it also brings the possibility of failure. It is hard to unite a group to do something good because of this risk. People join in broadcasting the misdeeds of others because it is more fun for them. It offers status and social solidarity at little cost. Even if the group is unsuccessful at canceling someone, the failure presents additional opportunities for both status and bonding: What or who is preventing you from taking your target down? The group can unite around this question.

4. IT FORCES ENEMIES TO REVEAL THEMSELVES.
Cancel culture allows people to identify who is loyal to their movement. Broadcasting the transgressions of others forces everyone to respond. Though targets of cancel culture commit transgressions of varying degrees of severity, often they have done something that has gone out of fashion. This is perfect for social coordination, because it means people will disagree about whether the person should be exiled. If everyone agreed that the target should be denigrated, then there's no way to identify friend from foe. But if some agree and some disagree, then you know who is a committed group member and who is an adversary. Those who ask for evidence of the alleged wrongdoing, or question the severity of the transgression, or debate the propriety of cancel culture, have revealed themselves to be unfaithful to the cause. Rallying around a morally ambiguous transgression and seeing how people react permits the recruitment of assenters and the targeting of dissenters.

5. CANCEL CULTURE PRODUCES FAST REWARDS.
The social rewards are immediate and gratifying and the dangers too distant and abstract. "You could be next" does not compute for most people. It's just a set of words. But the social rewards of status and in-group camaraderie instantly register. Oddly, participants of cancel culture likely overlap with those who observe this supposed nearsightedness about other dangers, such as climate change. Instant convenience and gratification are not worth the looming possibility of future danger, people say. But the desire for instant social rewards over distant and uncertain disaster is not a quirk of any particular group. It is common to all of us. Most people favor obtaining immediate rewards over avoiding the more remote possibility of future suffering. Including detractors of climate change and adherents of cancel culture.

5B. CANCELING JORDAN AT PALO ALTO SCHOOLS

After 17 months of community debate, the Palo Alto Unified School District Board of Education decided to rename David Starr Jordan Middle School and Terman Middle School in a unanimous vote. [Middle Schools in California comprise grades six through eight.] The controversial backgrounds of David Starr Jordan and Lewis Terman, the namesakes of the two middle schools, caused the debate over changing the names. David Starr Jordan Middle School was opened in 1937 and when it opened in 1958, Terman Middle School was named to honor educational psychologist and eugenicist Lewis Terman. In 2003, the school adopted the name Terman Middle School to honor both Lewis and his son, Frederick Terman, who was influential in the development of Silicon Valley as a Stanford provost. Jordan helped found the Human Betterment Foundation, which promoted forced sterilization, while Lewis Terman was active in the American Eugenics Society, which promoted "racial betterment."

The Board of Education created the Renaming Schools Advisory Committee (RSAC), comprised of students, teachers, parents and community members to review all of Palo Alto's school names, to investigate Jordan and Terman's involvement in eugenics and recommend whether the Jordan and Terman schools should be renamed. Thirteen people volunteered to join RSAC and they met from April to December 2016, when they submitted their report to the Board with their findings to the Board.

RSAC member Stan Hutchings opposed the committee's decision, saying it was not carefully analyzed. "I was against renaming the schools because of the financial impact, and also because the arguments to rename the schools were not logical or rational; They were emotional," he said. "They were also based on a kind of political correctness."

Fellow RSAC member Mel Froli also believed the committee was biased toward renaming. "The majority of the members on the team were in favor of the change, so the vote of course went to renaming schools," he said. "I think the committee was poorly formed–there was no attempt to bring balance… I felt that from the very start. It was not a very coordinated effort to really get the facts. I think [the direction we were going to go in] was almost determined ahead of time."

Hutchings also believed that the Board's decision would not properly address the issues middle school students face. He said that he found it hard to believe that changing the names would have a big effect on the students or that the students would feel much more at home in a school with a different name. "There was no evidence or metrics given to support the assertion that changing school names would improve students' academic experience significantly more than other programs already in effect," he said. "It's my opinion that it's not the school's name affecting the students' experience–it's the attitude of the staff and the fellow students."

Hutchings felt the renaming of the schools was hypocritical because other schools will retain the names of figures that could also be objectionable, like the namesake of Walter Hayes Elementary School. "They're asking to rename two schools because they don't agree with the opinions of Jordan and Terman," he said. "I think that it's really painful that they are going to abuse scientists for having their beliefs, but are not going to similarly abuse a Presbyterian minister [Walter Hayes] for promoting beliefs that are contrary to science and to the religious beliefs of many other people in our community."

5C. CANCELING JORDAN AT SANFORD

At Stanford University, a campus committee proposed renaming some, but not all, campus features named for Father Junipero Serra, who founded the California mission system in the 18th century. The missions had a double purpose. The church's was to spread the Gospel to those who had not been baptized. The Spanish government's was creating institutions aimed at assimilating the native peoples, making them citizens of the empire, i.e., learning European-style agriculture, becoming a Catholic and living in a congregated pueblo-type arrangement just like people in Spain.. Serra spent the rest of his life devoted to his evangelical work in the region. In trying to bring his religion to the Native Americans it sometimes led to clashes with Spanish authorities over the way soldiers treated the native peoples and advocated on behalf of them.

Serra, however, did not do a thorough job of explaining to the native peoples that baptism was, from his point of view, a lifetime commitment and that entering the mission system was a one-way street–you were able to go in, but you would not be permitted to leave (by comparison, they were free to leave government institutions and return to their villages if they desired). By law, all baptized Indians subjected themselves completely to the authority of the Franciscans; they could be whipped, shackled or imprisoned for disobedience, and hunted down if they fled the mission grounds. Indian recruits, who were often forced to convert nearly at gunpoint, could be expected to survive mission life for only about ten years. A great deal of the tension in the mission system stemmed from this double purpose, for these two aims did not always coexist easily with each other.

The committee noted that all historical figures have multidimensional legacies, but that Serra's role as the clearly identified leader of the mission system continues to provide a reminder to the university's Native American community of the harmful impacts of the mission system on indigenous peoples. The

committee also noted that Serra played no personal role in Stanford's history, though he and the mission system played a significant role in California's history.

One of the campus features identified for renaming was Serra Mall. The committee's proposals were accepted by the president and Board of Trustees. Tessier-Lavigne, the current President, proposed using the Serra Mall renaming to honor Jane Stanford, who founded the university with her husband Leland and steered it through financially challenging times after her husband's death in 1893, but whose name until now had not been on any major campus feature.

Serra Mall, which last year was extended in length as a pedestrian and bicycle mall, became Jane Stanford Way. Meanwhile, Serra Street from Campus Drive East to El Camino Real retained its current name, reflecting the committee's recommendation that preserving its name would honor the Stanfords' desire to recognize a significant period of California history and would prevent history from being erased from the campus. New signage along the street would allow for reflection on Serra's complex legacy and its place within the university's institutional history. Two buildings on campus, the Serra undergraduate dormitory in Stern Hall and the Serra House academic building, already have been renamed Sally Ride House and Carolyn Lewis Attneave House, respectively, both names belonging to famous women with ties to Stanford.

"This process has been an opportunity not only to grapple with issues of historical legacy but to celebrate the contributions of new people," Tiews said. "The Native American community has been an exceptional partner throughout this process. In addition to the renamings, we are pursuing new ways of honoring the contributions of Native Americans at Stanford and the fact that the university's lands are the homeland of the Muwekma Ohlone people."

After Stanford University's removal of some campus references to Junipero Serra and the neighboring Palo Alto school district's decision to rename David Starr Jordan Middle School in 2018, Stanford's Jordan Hall, also named after the university's founding president and a eugenicist, remained unchanged. However, the university announced that a committee would consider faculty and student requests to remove Jordan's name from the campus building. Jordan Hall houses the Department of Psychology, whose 76 faculty members unanimously voted to rename the building. They also asked that a statue outside the building be removed. The statue depicts Louis Agassiz, who Stanford described as a "renowned scholar of natural history, (and) promoted polygenism, which holds that human racial groups have different ancestral origins and are unequal."

"David Starr Jordan and Louis Agassiz, by virtue of their racist ideologies and practices, are incompatible with Stanford's values on initiative, diversity, equity, and access in learning," the professors wrote in a letter to President Marc Tessier-Lavigne. "The name and statue were in place long before the Psychology Department came to occupy the building, and we do not identify with either of the features." The committee's proposals were accepted by the president and Board of Trustees and the both the statue and name were removed. At this writing, however, a replacement name had not been decided upon.
However, the question of Jane Stanford's place in the history of the university was questioned. Some Stanford women thought she should be canceled, too. As one student put it:

But is Jane Stanford really the symbol of inclusion we want to be putting forth as an institution?

While she was instrumental in founding Stanford as a coeducational university, her commitment to gender equality had a clear limit. As the number of women enrolled in the university began to skyrocket, Jane Stanford became nervous and capped the number of women to 500. Even decades after Jane Stanford died, this cap would haunt the institution.

It remains now to explain in detail the 500 Women restriction ordered by Mrs. Stanford.

5C. THE INFAMOUS 500 WOMEN CAP

During the long, bruising battle to win control of her late husband's estate finally concluded, Jane Stanford had sustained herself and the university on a $10,000 monthly allowance she received through the probate court, a relative pittance that at times barely kept the institution open. In a gesture of transformational generosity, the battle over she announced she was giving the university a blanket deed to more than $10 million in stock, bonds and property, the equivalent of a quarter billion dollars in today's terms. But Jane Stanfords power which, because she was the university's sole surviving founder, was near absolute and so with her gift came attached to a series of dictates, delivered without debate or discussion.

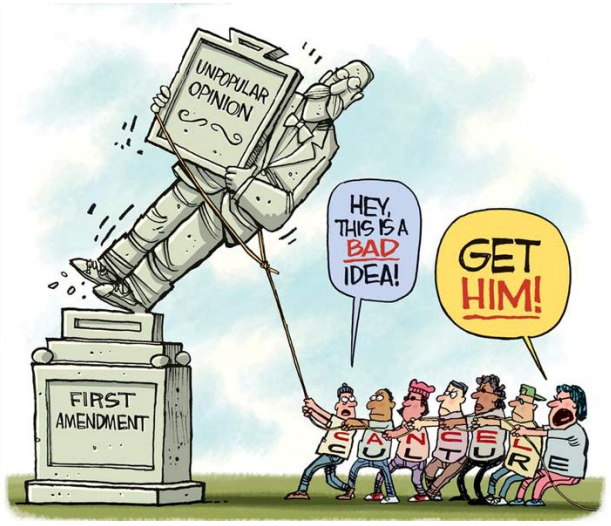
After nearly a decade of dedication to coeducation at the university, Jane Stanford had become alarmed. Women were a minority at Stanford, but their numbers were increasing. She feared that if the trend continued, the university would soon be overwhelmingly female–a sort of the Vassar of the Pacific Coast. "This was not my husband's wish, nor is it mine, nor would it have been my son's," she told the trustees. Invoking her powers to amend the university's founding grant, she told the board that from then on female enrollment would at no time ever exceed five hundred.

This action blindsided administrators, warped the meritocratic admissions process and took decades (and the worst depression in American history) to undo. Jane Stanford drew her line in the sand and expected it to last in perpetuity. "I mean literally never in the future history of the Leland Stanford Jr. University can the number of female students at any one time exceed five hundred," she wrote to President David Starr Jordan soon after the trustee meeting, quashing his search for any way out.

5E. THE COED SITUATION ACROSS AMERICA

As Scott describes the situation (Scott, 2018), at Stanford's opening in 1891there was nothing unusual about coeducation at American universities, at least outside of the tradition-bound East. Since 1837, when Oberlin College became the first American college to admit women, the arrangement had become commonplace, particularly in the West and Midwest where some 86 percent of undergraduates attended dual-sex institutions in 1897. When Stanford welcomed its Pioneer Class in 1891, UC-Berkeley, Cornell, Northwestern, Michigan and MIT had all been coed for decades.

In its very first sentence, the founding grant called Stanford a "University for both sexes." When construction lagged on Roble Hall, the women's dormitory, the Stanfords refused to consider opening the university with just men, allowing women to follow later. Stanford was to belong to each from the very start. "We deem it of the first importance that the education of both sexes shall be equally full and complete, varied only as nature dictates," Leland Stanford had declared in his first address to the university trustees in 1885. But after his death in 1893, the steady increase in female enrollment changed his wife's mind. In 1891, women made up approximate-



ly 28 percent of the Stanford student body. By 1899, it was 40 percent.

Although she had not herself gone to college, Jane Stanford fancied herself a strong supporter of coeducation. Indeed, even years after announcing the cap, she claimed, "Nobody appreciates more than I do the advantages of an education to those of my own sex. Nor does anybody realize more than I do the effect on society of an educated and enlightened womanhood." But Stanford University was an institution founded in memoriam to her dead child, a son, and she wouldn't abide its feminization. The trend, however, was far from unique. Berkeley went from 27 percent women to 44 percent in the same period, while the University of Chicago became majority female.

However, in these places also, the sharp growth of female enrollment provoked resistance. Benjamin Ide Wheeler, Berkeley's president, began championing the building of new junior colleges, under the belief that women would be more likely to stay home to attend them. The University of Chicago, meanwhile, began segregating underclassmen by sex, an experiment that lasted five years before being dismissed as being too officious and costly.

However, news of the cap on female enrollment at Stanford was overlooked by the magnitude of her gift and typical of the cursory journalism of the day, reporters made little effort to reach out to students, alumni or others affected by the limit. The San Francisco Chronicle did find one joyous (albeit anonymous) alumnus. The preceding fall Stanford had lost Big Game for the first time and to him, the culprit was obvious. Too much "queening"–slang for flirting and pursuing women–and too great a proportion of female students. "If the men are steadily reduced to smaller and smaller percentages of the student body then must the Stanford spirit wane and the possible candidates for the varsity teams be limited to a little part of the student body," he said.

Others, though, were appalled. Susan B. Anthony, the famous women's rights activist whose long correspondence with Jane Stanford began with the latter's $200 contribution to the suffrage cause, essentially accused her of betrayal. "This sends a chill over me–that this limitation should come through a woman," she wrote. "You have done as much as any other human being to educate men to respect women and I cannot bear to have you destroy this work."

In 1903, Jane Stanford again summoned the trustees to Nob Hill, this time to surrender her absolute powers. At 74, she was beginning to fear that with advancing age she might be led into poor decisions, and she wanted her successors to take the reins in her lifetime. Henceforth, she'd be a trustee herself. But after concluding the first speech, she started a second address where she reminded the audience it was she who had been the one to persuade her husband to provide equal advantages for women at the university and the one to cap their enrollment at 500. Now, apparently distressed at rumors of couples promenading after dark and other morality issues, she was opening the door for the trustees to one day turn her quota into an outright ban, expressing "the hopes that if the Trustees should ever conclude that coeducation was a failure they should abolish it."

Astonished, George E. Crothers, now a Trustee, asked for a five-minute recess. If she really desired trustees to have the power to eliminate women from the student body, he told her, she'd need to amend the charter before reading the resignation letter in front of her. At the same time, Crothers–who found interactions between the sexes close to ideal in his own student days and who was skeptical about rumors of problems–questioned the wisdom of such a radical last-minute use of her power. "She thereupon said that she would allow the trusts to stand as they

were in that regard, and took up her resignation and read it to the Trustees,"

5F. HITTING THE COED CAP

When the quota was instituted, women accounted for 463 students at Stanford, men for 690. Women would first bump against the limit in 1902, but Jane Stanford's mysterious death three years later meant she never saw the more peculiar consequences of her actions, which became more onerous as the university's lopsided growth gained speed. Part of the problem was that administrators never knew exactly how many women would matriculate and hence how many they should admit. To add a margin for error, a presidential ruling allowed a small number of women to attend classes without registering until vacancies opened.

Still, that hardly solved the growing embarrassment of saying no to the increasing numbers of female applicants. For years, any qualified male was assured entrance to Stanford but women were soon facing steep odds. Beginning in 1906, the university began to keep a first-come, first-served waiting list for admittance, which soon gave way to an idiosyncratic two-pronged approach.

About 100 undergrad women were admitted each year, along with 40 female grad students. After 1914, roughly half of the undergrads were selected from the waiting list, the other half from a "preferred list" that included students chosen for outstanding academic performance. In both cases, the results were perverse. The university was regularly turning down women who had outperformed admitted men, and welcoming others solely for having signed up years in advance.

In October 1920–two months after the passage of the 19th Amendment gave American women the right to vote–Stanford began fall quarter with its gendered restrictions firmly intact. The last of the women admitted to the Class of 1924 from the waiting list had signed up in August four years prior. More than 2,400 pending applications were already on file for the next four years. By some accounts, parents were putting their daughters on the list at birth. A year later, the university stopped taking additions to the waiting list, though it took years to work through its existing commitments. New applications would be judged on merit. Not surprisingly, the women who made it into Stanford excelled once there, even amid concerns that their often superior preparation led them to complacency. "The academic work of the women has been well above the average of the university," the Dean of Women Mary Yost wrote in 1923.

Despite the women's excellence, some men, their chutzpah apparently fed by their ever-growing proportion of the student body, questioned female students' very presence. "Five hundred women have no place in the midst of 2000 men," a sophomore named Leon David wrote in a student publication in 1922, his ire fueled by a blame-the-victim logic that damned the women for acting like a chosen few. Successful female entrants, he complained, felt themselves part of an "elect" club, their rarity on campus feeding an atmosphere of "false pride, independence, snobbery and exclusiveness." "Throw them out," he urged. That wasn't going to happen, but what was?

5G. A BACK DOOR SOLUTION IS FOUND

By 1933, Stanford was suffering the full bite of the Depression. Return on investments had vanished, and attendance had dropped nearly 18 percent in four

1896: Stanford beats Cal in what is believed to be the first intercollegiate women's basketball game. The Faculty Athletic Committee objects to public competition for women, effectively disbanding the team.

years, a dismal trend that was only gathering momentum as students found options closer to home or dropped their studies altogether. In response, university salaries were cut 10 percent across the board, pension plans were reduced and the budget was cut by $300,000 compared with 1930. And yet even as the vise tightened, the cash-strapped university was turning away vast numbers of women–and their tuition. The state of affairs was absurd on its face, but the university was trapped. It needed a legal way to slip the 500 leash. The crisis would give administrators the motivation to find it hiding in plain sight.

The solution proved to come from the same place as the problem itself–the words of Jane Stanford made on May 31, 1899 when the founder had issued the 500 cap in no uncertain terms. But in her valedictory address as the singular leader of the university, she directed that the paramount purpose of the trustees was to "maintain a University of high degree." Anything in conflict with this prime directive was "incidental and subordinate." Amid the university's deteriorating financial health, survival clearly was more important than keeping the cap.

The matter was brought to the trustees on May 11, 1933. Still, the trustees didn't seek to revert to the university's original commitment to give equal advantage to both sexes. Instead, they resolved to maintain the same proportions between men and woman as existed on May 31, 1899, when Jane Stanford made her declaration. This would allow women to account for about 40 percent of the student body. In the decades that followed, the university did not pay strict heed to the cap, particularly when many students took leave of the campus to serve in the armed forces during World War II. In 1973, Stanford petitioned the Santa Clara County Superior Court to formally remove sex-based limits from its governing documents.

The 1933 decision to eliminate the Rule of 500 came as a total surprise to campus. The Daily announced the news in a banner headline and reported that students were far from overjoyed. When dinner was interrupted to announce the outcome at all-female Roble Hall, there was a collective gasp–followed by long, hearty booing. "News that the bars were down spread rapidly about the campus yesterday afternoon and evening and the majority opinion appeared to be unfavorable," the Daily wrote.

The Daily's editorial writers, though, were delighted at the "depression-born blessing," as were local papers. "It has been an embarrassment to trustees, faculty and student bodies for years," the Chronicle wrote. "The depression, whatever evils it has done, has brought this one benefit to Stanford." In the fall of the following year, female enrollment more than doubled.

5H. JANE STANFORD'S FATE

Friends, students, faculty, lend me your ears;
I come to honor Mrs. Stanford, not to cancel her.
The evil that men do lives after them;
The good is oft interred with their bones;
So let it be with Jane Stanford.
Many hath told you she was adament:
If it were so, it was a grievous fault,
And grievously hath she answer'd it.

Serra Mall on the main Stanford campus will be renamed Jane Stanford Way, honoring the university's co-founder and implementing a proposal that came out of the review of campus historical names a year before. Jane Stanford Way, a pedestrian and bicycle mall, will run across the front of the Stanford campus from Campus Drive West to Campus Drive East, and the university's official address will change from 450 Serra Mall to 450 Jane Stanford Way.

"With this step, a prominent thoroughfare at the front door of our campus will now honor Jane Stanford, whose vision and strength played a central role in guiding and sustaining the university during its critical early years," said Stanford President Marc Tessier-Lavigne. The proposal recently received the necessary clearance from the U.S. Postal Service, Santa Clara County Communications and the Santa Clara County Surveyor's Office, which set the official date for the name change. Matthew Tiews, associate vice president for campus engagement, has been working with a variety of campus partners on the effort. He said a campus event celebrating the change is being planned for fall quarter. In addition to changing the official street signs along Jane Stanford Way, interpretive signage also is planned to explain the name change and describe Jane Stanford's legacy, he said.

I believe that Stanford University–its administration, faculty and its students–is on the right path to follow when making the sort of changes discussed here. They have been made with careful deliberation, an absence of haste and mob rule, and a thorough knowledge of the facts whether they pertain to the present or to a hundred or more years ago.

EU STANFORD!

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