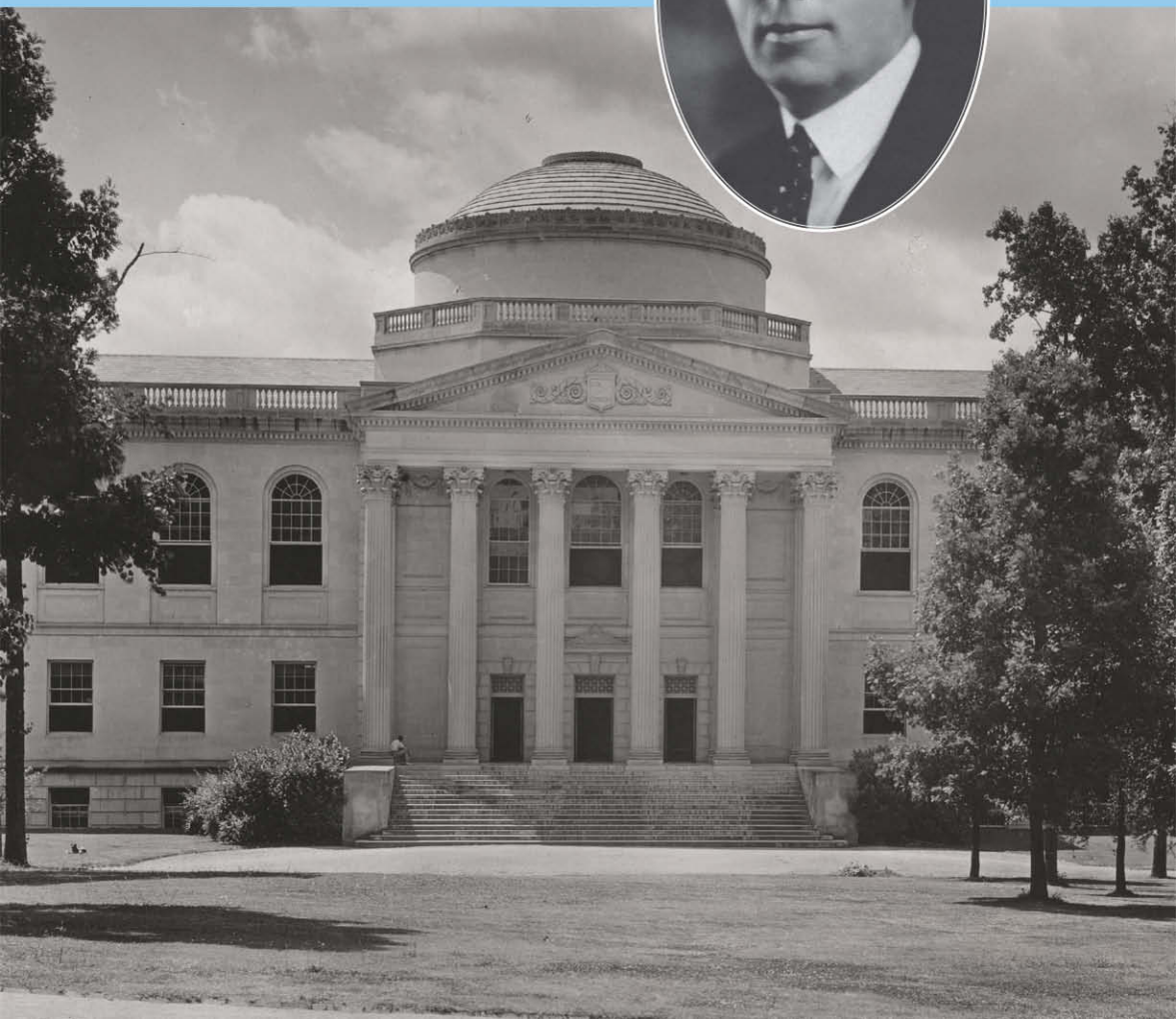
FIRE & STONE

The Making of the University of North Carolina under Presidents Edward Kidder Graham and Harry Woodburn Chase

HOWARD E. COVINGTON JR.



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COATES UNIVERSITY LEADERSHIP SERIES

Robert G. Anthony Jr., Series Editor

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FOREWORD

The University of North Carolina has become a critically important fixture in the life of the state, as well as in the nation and the world. By focusing on the tenure of two very different university's presidents in *Fire and Stone*, Edward Kidder Graham (Fire) and Harry Woodburn Chase (Stone), Howard Covington recounts how these men complemented one another to lay the groundwork for our modern university. Each was the right leader at the right time, and this engaging book shows how different leadership styles allowed them to implement their distinctive visions for the University.

Edward Kidder Graham was a charismatic leader who set a bold vision and inspired many devoted followers. The university's commitment to public service, especially for North Carolina, can be traced directly to him. While temporarily filling in for President Venable, who considered extension a diversion, Graham declared on University Day in 1913 that the recently-created Bureau of Extension will "make the campus co-extensive with the boundaries of the state" and put the university "in warm sensitive touch with every problem in North Carolina life, small and great." He then proceeded to find ways to create "a new spirit of service about the university, injecting it into the affairs of virtually every community in the state," as Covington writes.

Graham understood intuitively that North Carolina's economic and social progress depended on a strong partnership with the university. He personally reached out to farmers, educators, and business leaders across North Carolina, and he found ways to involve faculty and students directly in improving their communities. Faculty research focused more and more on local and statewide problems, and teaching was extended to include continuing education for adults. Graham at the same time understood that the university would never reach its potential without support from the people—who needed to see its impact in their daily lives. Legislators had criticized his predecessor for not being in touch with the people "whose creature you are." Covington makes plain that Graham's creation of a reciprocal relationship between the university and the state was the key to unlocking legislative support from genera-

tions of North Carolinians. Without his compelling vision for the university it never would have become the "University of the People."

Graham's story is moving partly because of his powerful devotion to faculty, students, and the people of North Carolina, who returned that devotion in full measure to him and to his University. He wrote post cards to students serving overseas in World War I, for example, writing to one that "Your alma mater thinks of you constantly, with the deepest pride and deepest affection." The emotional tributes to Graham after he died in 1918 from the Spanish influenza are heartbreaking. One person wrote that "[h]is faculty idolized him, his under-graduates adored him, the alumni regarded him as Joshua who made the sun stand still." Another said he "became a Sir Galahad in search of the Holy Grail to a very large coterie of the state's leaders, of the alumni, of the trustees and the students of the University." These and similar expressions of inspiration reveal that many people adopted Graham's belief in the university's role in realizing the promise of democracy because they believed so strongly in him.

Harry Woodburn Chase was a different kind of leader, and in many ways he was the right person to continue the momentum created by Graham. He finished many things that Graham had started—including the School of Commerce, Carolina Playmakers, the Departments of Music and Journalism, and better accommodations for women students. Yet Chase's own vision extended far beyond the many buildings that he shaped into a new campus to meet the university's growing enrollment and program expansion. He was a more traditional scholar who saw the need to move Carolina from a small college to a more academically rich and diverse university. Chase believed strongly in the value of research, and he elevated the importance of faculty scholarship as an instrument for educating students and addressing modern problems. "[H]e took the flame that Graham had ignited and used it to build a university and move it into the mainstream of American higher education," Covington writes.

The important work of Howard Odum and his Institute for Research in Social Science illustrates nicely how Chase increased the quality of faculty research without sacrificing Graham's commitment to making a practical difference in communities. At the same time, however, Odum's work and the work of others angered powerful people. In one troubling case Chase persuaded Odum to destroy the research materials of a graduate student who had angered a trustee by conducting research into the wages of black employees at R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company. Chase was cautious and pragmatic, and

sometimes he gave in to outside pressure because he calculated that it was in the best overall interest of the university. Covington is candid in his assessment of Chase's shortcomings in defending academic freedom, and at the same time there are examples where he steadfastly defended faculty against outside criticism—including Edward Kidder Graham's cousin and Chase's successor, Frank Porter Graham. These and other incidents offer a window into the growing pains of a modern public research university, which forced Chase to struggle with the inevitable tension between social research and social reform. Notwithstanding his challenges and limitations, Chase largely is responsible for the university becoming an aspirational example for its peers in the South and beyond.

Like all outstanding works of history, *Fire and Stone* is satisfying because it operates successfully on many different levels. If you are interested in the evolution of higher education, especially the development of a state university, it offers wonderful insights into the formation of today's public research university. It may be frustrating to learn that athletics and legislative politics always have been a challenge for campus leaders. If you are interested in comparing styles of leadership, the book gives you the opportunity to reflect on the strengths and weaknesses of two very different leaders—both of whom were highly successful. Graham was more charismatic and inspirational, and yet the more conservative and prudent Chase presided over one of the most transformative periods in the life of the university. If you are interested in social history, the period covered so capably by Covington gives one an appreciation for the challenges associated with creating social change during the Progressive Era, especially in the South.

After he retired as chancellor of New York University, Chase reflected to Louis Round Wilson about the "most exceptional situation" they had together in Chapel Hill: "We had, as you say, a band of young men who were quite willing to stick out their individual necks and work together for the benefit of the University, and together we accomplished more than I for one had believed we could." Howard Covington has written a beautiful book that recounts the past and offers insights and inspiration for the future of the University of North Carolina.

Michael R. Smith
Dean, School of Government
University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

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CHAPTER ONE

The Worst Year of His Life

As the village of Chapel Hill prepared for the wave of visitors expected to arrive for the 1913 commencement exercises at the University of North Carolina, there was no soul as troubled as that of Francis Preston Venable, the university's president for nearly thirteen years. If there was any lightness in his step at all, it was because he was soon to be released from the burdens of office. He was headed to the Chemistry Building, where he planned to request a year's leave of absence from the trustees, who were gathered for their semiannual meeting. His decision to seek a temporary suspension of his duties would come as a surprise to all but the most informed.

Venable was a serious scholar, a chemist of national reputation, and more at home in the laboratory than dealing with the never-ending demands of university administration. Just in the run-up to the close of the academic year, he had managed the annual end-of-term shifting of teaching talent as he recruited replacements for men who were leaving Chapel Hill for better-paying appointments elsewhere. The university was forever short of money for professors' pay, it seemed. He had supervised the dedication of a new building for the university's latest advance in its academic program, the School of Education. He had worried over an outbreak of smallpox on campus, and for weeks he had taken on the exasperating task of nudging alumni into meeting their pledges to pay for the monument to the soldiers of the Confederacy that had been dedicated just the day before, on Senior Class Day. Settling up two- and five-dollar pledges from men across the state was proving as difficult as raising twenty times that much from the legislature. As he prepared for his own uncertain future, a most important houseguest—the vice president

of the United States—was due for a stay at the president's official residence because there was not a decent hotel within fifteen miles of the campus. The amiable Thomas Riley Marshall, newly inaugurated with President Woodrow Wilson, a southern favorite, was the year's commencement speaker.

Venable's greatest burden, one that had worn him more severely than all the rest, was the profound feeling of loss and personal failure that had overwhelmed him since the death nine months earlier of a freshman named Isaac William Rand. Nineteen-year-old Billy Rand of Smithfield had left his home on a Monday to enroll at Chapel Hill, and before dawn on Friday he was dead, the victim of a tragic hazing incident on the athletic field just south of the campus gymnasium.

Venable believed that "alma mater" was not an empty sentimental phrase that presidents used to inspire alumni to open their pocketbooks. For him, the university was indeed the mother and father—in loco parentis—of the young men and women living and learning under its cloak of protection as long as they were on the campus. This responsibility was personal for Venable, and he felt the death of young Rand as profoundly as if the teenager had been one of his own sons, who were only a few years older. The resulting public outrage, with much of the invective heaped upon Venable, "had been probably the hardest trial of my life," Venable wrote a friend.[1] A contemporary observed that "breaches in discipline and inattention to the routine of duty marred the character not only of the individual but of the whole University, for which [Venable] was responsible in the eyes of parents and of the State."[2]

The president was a Virginian, steeped in the academic traditions; his father had been a mathematician on the faculty at Charlottesville for thirty years. His moral compass was held steady by a strong Presbyterian faith. He had been called to Chapel Hill in 1880 to serve as professor of general, analytical, and applied chemistry when he was twenty-three years old, after teaching in a prep school for only a year. He was a thoroughly dedicated scientist and founder of the Elisha Mitchell Scientific Society, one of the first of its kind in the South, and helped organize a printing plant, which was called the University Press, to publish its papers. His love was scientific inquiry and teaching, not pecuniary gain. He perfected a model of the Bunsen burner, which would become an indispensable aid in virtually every laboratory, and sold his invention to a manufacturer in exchange for six of the burners. Working with two students, he later identified a process for generating acetylene gas from a waste product, calcium carbide, but wealth and fame went to others.[3] For

Francis Preston Venable was recruited to teach chemistry at the University of North Carolina in 1880, when he was 23-years-old. He was elected president of the university in 1900. Photograph by Cole & Holladay, Durham.

years, he was the most thoroughly schooled man on the campus, with a master's and doctorate from Germany's University of Göttingen and membership in the Chemical Society of London.

While his turn of mind was toward the classroom and the laboratory, where he spent a considerable part of his time, he was enthusiastic about sports. Venable brought tennis to the campus in 1884 and helped organize the first golf course (two holes that expanded to five). He was an early promoter of football and fought for its revival by the trustees in the early 1890s. His sporting fever did not necessarily make him a regular guy. He was not good at small talk or humor and could grow impatient with opposing viewpoints.

Some on the faculty, as well as among students and alumni, considered him aloof and domineering. His appointment of Edward Kidder Graham, a popular English professor then in his midthirties, as dean of the College of Liberal Arts had helped relieve some of this tension. It was Venable's heartfelt response to the Rand episode that showed the true depth of his warmth and devotion to his students and their welfare, as well as the university at large.[4]

Nine months earlier, Venable had led the opening exercises on Thursday, the twelfth of September, when about 800 students, from undergraduates to students in the professional schools of medicine, law, and pharmacy, gathered just after midday in aging Gerrard Hall. Enrollment was once again larger than it had been the year before, and it was still rising as latecomers fulfilled their qualifications for admission. Billy Rand was one of the 285 freshmen to enroll before registration closed for the university's 118th session. The youngest of the lot was Robert Henry Winborne Welch Jr., a twelve-year-old who was admitted without conditions.

"Young gentlemen, the ideal of the future university man should be to minister to all the people. Other than getting out of college all you can, you should put into the life of the institution as much of your strength and ability as possible." So the president had told those assembled in the building where daily chapel exercises were held for undergraduates. Venable was not particularly at ease on the platform in an era when oratorical skill was held in high regard. When the trustees elected him president in 1900 he had declined to deliver an inaugural address. Yet his feelings for the university and its traditions were evident as he spoke of his hopes and aspirations for the coming year: "Make the institution a fountain of blessing for the whole people."[5]

Evidence of the progress the university had made under Venable was all around. Only a few steps west of Gerrard Hall, masons were at work on the brick walls of the new education building. Seventy-two students were living in handsome new housing that stood on the northern edge of the campus on Franklin Street. The Battle-Vance-Pettigrew Dormitory, fashioned after a style called Collegiate Gothic, offered steam heat and shower baths on every floor. The medical school had moved into Caldwell Hall, another new structure. It stood at the eastern edge of the campus, just beyond the law school, which was still housed in one of the campus's aging structures.

Venable had improved on university administration as well, bringing better organization to aid in leading a growing faculty. One of his most popular appointments was that of Ed Graham. The president hoped that the new as-

signments would relieve him of some of his administrative burdens, especially in the case of Graham, on whom he planned to rely in matters of campus discipline. During the new century's first decade, the responsibilities of the president had mushroomed with the growth of the university—enrollment had doubled in ten years with a corresponding growth in faculty—but the trustees and the legislature seemed to think the administrative tools of the nineteenth century worked just fine. The president did not even have a full-time secretary; a student typed his correspondence.

The formal opening ceremonies concluded in the early afternoon and were followed that evening with livelier sessions, sponsored by the Young Men's Christian Association, where freshmen were given an introduction to campus life. The men gathered around a bonfire outside South Building and heard the college cheers for the first time, got a pep talk about the upcoming football season, and later, back in Gerrard Hall, listened to upperclassmen introduce them to campus organizations and governance. An explanation of the honor code and the role of the Student Council, an experiment in self-government, was a staple of the evening. As usual, spirits were running high after the organized program concluded, especially among some of the sophomores who were out for a bit of fun at the expense of the freshmen.

Hazing was forbidden under the university rules, yet it persisted from year to year, at least in some form. Most of the incidents occurred at the start of the college year, a time that one of Venable's peers at a northern institution said left him "constantly on the anxious bench."[6] A new volume of the history of the University of North Carolina had just been published by former president Kemp Plummer Battle, and it included recollections of hazing incidents dating to the days before the Civil War when covering a man's face and hands with boot blacking was popular. It was a crude method of reminding the new men that they could be transformed from master to servant at the will of their betters.[7] Sometimes the punishment inflicted on new men was more serious; occasionally, firearms were involved. The number and seriousness of the incidents seemed to run in cycles, receding after some outrageous incident would provoke the adoption of resolutions against the practice, only to arise again a few years later when the newly righteous had finished their studies and left the campus. Tales of the pranks were memorialized at alumni reunions. The faculty tried to hold things in check as best they could, and one or two violators were sent packing at the start of just about every academic year. The latest incident of any gravity had occurred in September 1906 when a fresh-

man pulled his pistol and shot a sophomore who along with two others had jumped him on his way across campus. The wounded student survived but was in grave condition for a spell.

On the Monday night before the session opened in 1912, there had been a minor ruckus in South Building, where freshmen were called on to dance and sing at the command of a group of sophomores. As in most of the hazing incidents, everyone was in pretty good humor, even those called on to perform. Around midnight on the following Thursday, a group of men just back from a café on the village's main street stopped at the well, where a small crowd remained gathered around the dying coals of the bonfire. They then headed off to Billy Rand's room in Old East to get some "freshmen." Rand and his roommate, another Smithfield boy named Robert A. Wellons, lived on the third floor in a corner room. The two were not manhandled as they were led out of the dorm. They were given time to put on their shoes, but they met the cool night air dressed only in their nightshirts. Wellons later said the intruders were expected. Earlier in the evening, another pair of roommates had been taken out and told to howl at the moon, bark, and perform other stunts. One favorite antic was demanding that a man spell his name aloud and whistle between each letter.

Rand and Wellons were led to the athletic field, which was down the hill and beyond a fence behind Bynum Gymnasium, a cream-colored brick pile that a generous friend of the university had donated eight years earlier as a memorial to his son, who was a sophomore at the university when he died of typhoid. Some of the sophomores wore handkerchiefs over their faces to further confuse the freshmen, who were acquainted with few of the other men on campus. One man held a flashlight. The skies were cloudy and it was dark. As the group reached an old barrel that had held lime for marking the playing field, it was overturned and Wellons was told to mount it. As it was upended, Wellons heard the clink and rattle of broken glass. He was first told to make a speech on "the whichness of thus." Confounded by the request, he opted instead to sing "How Green I Am" and to dance a few steps. Then Rand was put on the barrel. A group of a dozen or more stood close by to watch. Other curious students were farther away.

Rand was rather modest in size as well as behavior. He was the middle brother in a family of five sons. An older brother had graduated from the university four years earlier and gone on to Oxford as a Rhodes scholar. Billy was a week away from his twentieth birthday. He was told to dance and then

sing "Home Sweet Home." He protested that he did not know the song. One of those standing close by demanded he sing nonetheless, throwing a curse his way. At that moment, Rand lost his balance and fell off the barrel; Wellons said later that someone kicked it. He landed on the ground, where a piece of broken glass pierced his neck on the left side, opening a gash about five inches long and one to two inches deep. The cut severed his carotid artery and blood gushed out onto the ground. "Good God, I think he is bleeding to death," said one in the group. Unable to rise on his own, Rand was carried by Wellons and one or two others back toward the campus, but they only made it about 180 yards before they laid the wounded young man on the steps of the gymnasium.

As the gravity of the accident set in, the students scattered. A few ran for help. One arrived on the porch of the campus physician so exhausted and out of breath that he was taken at first to be drunk. Wellons stayed with his wounded friend, yelling for help to the sleeping campus. Another student soon arrived, and the two comforted Rand until they believed he was dead. He had lived for only ten minutes from the time of his fall. William de Berniere MacNider, a medical doctor who taught in the medical school, confirmed their fears when he arrived momentarily. A few minutes later Venable, Dean Graham, and Isaac Hall Manning, the dean of the medical school, showed up. Venable took charge immediately, notifying the authorities and leading trustees, and by daybreak he had found someone to break the news to Rand's father, a widower. By the end of the day Friday, four students were under arrest for manslaughter and Governor William Walton Kitchin, who had just mounted his campaign for a U.S. Senate nomination, had called for the incident to be "rigidly and thoroughly investigated." He wanted the results made public.[8]

The news of Rand's death was on the front pages of the Saturday morning newspapers. Included in the reports was testimony from a coroner's inquest that was convened within twelve hours of Rand's death. The four students held accountable included the sons of families in Wilmington, Raleigh, and Mount Olive. They were good students, with no marks against them. One was a cousin of the student who had pulled the pistol and shot one of his attackers six years earlier. Another was a student preparing to enter the ministry. The latter was an orphan who had no immediate family but held a sterling reputation. A few leading men in Wilmington put up his $5,000 bond.

Venable had nothing to say for publication. He deputized Graham to han-

dle the release of information and turned his attention to the governor's charge, impaneling an investigating committee of faculty members, "exhaust[ing] himself over the details."[9] Nearly fifty students were called in to tell what they knew of the circumstances surrounding Rand's death, as well as those related to an incident that had disturbed the campus and quiet of the village earlier in the year. In March, a rowdy group of sophomores had carried their enthusiasm beyond an evening banquet and surrounded a university-owned cottage at the edge of the campus where freshmen were living. During this episode, one of the cottage rooms was pelted with rocks and a pistol shot was fired into the room after the freshmen refused to surrender. There were inquiries at the time, but neither a faculty committee assigned to look into the incident nor the Student Council could identify those responsible. Six months later, Rand's death had loosened some tongues and the newly impaneled committee began assigning culpability.

The *News and Observer* called Rand's death "the tragedy of years." That was hyperbole, but it was symptomatic of the howl of protest that arose in the press, on street corners, and in the pulpits across the state. "What the people of North Carolina demand," the Raleigh paper said, "is that all college and State University authorities take drastic steps to put an end to hazing. IT CAN BE STOPPED, and the tragedy at Chapel Hill emphasizes the need to stop it."[10] In a subsequent editorial, it called hazing "a relic of barbarism."[11] While the newspaper did not accuse the university authorities of Rand's death, the editorial said it was the responsibility of the university to keep its students safe, with the implication that it had failed to do its duty.

The minister of the Methodist church in Chapel Hill was more emphatic. He said those responsible were not only the four held on manslaughter charges, for whom he said he had no sympathy and whom he called "cowards." Also liable, he said, were the citizens of Chapel Hill, civil authorities, the university, and any who had allowed such behavior to survive over the years.[12] His commentary on the university's handling of past behavior may have spurred Venable in his desire to dig deeper and define the events from earlier in the year. William Louis Poteat, the president of Wake Forest College, where a hazing incident resulting in serious injury was reported a week after Rand's death, offered his sympathy to the university community, the students, and the families of Rand and his tormentors.[13] Meanwhile, the new president of Elon College took a swipe at the nondenominational state institution and declared that hazing could not thrive "in a Christian atmosphere and that

is why it has never got foothold at Elon, where every student regards every other as his brother."[14]

There were no words as harsh as those from Bishop John Carlisle Kilgo, the state's leading Methodist. Himself a former president of Trinity College (later Duke University), Kilgo seemed to delight in the occasion to accuse the university of losing its way. More than fifteen years earlier, he had been the most determined advocate for legislating the university into a virtual state of oblivion by limiting its enrollment to students engaged in graduate studies. Even before Venable had submitted the investigating committee's report to the governor and the trustees, the bishop had his say in a "letter" that began on the front page of the *News and Observer* and continued for a full column of very small type on an inside page. In his condemnation of hazing, which was as intense as that of those most aroused, he declared that men convicted in this case should serve time on the roads. "This is what negroes and poor folks pay for thuggery, and can any man give a reason why students should have immunity?"

Then Kilgo took it further. He said the university could no longer allow resolutions against hazing one year only to have it arise the next amid complaints that there was no way to stamp it out entirely. University and college administrators would learn quickly how to deal with hazing when the state suspended financial support and parents stopped enrolling their sons in classes. Moreover, he said, student government, such as that being developed in Chapel Hill, was a fantasy and deserved no place on a college campus. "Trying the foolish policy of student self-government misleads no persons except a few who do not know much about college life."

"What we want are some schools that train boys how to be governed, not how to govern, and if any college has a crowd of students that are capable of government, why are they in school? Such a crowd does not need to be taught. They should teach and first of all should teach those who sit in teachers' places and draw teachers' pay." Kilgo said North Carolina needed a tough antihazing law and that police should be given the power to enforce it on campus, regardless of the embarrassment it may bring to the campus administration. He had had enough with pleadings from colleges that seek money and students when the faculty cannot control the campus. "To stop this sort of thing we should take matters in our own hand."[15]

The investigating committee's report to the trustees, delivered on September 30, was a thorough accounting of the events that occurred on the night

of September 12 and early morning of September 13 as well as the hazing incidents from the previous March. By the time Venable arrived in Raleigh to meet with the executive committee of the trustees, he had seen to the discipline of another sixteen students. Four were dismissed and twelve were suspended for a year. Fathers of two of the boys penalized in this second round were on hand to appeal the decision of the faculty, but the trustees held firm despite arguments that those included had been only onlookers and their sentences were unfair. One of those suspended was a member of Phi Beta Kappa.[16]

University Day was typically a time of celebration of the school's founding, but a tone of repentance hung over the campus this October 12. As usual, the alumni, faculty, students, and others in town for the occasion filled Memorial Hall, which was an oddly shaped barn of a building with a soaring, arched roof and tall windows. The usual amity did not flow so easily this year. Some students believed the faculty had gone too far in reaching back to the previous academic year and administering penalties. An editorial in the *Tar Heel*, the campus newspaper, suggested that Venable was simply trying to appease the public.[17] Nor were students satisfied with the president's statement that anyone who "aids and abets" hazing, which onlookers do by giving attention to incidents, was just as guilty as those directly involved.

Venable's personal distress was evident in a lengthy statement carried in the student newspaper and reprinted elsewhere. He defended the faculty's right to reinvestigate the incidents that had occurred earlier that year and move to repair the damage to the school's reputation. "Now that the attacks seem to center upon me personally it is better, for I am content to suffer for any blame which is justly my due and that which is not just cannot injure me. But it is necessary that I have your confidence, that you should continue to believe in my justice, my honor and my sympathy for you. For we must work together to regain what has been lost, to rebuild what has been torn down and to build more worthily, to search ourselves honestly and conscientiously lest there be any fault in us, and to correct such fault."[18]

The president's record was an impressive one. The first new building to be paid for by state appropriation—the Chemistry Building (later Howell Hall)—had been erected during his tenure. Enrollment had doubled, and Venable had done a masterful job of recruiting faculty to the campus, despite the handicap of the relatively low pay at the university. The formerly fractious relations between the fraternity and nonfraternity men were disappearing.

Student government, about which Venable had his own doubts, was growing stronger under the guidance of Dean Graham and, despite the hazing episode, it had relieved the president of personally handling certain matters of discipline.

Graham was busy that fall. In the wake of Rand's death, he looked for ways to rebuild the flagging spirits of a student body battered by weeks of public condemnation of the university. He invigorated the county clubs that bound students from the same locale in a common bond. Nearly half of the student body signed up. The alumni had just launched the *Alumni Review*, a publication with monthly circulation during the college year. Graham was an associate editor, and in the first issue he eulogized his favorite professor, the late Thomas Hume. Graham carried the university's message to Goldsboro and Rocky Mount, where he spoke to gatherings of alumni.

The most energized time in the fall was the days leading up to the annual football contest with the university's archrival, the University of Virginia. Graham appeared at a pep rally and urged students to attend the team practice and cheer on the men preparing for battle: "That team represents not only us but thousands of alumni; help it to be a representative in a true Tar Heel way in Richmond next Thursday."[19] Once again, victory remained out of reach. The university's 0–66 loss on Thanksgiving Day was almost too stunning for words.

The death of Rand receded from the headlines after a trial scheduled for October was postponed until mid-March 1913, when the four accused of manslaughter appeared in the Orange County Courthouse in Hillsboro. The trial began just as the state legislature completed work for the year, which included a new law that made hazing a punishable crime. Venable was among the more than two dozen witnesses called to testify by the district solicitor, who had engaged private lawyers to aid him in the prosecution of the case. The now-famous wooden barrel was even brought from the athletic field into the courtroom. Representing the accused was an impressive lineup of defense attorneys. Among them were former associate justice of the state supreme court and university trustee James Smith Manning of Raleigh, trustees Victor Silas Bryant of Durham and John Washington Graham of Hillsboro, and Walter Parker Stacy of Wilmington, a future chief justice of the state supreme court who was the brother of university faculty member Marvin Hendrix Stacy.

After some closed-door conferences between the defense and the state, the

trial began, with the prosecution calling only those witnesses necessary to establish the bare facts of Rand's death. One of the four charged in his death won his release after the first round of testimony, with his attorney arguing that nothing had been presented to implicate him in Rand's death. The defense did not call any witnesses, and Venable did not take the stand. He did have to sit through a bitter denunciation of the university by one of the private prosecutors, who delivered a withering, hour-long attack on hazing and the university. The lawyer would have heaped more calumny on the campus had the judge not sustained an objection from Bryant. The defense attorneys argued that Rand's death was an accident and did not warrant the serious charges brought against the defendants, but a jury of twelve Orange County farmers returned after a few hours of consideration with a verdict of guilty.

The conclusion was not satisfying for those who were seeking retribution. The presiding judge had sent the jury out with a stern lecture on the evils of hazing and the jury's duty to treat the charges with deep conviction. Then, when the verdict was returned, he issued the minimum sentence of four months imprisonment, with the option for the guilty to be hired out to whomever the county commissioners chose. Their parents had the young men back home almost by suppertime after settling up with the county and the payment of a few hundred dollars in fees and other penalties.

Without public complaint, Venable withstood this graphic rehash of all the terrible events that had cast a cloud over his administration. State legislators had outlawed hazing after rounds of blustery talk, but at least they had not exacted any financial penalties because of the incident. Venable did not get all he had asked for, but the biennial appropriation was enough to continue along the path of limited growth and development. Most important, there was money to build a new dining hall, which was sorely needed. Writing a friend at the close of the trial, Venable said, "These boys have had from the beginning my deepest sympathy though they were in the wrong and made themselves responsible for their acts and terribly injured both themselves and the University. I would gladly have finished my work for the University and the state without having to go through such an ordeal."[20]

It is not clear if Venable had decided he had had enough of the presidency by the time of the trial. Hard as he tried to put the affair behind him, he could not get release. The student whose charges had been dropped in court applied to have his dismissal from the university overturned. An influential alumnus wrote to Venable on his behalf with questions about an appeal to the trustees

Venable at his desk. He stepped down as president of the university in 1914.

of the faculty's decision, which still stood regardless of the outcome in court. Venable responded sternly, saying that the man was as involved as the others, as far as the faculty were concerned. To reverse the faculty now would undermine everything his administration was trying to do to discourage hazing. If the trustees took up the matter, they had better be prepared to clearly define the offense and say whether an onlooker was as culpable as a man in a mask. The appeal never was filed.

The collection of correspondence that makes up the university papers during this time is thin. However, there is some evidence that by April, a few weeks after the conclusion of the hazing trial, Venable had talked with two influential trustees about his own future and the toll the past year had taken on him physically. One of them was Richard Henry Lewis, a Raleigh physician, with whom he had worked closely throughout his tenure, and the other was Venable's brother-in-law James S. Manning, who had defended one of the students brought to trial. Clearly, Venable was eager for a release from the pressures of office, and he apparently had first proposed to these two and a handful of others that he go on an approved leave and that during his absence

from the university the trustees could find a replacement. By early May, he was rethinking his position, and he asked Manning and Lewis not to mention his suggestion of giving up the presidency altogether. He still wanted a year off and began making plans with his wife, Sallie, to take two of their daughters, Louise and Frances, with them to Europe.[21]

There were details aplenty to take care of before the end of the year. One piece of unfinished business was the unveiling and dedication of the Confederate Soldiers' Monument, which was scheduled for Senior Class Day during commencement week. Erecting the monument had been a project adopted by the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) fours years earlier.[22] In 1911 the university had awarded degrees to men who had withdrawn as students during the Civil War and gone off to fight with the Confederacy fifty years before. Ties to the Confederacy were close and personal at Chapel Hill. A number of faculty members were the sons of Confederate veterans. Venable's father had been an aide-de-camp to General Robert E. Lee. The trustees included men still referred to by their former military rank, an honor also accorded Major William Cain, the university's longtime professor of mathematics. He had been a teenager when he was enrolled to drill enlisted troops.

Sculptor John Wilson of Boston, a Canadian by birth, had been chosen as the sculptor after submitting a design of a young man, carrying a musket and wearing a soft felt hat "pushed back from his brow, enthusiasm in every line of his face, [who] represents the call answered." A Union counterpart to Wilson's everyman soldier frozen in bronze already stood on another pedestal in Maine. Plaques on the pedestal were designed to memorialize the estimated fifteen hundred men with connections to the university who had served in the army of the Confederacy. Some had literally laid down their books to enlist, a memory captured on one of the plates to be mounted on the granite.[23]

In the middle of May, with about two weeks to go before the unveiling, Venable was "in quite a fidget," as he told one of the ladies of the UDC.[24] The concrete foundation and the granite pedestal on which the figure was to be mounted were in place. The chosen site was in the median line of the campus in what would come to be called McCorkle Place, midway between Chapel Hill's main street and the monument to the university's first president, Joseph Caldwell. Everything was ready—a program featuring the governor and his party—but Venable was alarmed that the plaques and the sculpture were nowhere in sight, and Wilson was not making any promises about a delivery date. Moreover, Venable had gotten little in return for the dozens of letters

he had mailed in recent days to alumni who were delinquent in their pledges to pay for the thing. He reported that the university was $1,000 short on the $10,000 needed for Wilson's fee, and all Venable was getting in the daily mail were checks for $2 and $5.

All the while, Venable could take some satisfaction that in a short time, matters such as these, and more, would be the responsibility of Ed Graham, if Venable's plans for the meeting of the trustees went as he hoped and Graham was named acting president. Graham was a natural choice to fill in while he was away. Writing to a colleague out of state, who was investigating Graham as a potential university president, Venable noted that Graham was "very energetic, tactful, and has a most attractive personality. He is conservative, just, firm, greatly respected by the students and all who know him, and a man of the highest character and ideals. In addition to this he is a fine speaker and one of the best organizers that I know of." He said Graham had already turned down some attractive offers for the presidency of institutions "of considerable importance."[25]

Certainly, Venable's estimation of Graham, and confidence in his ability, had only increased in recent months with the two in the trenches together. Graham had been his steady companion throughout the hazing investigation while at the same time working with students to create a more welcoming atmosphere on campus for newcomers. An expanded venue for student expression called the Greater Council had come from that effort. Changes were made in how the Student Council handled charges of violation of the honor code. Going forward, all proceedings would be held in public, with students given the opportunity to face their accusers. In the upheaval that followed the devastating loss to Virginia on Thanksgiving Day, Graham had taken a lead in working with alumni who were eager to take over campus athletics. Graham defended the university's position and managed to retain faculty control over eligibility of players at a time when influential alumni wanted to all but hire athletes to play for the school. He had been an effective spokesman in public forums and had helped rebuild the image of the university when it was held in low esteem.

The president's hand-wringing over the monument was for naught, as the sculptor and statue arrived on June 2 in time for the bronze figure to be mounted on the pedestal, draped with a cloth, and made ready for the dedicatory remarks of the state's new governor, Locke Craig. Venable's preparations for the event included arranging for the university band to play "Dixie" unac-

The Confederate Monument was dedicated June 2, 1913.

companied by the audience. "I have seen so many futile attempts at singing it," he wrote to Mrs. Henry Armand London of the UDC.[26] The next day, at the alumni luncheon, Venable used the occasion to assess his years as president. He was generally upbeat and took time to point out the campus improvements that had come during his tenure. A few hours later, he walked up the steps at the Chemistry Building for the meeting with the trustees.

News of the trustees' acceptance of Venable's request did not become known until Wednesday, when the campus was busy with the formalities of commencement. It was only after the diplomas had been handed out, along with Bibles for each of the eighty-four graduates, that Venable gave an account of his plans to a reporter for the *News and Observer*, just before leaving for Philadelphia, where he was due to give the commencement address at Jefferson Medical College. The two months of relative ease that were normally available in the summertime before the start of the next academic year were "not enough time to restore me to normal health," he said, so he was going to take his doctor's advice to enjoy a recuperative rest.[27] The trustees not only agreed to his leave of absence, but they even voted to give him the year away with pay, a condition approved over his objections. Before he left the meeting, he urged the trustees to review the duties of the presidency "and devise

some method of lifting a part of the burden."[28] Graham was elected as acting president with little discussion.

The president was able to close the books on most of his troubles. He failed to raise the amount needed to pay for the Confederate monument, so, before taking his leave, he wrote a check for $500 from his personal account. Then he packed his bags, turned the president's residence over to two professors in dire need of a place to live for the coming academic year—they agreed to keep his butler, George, on in his absence—and left Chapel Hill with his wife and two daughters for the port of New York.

The family boarded a boat in mid-August, bound for Bremen. Venable's travel plans were uncertain and his finances limited. To help finance his trip, he sold a collection of Confederate government stamps.[29] He hoped to spend some time in old familiar haunts from his college days in Germany, but nothing was on his schedule beyond travel and relaxation. If he had any mission at all, it was to reconnect with the scientific community flourishing in Europe, from which he had become detached during his years as an administrator. He told an old friend that he believed a year away would give him the time he needed: "It is not so much a matter of health as of nerves and I think I can get those all straight in the coming year by being entirely away from the burden and worry of administration."[30]

CHAPTER TWO

An Awakening

When Edward Kidder Graham arrived in Chapel Hill to begin his studies in September 1894, the University of North Carolina was little more than a liberal arts college struggling to live up to its claim as a university. Just the year before, the university had avoided virtual extinction when the state legislature considered, but rejected, the demands of the Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians that the school be limited to graduate study alone. Had these denominational interests succeeded, Graham would probably have been enrolling as a freshman at the Presbyterians' Davidson College.

It was only through the savvy and tenacious efforts of university president George Tayloe Winston that the school would remain intact to celebrate the centennial of the arrival of its first student in 1795, although Winston would once again be called on to defend the school when the General Assembly met two years later.[1] Graham was probably in the crowd of students who greeted Winston at the campus's west gate upon his victorious return from Raleigh in March 1895. It seemed that the entire campus turned out to lead the president and his coach and four, especially hired for the occasion, to Gerrard Hall, where a bonfire blazed against the night and a victory celebration awaited inside.

Winston was the right man to stand for the university at just the right time. Detractors had howled that the school served only the sons of privilege, but with grit and determination, along with considerable political skill, Winston had convinced the legislators that the graduate school bill drafted by the president of Davidson College was nonsense. The state constitution required the university to serve all manner of students within the state. As

for its service as a finishing school for the sons of the wealthy, he rolled out case after case of impoverished young men—one-third of the student body, he said—who made their own way through college by scrimping on meals, working as carpenters and common laborers, waiting tables, and managing other odd jobs in order to gain a diploma.

Unsuccessful at shutting down the university in 1893, opponents in the 1895 session attempted to starve it to death by limiting the state appropriation. The *Biblical Recorder* called upon Baptist preachers to remind their members that state aid disadvantaged denominational schools like Wake Forest College.[2] With the churchmen and the disaffected Democrats rallying around the Populist Party aroused against a state institution that was said to pander to the elite, the university's prospects looked dim. Winston prevailed, however, lobbying the university men in the assembly to his cause. Populist opposition folded after its leader, Marion Butler of Clinton, himself a graduate, declared for the university. Winston boldly claimed that the "battle had been won and won forever" when he took his victory lap in Chapel Hill.[3]

The university was true to its responsibility to the state. Winston's argument in its favor was reminiscent of the instruction Walter Hines Page had delivered at Winston's inauguration in 1891. "We charge you to remember that this is the people's institution," Page had declared. "Renounce forever all servitude to ecclesiasticism and partyism and set out to be the ruling and the shaping force among the energies that stir the people and are making of the old fields a new earth, of our long slumbering land a resounding workshop." As if to underscore his connection with the common man, Winston that night held a "possum dinner" at his home to celebrate the occasion.[4]

Winston then set about to increase attendance at the university with a determination that disturbed the heads of denominational colleges, where attendance was stagnant or in decline. The president sent circulars to public and private schools and spoke whenever and wherever he was asked.[5] By the time Graham arrived as a first-year student in 1894, Winston had more than doubled the size of the student body to 446, comprising the largest combination of classes—law, medicine, and undergraduates—since before the Civil War.

Winston was an able scholar in Latin and German. He was thirteen years old when he began his studies at the university in 1866, and he stayed until 1868, when the school was forced to close because of lack of money. He went on to the U.S. Naval Academy, with an appointment from President Andrew

Johnson, but left there before graduation. Although he was at the top of his class, he was dissatisfied with the military, plus he discovered he suffered from seasickness. He then entered Cornell, graduating with honors in 1874. The following year he returned to Chapel Hill, where he would teach Latin and literature.[6] He was a big, broad-shouldered man with a substantial girth and a bold presence, whatever the venue. He favored a bowler hat that sat perched loosely atop his rather large round head like an undersized stopper on a bulbous bottle. He had a keen sense of humor that he sometimes used to needle his learned colleagues. It was said that when a faculty member returned from his travels abroad and talked of the need for a "pissoir," or proper public sanitary facilities for students, Winston replied, "As far as I am concerned, they can piss whar they please."[7]

There was an element of truth in the complaint that the university served only those at the top of the state's social and economic ladder. The men who enrolled often lived a rung or two higher than the vast majority of those their age. Illiteracy was commonplace in a state where most public schools supported solely by the meager state appropriation operated for only four months a year, if they operated at all. For years, families with financial resources paid for their sons (and daughters) to attend private preparatory schools, where they were schooled for admission to the university with lessons in Latin, Greek, and higher mathematics. Money was not the only reason for the exceptionality of university students. By the mid-1890s, a dozen or so public high schools were producing candidates for the university and "the aggressive and ambitious elements in this state had reached its doors," wrote one observer.[8] However, graduates of private preparatory high schools still outnumbered those from public high schools by more than two to one. Women had yet to be granted admission.

Winston's relations with those raising the level of education in communities across the state were deep and broad. He had led the North Carolina Teachers' Assembly prior to his presidency and had been harnessed in service to broader educational opportunity with Charles Duncan McIver, Charles Brantley Aycock, Edwin Anderson Alderman, James Yadkin Joyner, Julius Isaac Foust, Edward Pearson Moses, and other leading educators of the day. They had been instrumental in upgrading the training of teachers and creating public, tax-supported local school programs in Fayetteville, Goldsboro, Raleigh, Wilmington, and Charlotte. One of the earliest of these ambitious workers was Edward Kidder Graham's uncle, Alexander Graham. He was the

third superintendent of schools in Charlotte, and when Eddie Graham was a lad growing up a few blocks from his uncle's home, he would have seen and heard visitors like Alderman, Foust, McIver, and their fellow travelers talk about the swelling movement for public education.

Alexander Graham had been a classmate of Winston's at the university after the Civil War. Graham went on to study law at Columbia University in New York City and then returned to Fayetteville, where he joined the public school movement. In 1878 he organized a public school system there, and in 1888 he was called to Charlotte to develop the new Charlotte school district. In Charlotte he was reunited with Edward's father, Archibald Graham, who had moved there from southeastern North Carolina several years earlier. Archibald was a bank clerk and raising a family of two sons and a daughter with his wife, Elizabeth. Edward had been born there on October 11, 1876.

Education was important for the extended Graham family. Another of Alexander's brothers, John, began as a tutor for a wealthy landowner in Warren County and eventually created a first-rate preparatory school that one noted graduate said was "the only high school I ever saw in North Carolina in which the faculty were perfectly capable of writing their own text books."[9] By the time Ed got to the university, his sister, Mary, had graduated from the Charlotte Female Institute and was studying at the Teachers College of Columbia University. She would build her own distinguished career in education and public affairs. Ed completed the regular grades in the Charlotte schools run by his uncle and then spent another year at the Carolina Military Institute in Charlotte before he headed off to the university. He was just a month shy of his eighteenth birthday.

Ed Graham—some of his friends called him Kidder[10]—was one of the ninety-three freshmen enrolled for the 1894–95 academic year. The year's program began the first week of September, with prospective students undergoing entrance examinations and interviews with the president. The administrative offices occupied two rooms in South Building, one of the eleven buildings on the campus. More than half of the new students were sons of farmers, and a handful had fathers in business. Others were sons of preachers, doctors, and lawyers.

The campus was woefully short of both recitation rooms and dormitories. Winston's aggressive recruiting meant dormitory rooms filled quickly; more than half of the students were forced to find rooms in private homes in the village. Until a self-supporting dining hall opened in 1896, private boarding-

East Franklin Street as it appeared about 1898, with the Central Hotel on left. Described by the *Tar Heel* as, "old, unpainted, ugly, and obstructive," the hotel was purchased and demolished by the university in 1912. It was replaced by Battle-Vance-Pettigrew, a three-section-dormitory.

houses fed both students and those faculty members who did not have homes of their own. Providing room and board was a boon for the locals, but some faculty members worried about the sanitation and hygiene of the living spaces both on and off campus.

All in all, the university was in poor repair and not much to see. The center of the campus was situated well back from the village, almost hidden among the old-growth trees. Pathways worn in the dirt partitioned the grounds around the buildings and created an illustration in plane geometry. The two buildings erected since the Civil War were a boxy one-story wooden gymnasium and the cavernous Memorial Hall. Both had opened in 1885 and stood near one another on the western end of Cameron Avenue, the main roadway into the campus. Memorial Hall was a huge auditorium that poorly served any purpose to which it was put. Its lofty ceilings swallowed sound, leaving

Looking east on Cameron Avenue, with Memorial Hall, Gerrard Hall, and South Building to the right. This is the view Edward Kidder Graham and Harry W. Chase would have known during the first decade of the twentieth century.

public speakers struggling to be heard; the building was unheated and depended on sunlight for illumination, which made it useless for much of the academic year. The only time the space was regularly occupied was during the one week of commencement in June.

Students lived in the 100-plus rooms of the dormitories called South, New West and Old West, and New East and Old East, which stood in proper order along Cameron Avenue. There were two men to a room that was outfitted with rough furnishings, usually whatever the former residents had left behind. A few African American servants were on hand to fill a washbowl and empty a slop bucket. The servants also kept a stack of firewood at the door to the building from which the roomers could draw a supply.[11] Bathing was not a regular event. There were a few showers installed with the toilets in the basement of Smith Hall, which also housed the campus library. A power

Memorial Hall as it appeared some years after completion. Dedicated June 3, 1885, the building was used over the years as a hall for campus events, and, at times, as a gymnasium. By 1929, the structure was considered unsafe and demolished. Photograph by Wootten-Moulton, Chapel Hill.

plant to supply electricity for lights in the library and elsewhere was more than a year away. The daily schedule was regulated by a servant's tolling of a bell in a belfry atop South Building.

Campus life revolved around the classroom and the athletic field. President Winston heartily endorsed vigorous exercise as a way to control any unscheduled student behavior that might lead to embarrassment of his administration. He was constantly on guard for trouble; the university was well disciplined on his watch. On the day before the annual University Day celebration on October 12, 1894—which happened to be Winston's birthday as well—some students draped a banner across the front of South Building that proclaimed: "Winston's Academy—'I am monarch of all I survey; the attention of the students is called to the following rules and regulations: no more grats, no one is allowed to drink—coffee, students oversleeping themselves will be accounted as being in Durham the night before.'"[12]

Winston counted on hard work, regular class attendance, and vigorous workouts in sports to hold down trouble. "The college Hercules of today scorns to carry off city gates or to lug bullocks into third-story recitation rooms," Winston said. "His glory is in the ballground. He weighs himself in the athletic scales, goes on the ballgrounds and in ninety minutes works off two to eight pounds of vice, idleness, and corruption, commonly known as fat."[13]

Nonetheless, hazing occurred with annual regularity. It was an import from the preparatory schools and was perpetuated from one year to the next. Despite regulations against it, and annual faculty action against offenders, it was so commonplace that students even spoofed it in the yearbook. Some of Graham's classmates got blacked, according to a resolution passed by the freshman class and published in the *Tar Heel*, but, all in all, hazing "has been rather in the nature of a foolish prank, than rough or unkind." Apparently, blacking (smearing a hapless man with shoe polish) did not really qualify as hazing. After out-of-town newspapers reported on incidents of hazing, Graham and his fellow freshmen passed several resolutions attesting to the kind treatment that they had received on campus at the hands of their classmates.[14] The faculty dismissed from the university one man brought before them on charges of hazing, but a month later granted his penitent petition to return. He was allowed reinstatement if he promised to sin no more.

Aside from the competing freshmen and sophomores, with their taunting and foolishness, the campus was also divided between the fraternity and nonfraternity men. Before the end of the previous academic year, a second campus newspaper, the *White and Blue*, had been created to give a voice to the nonfraternity men and compete with the *Tar Heel*, which was supported by the Athletic Association and considered to be in the control of the social fraternities, as was the yearbook, the *Hellenian*. "Why should not the non-fraternity men, the majority of the students, have a publication of their own?" the *White and Blue* asked in its inaugural issue in March 1894.[15] The *White and Blue* promised broader coverage of campus affairs, but during the athletic seasons both sheets devoted most of the space to detailed accounts of recent contests.

College athletics—especially football and baseball—was just beginning to consume the educational institutions in the South. Baseball had come first to Chapel Hill, followed by football in 1888. The roughness of football had provoked the trustees into prohibiting intercollegiate play in 1890 after the

university's team captain was badly injured in a game with Trinity College. Upon the urging of students and sympathetic faculty members, the trustees allowed play to resume in the spring of 1891. In 1894 the university team met Trinity for one game and the North Carolina College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts (later North Carolina State University) in Raleigh for two. The team then traveled to games at Rutgers University in New Jersey and Lehigh University in Pennsylvania, as well as a match in Asheville with the University of the South at Sewanee. The big game of the year was with the University of Virginia. It was played on Thanksgiving Day in Richmond. The city was considered neutral ground, but more important, it had a stadium large enough to hold most of the thousands of spectators.

The Virginia rivalry outranked all others. In 1895, after repeated losses over the previous three years, the North Carolina boys were determined to beat Virginia, so as the season got under way in Ed Graham's sophomore year, the Athletic Association, which governed intercollegiate play, brought in Thomas Gawthrop "Doggie" Trenchard as the coach for Carolina. He was an all-American from the 1893 Princeton team who would later spend two years playing professional football in Pennsylvania. He and his Carolina team had their best season ever, winning seven games and tying one, but they returned to Chapel Hill disappointed after the annual embarrassment in Richmond. One further sour note to the season arose the following February when President Winston abruptly canceled a scheduled tribute to Trenchard after Winston declared the coach undeserving of the honor. He said Trenchard was guilty of drinking and had gambled on the outcome of play during his time on campus.[16]

Football was a rugged game that left players hobbled or worse. Without padding or protection, players needed bulk to survive undamaged. At just under 6 feet and around 135 pounds, Ed Graham was not built for it, but he loved the game and knew its secrets. His sports were baseball and tennis—especially tennis, where his long arms and legs gave him an advantage over less-endowed players.

The tennis courts were situated alongside the President's Walk, a path that president emeritus Kemp P. Battle had worn through the landscape from his home near the deep woods on the east side of the campus. Graham became one of the best players on the campus. By the time he was a sophomore, he was vice president of the Tennis Association and taking on matches with professors Venable, Henry Horace Williams, and others who enjoyed the game.

Sports helped promote alumni interest in the university, but that marked just the beginning of Winston's efforts to gain a broader base of support. There was a growing sense that the university was entering a new era. "The night that went with the war began to fade. The new day was breaking," Horace Williams later wrote. He was the university's professor of philosophy and a devoted supporter of Winston. "President Winston saw that the University must unbend. It must serve the people of the State. Until now it had served the sons of the highly favored."[17] Even the yearbook joined in the chorus to Winston's new theme for the institution: "[The university's] immediate task, and possibly its greatest, is to build up a system of education whereby each child in the state may achieve the largest possible development of all its faculties."[18]

The notion that the university served the "favored" remained politically awkward because it was true, and Winston knew that would remain the case so long as public schools continued to send students who were unprepared for a higher level of study. At the time, the attrition rate was high, with only a little more than half of the number of entering freshmen leaving as graduates four years later. Winston was considered a fine teacher, and he appealed to the faculty to teach, but professors like Williams wondered what could be done with students who did not know their Latin and Greek, who stumbled over mathematics, and who struggled with Professor Thomas Hume's heroic efforts at instilling a love for English literature.[19]

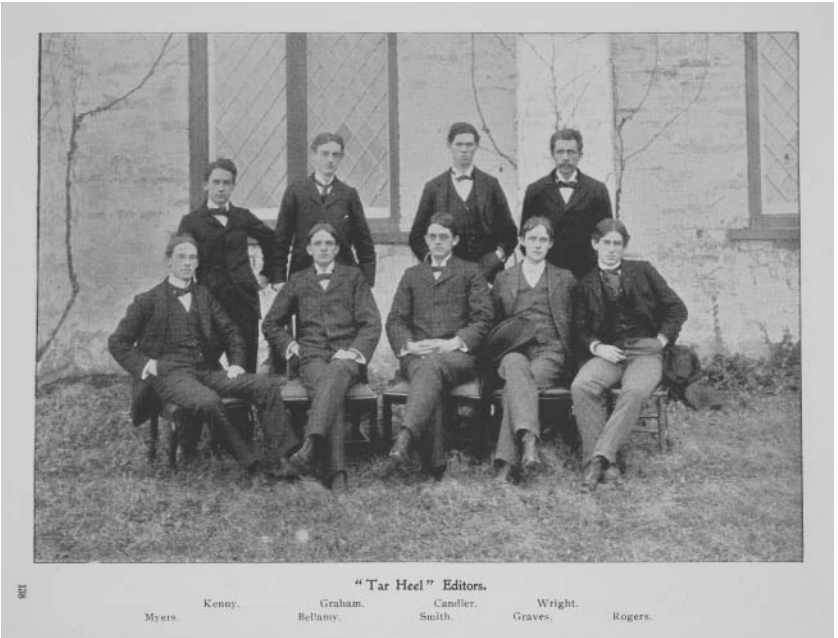
Graham excelled in class and earned undergraduate honors. As a candidate for the bachelor of philosophy degree, he struggled a bit with Latin in his first term, but rebounded the next with a record of 1s and 2s (the A and B grades of the time). That record continued until graduation, with only one exception. Williams rated Graham at no better than a 4 when the teenager first came to his classroom as a junior. By the time Graham was a senior, he received a 1 from Williams, and the crusty philosopher gave out precious few of those.[20]

Along the way, Graham became a disciple of both Williams and Hume. The latter was a gentle churchman who had seen duty as a chaplain with a Virginia regiment during the siege of Petersburg in 1865. He arrived at the university in 1885 when the curriculum was expanded to include the study of literature, a word that he wrote with a capital *L*. Hume taught as long as there was light in the day and then gathered Graham and other students around him at night in his home to join in a study of William Shakespeare. He organized Shakespeare clubs out in the state, lectured whenever called upon, and

also found time to preach in Chapel Hill's Baptist church on Sundays. Hume was Graham's model of a great teacher. "It was a matter of everyday wonder how so frail a man had the burden-bearing power of a superman," Graham later wrote of Hume, who devoted his life to the university despite low pay and simple pleasures. "But here was the simple secret: To him it was not a burden, but a joy. It gave him the chance to teach!"[21]

Horace Williams probably first met Graham on the tennis court before the young man took a seat in his classroom as a junior. (The professor believed Graham could deliver "a wicked serve.") Williams's formal designation was professor of mental and moral science, and his course in psychology was required of all students in their third year. Graham performed poorly in his first meeting with Williams, taking a 4 in his first term but raising that to a 2 for the second. For Williams, a day in front of his class, with his hat nearby as if he were about ready to depart,[22] was not successful unless he confounded his students, turning their arguments on their heads in an exercise of free-wheeling debate and questions and answers that he vowed led them to the "truth." In a profile of Williams in the 1897 *Hellenian*, a student—perhaps it was Graham, who was then a member of the yearbook staff—wrote: "Prof. Williams lectures now and then on 'Philosophy and Life—'specially Philosophy,' and talks real pious to us lots of times. Then he gets reports from us every week of the logical and psychological errors in the sermons we heard the Sunday before. You see, he does this to encourage church attendance." Williams's irregular curriculum and his ill-defined system of grading did not sit well with everyone, including his colleagues, with whom he was often at odds. One student commented: "In this course it seems to be more necessary for a student to make a study of the Professor than of the text-book. We would prefer a little more Psychology and less Williamsology."[23]

The professor took particular note of Graham's serious intent when Graham voted his convictions, rather than the party line, on an issue that deeply divided the fraternity and nonfraternity men on campus. Only Graham, a member of Sigma Alpha Epsilon, and one other stood against their fraternity brothers. "Here was a measure of his character," Williams later told a friend.[24] Williams also spent time with Graham, who emerged as one of the top student debaters in the campus competition to which Graham had graduated after excelling on the platform in the Dialectic Society, one of two literary societies on the campus. By his junior year, Graham was one of the most well-rounded and involved students in the class of 1898: tennis player,



During his junior year, Edward Kidder Graham (back row, second from left) served on the *Tar Heel* Board of Editors.

debater, class president during his freshman and sophomore years, campus correspondent for the *Charlotte Observer* (and officer in the University Press Club), a business manager of the *Hellenian*, an editor of the *Tar Heel*, fraternity member, and top academic performer.

A new president of the university had greeted Graham and his classmates when they returned to campus as juniors in September 1896. Edwin A. Alderman was selected by the trustees to succeed President Winston, who left Chapel Hill over the summer to take the presidency of the University of Texas at twice his current pay. Alderman was a natural choice; his name was synonymous with the public school movement in North Carolina. In the 1890s, he had trained teachers from one end of North Carolina to the other. He had helped advance the argument for the state normal school in Greensboro (later the University of North Carolina at Greensboro) and was teaching there before Winston hired him to create the university's own education courses that were tailored for the training of principals and superintendents.

Winston believed the university could best extend its reach beyond the

stone walls at Chapel Hill and out into the state by cultivating friends within the education community. If the university were to truly serve as the guiding light of education in the state, it would reach that goal through the education of more and better school principals and superintendents of the new public school systems being organized in growing, expanding municipalities. As a result, Alderman's first order of business was to revive the summer school for teachers, a program that had been discontinued a decade earlier. Graham's uncle Alexander was one of those called upon to teach.

There were other changes in the fall of 1896. The campus now had a modest supply of electricity, thanks to a steam engine that powered both a small dynamo and the water pumps that filled the tanks for the campus water supply that had been installed in the upper story of South Building. Power lines extended from the power plant located near South Building out to campus buildings and even the shops, cafés, and hotels in the village. The early electrification of the campus was the handiwork of Joshua Gore, the university's professor of physics, whose course work included studies in electricity for advanced students. One by one, the buildings came on line, and electric power finally reached the library in Smith Hall late in 1896. Eventually arc lights were raised at strategic spots on the campus walks, thus reducing some of the nighttime collisions of pedestrians and bicyclists.

Students also were eating meals at a campus dining hall called the Commons in what had been the old gymnasium. The building was overhauled and given a kitchen, thanks to a donation of $3,000 from a wealthy patron, Mrs. Frederick Baker of New York City. Indoor exercise equipment from the old gymnasium was moved into Memorial Hall, which found duty as an exercise room, though the building's many windows suffered with the change. Graham was an associate editor of the *Tar Heel* (which now included the former *White and Blue* editors), and the paper defended the competition that the Commons was giving to owners of boardinghouses in the village. Patrons were not buying meals from local cooks any longer, but the newspaper argued the Commons was a boost to the farmers with fresh produce and meat. A man could eat three times a day for eight dollars a month.

Alderman injected a new spirit into his management of the campus. He depended less on the rigid application of rules and appealed more to the better nature of the university men. In an address to students when Graham was beginning his senior year, he talked about the breath of freedom, ideals for right living, and a campus "where manners are gentle, and courtesies daily

multiply between teacher and taught, and a gentleman feels at home." He believed in a place where "men are trained to observe closely, imagine vividly, [and] reason accurately."[25]

At thirty-five years of age, Alderman was almost a decade younger than his predecessor, but the older and more-seasoned faculty members did not resent his youth. He was fresh, urbane, a lively speaker, and more widely known about the state than any of his colleagues. His clothes were well tailored—he favored tweed jackets to a frock coat—and he had a naturally graceful appearance. The lines of his face were set off by a large, dark mustache that flowed and curled freely, which he later trimmed to a more modest size.[26]

Alderman's attention to dress was exceeded by his impeccable manners and public presence. It was said he was a gentleman "to the tips of his fingers. His standards were higher than the standards of ordinary men and he lived up to them with the most extraordinary consistency."[27] These qualities were no nostalgic reflection of an older era. Indeed, Alderman was a man of the New South eager to be unburdened of the battles of the past. An accomplished speaker, he became a voice of reconciliation with the denominational interests that had sorely plagued his predecessor. A few months after he took office, he made a speech at a public school in Durham, the home of Trinity president John Carlisle Kilgo, in which he said, "The University has no war to make against anything but ignorance and it fears no harm."[28]

He was brimming with ideas. He promoted the library as coequal with the other departments on campus and hired a full-time librarian to work under Eben Alexander, who had recently returned to campus after service as the nation's ambassador to Greece. Alderman prevailed on the trustees to create a chair of pharmacy and another for political and social science. (He got the money for pharmacy, but had to teach the political science course himself.) Within a year of his taking office he asked for permission to admit women for graduate study. The trustees approved virtually all his requests.

The new president faced a relatively tame legislative session in 1897 that opened just as he was being inaugurated in Chapel Hill on January 27. A hundred of the legislators, along with Governor Daniel Lindsay Russell, boarded a special train out of Raleigh and later filed into Gerrard Hall, decorated for the ceremonies in white and blue, the colors of the literary societies. The turnout was impressive considering the nasty weather; the sleet and snow could easily have discouraged travel. The venerable Kemp Plummer Battle presented Alderman as unique in the university's history. He was not a

preacher like the early presidents, or a lawyer like himself or David Lowry Swain, or a lifelong professor like Winston. Battle said Alderman was the first president whose reputation had been earned on behalf of teachers and children in the public schools. Alderman's inaugural address lasted an hour and a half. In it he continued a theme begun under Winston, who had recruited Alderman to reinforce his argument that the university was the head of the public school system.[29] He talked about the service of the university to the state and called on the state to "understand and sympathize with it." "The University is the people's school. Her watchword and her graven motto shall be creative energy, enlightened civilization, and untrammelled manhood."[30]

Alderman saw that the legislators were warmly welcomed. Students roared out the campus cheer—"Yackety Yack, Hooray! Hooray!"—when the legislators arrived at Gerrard Hall. They were given honorary membership in the appropriate literary society—westerners to the Di and easterners to the Phi—and later they mingled with a gathering of school superintendents from around the state. The schoolmen had come to meet and honor one of their own who now was the leader of the university. "His name is sononymous [*sic*] in North Carolina with popular education," one of them said.[31]

Ed Graham missed the president's speech; he was sick and confined to his room. A week later he surrendered his duties as an associate editor of the *Tar Heel*. His retreat suggested no ill will but only a selective paring of his extracurricular activities as he continued to be here and there on campus. He and classmate Archibald Henderson were among seven men elected to membership in Alpha Theta Phi, the campus honor society and the forerunner of the Phi Beta Kappa chapter at the university. Both held an average of 2 in their class work. Graham was president of the Tennis Association and a regular contributor in Hume's Shakespeare Club. His debating skills drew comment from those who were on hand for the weekly sessions of the Dialectic Society.

It was a fertile time for a young, eager student like Graham, who seemed to absorb all manner of ideas about the future for the university, especially the improvement of student government and the expanding opportunities of the university to serve the state in a rapidly changing world. On the pages of the *Tar Heel* that he edited there was talk about students taking greater responsibility for themselves, including enforcement of the honor code. The paper's support of a building for the YMCA, which included about half the student body as members, fostered talk about a hall dedicated to the improvement of student social life. Graham also was learning to cross boundaries and

break through traditions of class and prejudice. Though he was a fraternity man and deep into the politics and maneuvering of the management of campus publications run by the Greek organizations, he reached the unpinned majority of the students with a skill that impressed Horace Williams. In his junior year Graham was one of six who founded the Order of the Gorgon's Head, a secret society of upperclassmen and men in the professional schools that was dedicated to "friendship, good will, and social fellowship" among its members.

Graham returned to the *Tar Heel* in his senior year, serving as its editor in chief, and was elected by acclamation as president of the Athletic Association. He was part of a movement to revive the campus literary magazine and made selections for its first issue. The magazine was a project of the literary societies, and Graham was one of the editors. Graham appeared nearly inexhaustible and set to uphold his class's motto: *Semper idem, nunquam non parati* ("Always the same, never unprepared") as he and Archibald Henderson competed for the finest academic record. (Henderson ended the year as number one. Graham was number two.) During the course of the year, Graham wrote and delivered a paper on Shylock for the Shakespeare Club and researched and presented another on Karl Marx for a social science seminar, an adjunct to the history department. He and Willis James Brogden represented the university in the annual debate competition with the University of Georgia and won, upholding the negative in a debate about the annexation of Hawaii.

Graham was editor of the *Tar Heel* when the paper gave a spirited defense of football after a player for the University of Georgia died as a result of a concussion he received in the course of a game. The Georgia state legislature responded by banning play, but the bill failed to become law when the governor vetoed the bill at the request of the player's mother. The university administration at Carolina mounted a defense of the game, saying in the *University Record* that football was good for the soul by raising school spirit and excitement, encouraged vigorous exercise, built teamwork, and trained men in strategy. The game was compared to a contest in chess. Besides, students needed something to occupy their time in the fall months when baseball was dormant.[32]

The university closed its season with another loss to Virginia. The 0-to-12 result was not as bad as the outcome the year before, when the score was 0 to 46. That one was called "a defeat without a parallel."[33]

There was a modicum of construction activity on campus. Alderman had

shaken loose a few thousand dollars more for operation of the university, but the 1897 legislature provided nothing for construction of classroom buildings or dormitories to resolve chronic overcrowding. The only hope for relief was in the promises of alumni who two years earlier had pledged money for construction of a building to house the offices of the president, the registrar, and the bursar along with the Departments of Physics and Electrical Engineering. The three-story building, from the basement to the second floor, also would include space for lecture rooms and laboratories. The total cost was estimated at $25,000. That was a considerable sum, but alumni pledged $20,000 to be paid in installments over the next five years. When the new offices and classrooms became available, the space opened to use in older buildings would be equal to adding another dormitory to the campus inventory.

The amount of money collected from alumni was running behind what had been promised, but in the summer of 1897 the trustees were comfortable enough with the nearly $7,000 they had in hand to start work on the foundation and the basement of what later would be named the Alumni Building. The building committee approved a design from Charlotte architect Frank Pierce Milburn, who specialized in public buildings. His use of arched windows compared favorably to the design of the recently finished Boston Public Library and the Astor Library in New York City. The building would be the first on campus designed for steam heat and electric lighting. An editorial in the *Tar Heel* suggested a site across from Person Hall on the east side of the quadrangle between the heart of the campus and the village.[34] Since neither Alderman nor his predecessors expressed themselves publicly about the appearance of campus buildings, taking whatever they could get from donors, the result was a hodgepodge of styles, from the Greek Revival of the early structures to the Italian Villa models of New East and New West. Memorial Hall was described as "illiterate" by one historian. The new building was a tilt back to more classical models.[35]

Alderman was bolder than others in his concern about the appearance of the campus. He was sensitive to the noncomplementary architectural styles and the lack of a center, or focal point. The closest thing to a student gathering spot was the campus well, which was enlarged and redug in the fall of 1897. Watching the work progress from his office in South Building, he decided to refine at least one spot to something resembling beauty. He wanted to make a statement that "Reconstruction poverties were in the past. A new order was ascendant."[36] Rather than restore the ragged cover that had stood

for years, Alderman asked Professor Joshua W. Gore to design something more becoming.

Alderman had not traveled widely, but he had admired pictures of the small, round temples found in English gardens that were cousins, as he called them, of the temple at Versailles. Working from that description, Gore produced a circular design with eight columns and a domed roof. Alderman later noted, "Our little well is, therefore, a sort of sixth cousin of a Greek shrine, or third cousin of the Temple of Vesta, or second cousin of the Temple at Versailles."[37] In time, it would become the symbol for the university itself.

Satisfied with what Gore had done at the well, Alderman prevailed on him to enhance the main door of South Building by incorporating a detail from a doorway he had seen at Westover, a plantation house on the James River in Virginia. He also arranged for ivy to be planted around the buildings so that its eventual coverage of the walls would add some character to them. All these changes cost about $500, not an insignificant sum when compared with faculty pay of about $1,500 a year, but one Alderman defended against critics in the faculty who believed the expense to be wasteful. In his view, "The whole well incident, the building of the little Temple, was a pitiful, yet beautiful, illustration of the way Democracy cries out for beauty to give it backbone—spiritual backbone—that will make it so strong that it can and will defy self gratification, mobs and red terrors."[38]

Graham gave up the editorship of the *Tar Heel* in the spring as he began preparing for the intercollegiate debate competition and also for graduation. The thirty-two seniors in the class of 1898 were required to prepare a senior thesis or compete in oration in order to qualify for their diplomas. As Graham and Brogden were arguing against annexation of the Hawaiian Islands, the United States declared war on Spain following the sinking of America's battleship *Maine* in the harbor at Havana, Cuba. War fever swept across the country and made its way to Chapel Hill, where about thirty men who belonged to the National Guard awaited orders for active duty. One student, Joseph Monroe Morris, a freshman, lit out for Durham and enlisted in the Durham Light Infantry.

President Alderman was traveling abroad when war was declared. He left the campus in February on a three-month trip that carried him around the Mediterranean rim and through the heart of Europe. It was an absence from his work that had been postponed for some time. Shortly before he was elected to office, he had been widowed. His late wife, Emma, was the sister of

the late Ralph Henry Graves, who had been a professor of mathematics at the university. Her death came not long after the loss of their three children to childhood diseases. None reached the age of six. The president was allowed but little time to grieve before he was thrown into the demands of his new office. Now he was off to see "the great types in the world—the Mohammedan world, the Catholic world, the Protestant world, the world of the beginning of things," he told students just before his departure. "I leave in your hands a dearer thing—The honor of the University; for the dullest, least thoughtful man in this audience, if he will think, must know that he has it in his power to sustain that honor and keep it bright or by a thoughtless act to smirch it black as pitch."[39] It was a profound vote of confidence in their honor and integrity.

The president kept the campus informed during his travels, including sending word about the trials of a stormy Atlantic crossing that cost one of his shipmates his life. "I neither missed a meal nor lost one," he reported. He was on a German steamship but found he could not communicate clearly in German to the crew. When he asked a steward to turn out his cabin light, the man "thrust under my chin a villainous looking tin contrivance." He was not impressed with the number of preachers who were on their way to the Holy Land. "One man was so ignorant that he thought Palestine was in Cairo. I wondered why he came. I found out later in conversation with his wife. He came to carry things and to be useful."[40]

Alderman was back in Chapel Hill on May 7, just as the term was coming to an end. There had been no embarrassing incidents. In fact, the campus was the focus of envy after Joshua Gore, who had been acting president in Alderman's absence, began demonstrating a new X-ray machine that he had set up in his laboratory. (There is no explanation about how he arranged for delivery of such an exotic instrument.) A Raleigh doctor brought over a patient for examination to determine if a missing shawl pin was lodged in her throat, the *Tar Heel* reported. Gore could not find it. Work was progressing on the new Alumni Building—it now had a name—and the cornerstone was scheduled to be laid at the 1898 commencement. Hannis Taylor of Mobile, Alabama, a university graduate who had been minister of Spain under President Grover Cleveland, was due in Chapel Hill as the commencement speaker.

War news crowded virtually everything off the front pages of the daily newspapers. Alderman himself brought fresh reports from the world abroad that was responding to America's fight with Spain. He said he heard remarks in France, Germany, and Italy that were hard to bear, but when he reached

England the attitudes were friendlier. He told the campus community he was glad that the war had intruded no more than it had and that it had not disrupted campus life. Students' greatest duty, he said on his return, was to stay in school and fit themselves for life.[41] The week before commencement, the first troops raised from North Carolina boarded trains and headed to Jacksonville, Florida, a jumping-off point for Cuba. News reporters wrapped the rousing cheers and waving flags in imagery of 1776 and 1861.

Ed Graham was busy preparing for the closing of his college career. He was leaving a university that was quite different from what he had found in the fall of 1894. During the past four years, he had seen two remarkable leaders occupy the presidency and put their stamp on the institution. Winston had been the politician-educator, and a bit rough around the edges. Alderman was more of a visionary who was less concerned with the battles in Raleigh than he was in how the institution would serve the state in the new century that lay just ahead. Women had been added to the student body, and electric lights were illuminating campus buildings. He had seen the construction of a small infirmary, the expansion of the medical training to two years, creation of the new Department of Pharmacy, and renovations to Gerrard Hall, which now sported a handsome chandelier. There was a co-op store in New West where students could buy books, stationery, and even articles of clothing. The main street in the village had sidewalks. The rail connection from Chapel Hill to University Station on the main line west of Durham had been overhauled, and travel time was cut in half.

The commencement ceremonies began on Sunday with Wilbur Fisk Tillett of Vanderbilt University preaching the baccalaureate sermon. Perfection, Tillett said, was a life of service and sacrifice as exemplified in Jesus Christ.[42] Senior Class Day followed on Monday, and a passing spring rain during the night cooled the air and left the campus shimmering and fresh. During the day, the seniors passed through the campus, pausing at each building for a rousing cheer before settling under the Davie Poplar to smoke the peace pipe and sing the university song. That night, Graham presided over the delivery of addresses presented by the literary societies.

On Wednesday, the academic procession began forming around 10:30 a.m., and by 11:30 all were seated in Memorial Hall for speeches and the ceremonial distribution of diplomas and Bibles, handed to each man by Governor Russell. Hannis Taylor's commencement address was freighted with a discourse on world affairs and on the reshaping of national powers that would come

Sallie Walker Stockard, Class of 1898, was the first woman to receive a degree from the University of North Carolina. She was in the class with Edward Kidder Graham. Photograph by Nat. W. Taylor, Asheville.

from the war with Spain. Taylor and the other speakers all took note that the first naval officer to die in battle was a North Carolinian, Ensign Worth Bagley. Two days before, in Raleigh, a contingent from the Grand Army of the Republic had decorated the Federal Cemetery (later the Raleigh National Cemetery) and then moved on to Bagley's fresh grave in Oakwood Cemetery, where a wreath of intertwining palm and pine represented the uniting of the North and the South over the grave of an officer of the U.S. Navy.

Before Taylor's speech, the podium was turned over to four senior orators who had been chosen to compete for the Mangum Medal, the highest se-

nior honor. Graham was among the group, although he had not been chosen in the first round by the faculty. Another quartet had already been selected when Horace Williams showed Alderman a paper by Graham, saying it was far better than anything he had seen that year. Alderman included Graham as one of the competitors.[43]

The topics ranged from nineteenth-century feudalism to Graham's somewhat enigmatic topic, "the economic man." Rather than dissect the past, Graham offered a projection of a future world where materialism and commercialism would dominate. The South was no longer immune to the influence of commercial interests so long associated with northern interests, he said. "I shall not go into the evidences of the dominancy of the wealthy ideal. It is the first and last impression of those who visit our shores from abroad, as well as the perpetual and unavailing cry of our own reformers. The preacher deplores a lost faith, the sociologist declaims the violent disregard of all the rights of society—every outside class interest feels the oppression. All of our institutions show its marks."

"The survival of the fittest is the golden rule of Business," he said. His speech ended on an uncertain note, with a suggestion that the people, through democratic government, and business would eventually combine to form what he called "the commercial state." It was a theme that Graham would refine over the next ten years.[44]

Graham was awarded the Mangum Medal. He picked up his diploma and a Bible from the governor, who joked that the class of 1898 was the best behaved in history because it included a woman. She was Sallie Walker Stockard, a Guilford College graduate from Saxapahaw.[45]

Graham was headed home to Charlotte, where he planned to teach at the same private school that had prepared him for the university. It was a city afire with commerce and a good place for young men of ambition and education. Ed Graham had talked about becoming a lawyer as he made his farewells to his classmates and smoked the peace pipe under the Davie Poplar. If that proved to be the case, he would be back in Chapel Hill before long.

CHAPTER THREE

Professor Graham

MARCUS CICERO STEPHENS NOBLE—HE was often called Billy—was training future school superintendents and principals at the university early in the first years of the twentieth century when he was invited to speak at the commencement of a country school not far from Chapel Hill. Noble did not want to ride to the affair alone, so he invited Ed Graham, who was then in his second year as an instructor in English, to join him for the day. It was an occasion of songs, drills in the lessons, student speeches, even music from a string band. The outing touched Graham deeply, though Noble was unaware that his innocent invitation would change the future of the university in ways that neither he nor Graham could foresee at the time.

After Edwin A. Alderman ascended to the university presidency in 1896, he had persuaded Noble, a classmate and fellow laborer in the statewide campaign for public education, to leave his post as superintendent of the Wilmington city schools, the largest public school program in the state, to succeed him as professor of pedagogy and begin building a school of education. Graham had not been in Noble's classes, but the two had come to know one another after Graham returned to the university in 1899 to manage the library at Alderman's request. Before the academic year was through, Alderman had hired Graham as an instructor in English.

Noble had not expected Graham to remain at the university long; he thought him a candidate for something else. "I told him," Noble recalled some years later, "that if I were a young man with his brains, industry and capacity I would choose law as my profession." Graham's reply was a surprise. "No," Graham said, "I am not going to study law. I believe that I could make

a good living at the law, but when I saw that crowd the other day listening to you I saw a greater opportunity than I would have in the practice of law. I am going to be a teacher and try to talk to the people of North Carolina every time I have a chance and do all the good I can."[1]

Ed Graham left Chapel Hill in 1898 with no firm plans for his future, although becoming a lawyer was on his mind. He returned home to Charlotte, where a teaching job was available under John G. Baird, the headmaster who had prepared him to enter the university. Teaching was a suitable professional choice for Graham, as it was for many of his classmates also unsettled on a career. Graduates often taught for a year or two; jobs were readily available for men with a college degree. Graham's hesitancy to choose a course immediately may also have stemmed from a realization of the uplifting power of education that came from close association with men like Alderman and his uncle Alexander. The president preached to graduates about their responsibility to give back to the people whose taxes had made their education possible. Graham dug his oar into the water.

Some men also chose teaching as a way to work off scholarship obligations due the university, but there is no indication that Graham was so beholden. More than likely, the post in Charlotte looked like as good a place as any from which to survey the possibilities for his future, and live cheaply at the same time. The Graham home on East Fifth Street would be full once again. His sister, Mary, was there along with his younger brother, Archibald, who was working in a bank. He would also join his mother and his father, who, after more than a decade in banking, was engaged in building a new business as a merchandise broker.

Graham turned twenty-two in the fall of 1898. After four years of cloistered life in Chapel Hill, Charlotte brought him face to face with the reality that the South was on the verge of extraordinary change in the new century that lay just ahead. Clearly, three potent forces were combining to shape a region cut low by war, impoverished through Reconstruction, and burdened with illiteracy. Education, industrialization, and political agitation—the primary movements at the time—all were arousing men to action. Even as Graham accepted his diploma from a Republican governor, there were trustees seated in Memorial Hall who had already pocketed their plans to restore the Democratic Party to power and abolish what the party's platform, adopted just a few days before in Raleigh, called the "negro domination" that had been foisted upon the state by the Republicans. Trustee Josephus Daniels and his

newspaper, the *News and Observer*, would vilify Governor Russell in the fall campaign and invigorate a white supremacy campaign that would be harsh, brutal, and conclusive.

Graham could hardly have missed the torchlight parades that later in the year passed through the center of Charlotte just a few blocks from the Graham home. And he may have even joined in as he prepared to cast his ballot for the first time in November 1898. The white supremacy campaign drew intellectual support from university men like George T. Winston and Edwin Alderman.[2] Graham's own senior thesis included references to the Anglo-Saxon traditions of strength, courage, and ambition that were woven into America's political, economic, and social fabric. This concept would recur over and over in later speeches and writings. For the most part, Graham would remain apart from active political participation throughout his life, leaving that to others, such as his good friend Robert Digges Wimberly Connor, who graduated from the university in 1899. He was the son of Henry Groves Connor, who helped fashion the 1898 campaign where the Democrats swept the field in the general elections in the fall and won control of the 1899 General Assembly. The elder Connor was speaker of the house and helped craft the amendment to the state constitution that would virtually eliminate voting rights for African Americans and secure Democratic Party control that would last for nearly three-quarters of the twentieth century.

The "economic man" that Graham had defined in his Mangum Medal–winning address was busy, even frantically so, in Charlotte as elsewhere. Promoters of a new economy were rushing the city toward modernity, paving dirt streets and replacing as fast as they could the ragged, one-story wooden buildings with tall, multistory brick structures that declared the arrival of a new era of commerce and business. One new building at the center of Charlotte was twelve stories tall. The city had handsome new public buildings, trolleys powered by electricity, and a flow of cash pouring into the economy from the nearby textile mills that employed people by the thousands, numbers that would grow to tens of thousands in just a few years. George Erwin Gullett Stephens, the campus football hero in Graham's freshman year, was becoming one of Charlotte's leading men of business with interests in insurance, banking, and real estate.

The talk around the dinner table at the Graham household would have touched on the growing promise of the South's new industries that promoters said would lift the region out of decades of poverty and remove the limita-

tions of its agricultural economy. Archibald Graham had worked for years at the elbow of Robert M. Oates, who in addition to presiding over the First National Bank had an interest in Charlotte's early textile and hosiery mills. The companies started by Oates and others were turning Charlotte into the commercial and manufacturing center not just of North Carolina, but of an entire region that reached from Raleigh across the state into South Carolina and on to the hills of northern Georgia.

After his one year at the Charlotte Military Institute,[3] Graham headed back to the university in the late summer of 1899. He could see the evidence of what was being called the New South from the window of his train as it rattled north out of Charlotte past masons who were raising new mills that would stand two and three stories tall. Clustered nearby were the early settlements of small, frame houses filling with mill operatives and their working families, who would depend on a paycheck instead of the unsteady economy of tenant farming. Farther on, Graham passed smaller, one-story brick mills, the pride of villages all along the rail line, that sat squat and low on the right-of-way in what had once been cotton fields and cow pastures. The clatter of the looms and spinning machines spilled out of the open windows to compete with the rumble of the passing train. Even as Graham's train pulled into the station at the terminus of the spur line just outside Chapel Hill, there was a new cotton mill waiting for him there.

As he headed to his new job, Graham probably was accompanied by his cousins David and Archibald Graham. They were sons of his uncle Alexander and continuing their studies at the university. David was set to work as President Alderman's secretary; Archibald would distinguish himself on the baseball field and later become a physician. Their younger brother Frank would follow in a few years. Before the academic year was out, Ed Graham was installed in the English department with his beloved mentor, Thomas Hume. Just where he found a room is not known. It may have been at the home of Mrs. Ralph Graves, a close friend of all the Grahams. Her house stood at the edge of campus, just outside the west gate, where her brother-in-law, the widowed President Alderman, also was in residence.[4]

It would be Alderman's final year at the university. In April 1900 he was offered the presidency of Tulane University in New Orleans, and despite the urgent pleas of the trustees that he stay, he submitted his resignation in May. He never explained his decision to leave his native state, where his name had become inextricably linked with the education movement. The politics of the

recent political campaign may have played a part. The university had received a boost in its state appropriation in 1897, but the legislature that convened in 1899 only continued the earlier modest and inadequate funding. It must have been disheartening for him to learn that the organizers of the white supremacy campaign had promised the denominational opponents of the university not to seek higher appropriations in exchange for their support in the 1898 election.[5] While Alderman may have been sympathetic to the prevailing politics, his ambitions for the university were even stronger. At Tulane, a private school with a million-dollar endowment, he would be free from such political interference. Moreover, he was offered a salary at more than twice his pay at Chapel Hill, where he had to beg for $300 just to pay clerical expenses.[6]

The trustees chose Francis P. Venable as Alderman's successor. He was a professor of chemistry whose laboratory work had already connected him directly to America's new industries and placed him among the best in his field in the United States and abroad. When he was elected to his post in Chapel Hill in 1880, he was in the midst of his studies at the great German institutions. He brought home with him the understanding that reliance on new knowledge, such as the discoveries in the laboratory and the research aided by libraries, was equal to the earlier dependence on the old knowledge, drawn from the classics that persisted in the academy. One classicist, philosopher Horace Williams, grumbled over his selection and said Venable was pushed by the scientific men in the faculty.[7] On the other hand, influential trustees like Julian Shakespeare Carr of Durham, who was awash in the wealth gained from the manufacture of tobacco and textiles, found him to be their kind of man. Carr was so impressed with Venable that when he later got around to buying the textile mills at the edge of Chapel Hill and incorporating the mill village as a municipality, he had it first named in honor of Venable. After he learned of the president's objections, the town was renamed Carrboro.[8]

The new president was quite a different leader than Alderman, a man Venable considered to be a bit full of himself. A few weeks before his appointment, Venable wrote one of his daughters to say it would be a relief to have a "humbler" man as president. He was not talking about himself; at the time no successor had been chosen.[9] Venable was not humble, but he was uncomfortable out of his familiar laboratory and classroom setting, where he was "master of his stew," as Williams described it.[10] He was not a gifted public speaker, like Alderman, and that may have been why he asked for no formal inaugural ceremony associated with his election as president. Such occasions

usually came with the transition and required a substantial address by the new man. There was no question of Venable's devotion to the university. He had all but married into it since arriving to teach twenty years earlier. His wife, Sallie, was the daughter of a longtime professor of law, John Manning. They had five children, including twin sons, and lived in a house on East Franklin Street, which was then called Main Street.

Graham joined one of the fastest-growing disciplines in the university. Three years after he arrived on the campus, the responsibilities of the English department were divided, with Hume taking charge of the courses on literature while a new addition to the faculty, Charles Alphonso Smith, was assigned the courses on the English language. Smith typified the quality of man Venable was recruiting to the faculty. During the course of his tenure, Venable would more than double the number of professors by employing his own economy and management that squeezed every penny of power out of increased appropriations. He was working with limited funds, so he chose carefully and recruited men with doctorates, a condition that had been less of a consideration under his predecessors, when a man's religious persuasion counted for as much as or more than his academic credentials.[11]

In Smith's second year on the faculty, Venable named him dean of the university's new Graduate School. There were fewer than two dozen postgraduates on the campus, but the formal designation of the school and Smith's appointment were early signs of Venable's intent to develop the liberal arts college that had been handed to him in 1900 into a true university. By continuing to shift some responsibilities out of his office, Venable was advancing the European model of academic organization. Within three months of taking office, he had named Eben Alexander as dean of the faculty. This move relieved the president of some administrative duties and eased some of his burdens as he tried to run the university and remain involved in the laboratory. He also brought the Department of Medicine into "full membership" and added two more years of clinical study at an ancillary site in Raleigh. He created the School of Mining (later Applied Science) and finally got the money for the pharmacy school that had been first proposed by Alderman.

Venable believed that if the university could not hire all the seasoned academic talent that was required to meet classes, then it could at least grow its own crop of men. Graham was one of the young graduates on the campus—classmate Archibald Henderson was another—whose career was influenced by Venable's guiding touch and encouragement. After Graham had worked

as an instructor for two years, at an annual salary of $700, and taught in the summer school operated for training teachers, the president agreed to his application for a leave of absence during the 1902–3 academic year so he could pursue a master's degree from Columbia University. He would take another leave during the 1904–5 academic year to complete requirements for his degree.

During Graham's years as an instructor, he met large classes with as many as 35 students where his primary objective often was remedial education. He and an assistant were responsible for more than 225 students. Most of the freshmen enrolled in Chapel Hill in the early years of the new century were "conditioned" in subjects where they were found to be deficient. If students had not read all of the required material, but were otherwise considered suited for college work, they were allowed to make up what they were lacking during the course of the year. During the first decade, as many as 70 percent of the new men were conditioned in English, a level exceeded only by those deficient in Latin and modern languages.[12] The problem persisted even after the new public high schools grew in number midway through the decade, with a majority of the students from these schools still falling short of the published requirements for admission. The public schools just were not up to producing fully qualified candidates, which encouraged M. C. S. Noble to plead for increased funding to train educators at the university to supplement the teachers turned out at the state's normal schools.[13]

The task of helping students overcome their conditions fell heaviest on those below professorial rank on whom Venable depended to teach. The university's classes were overflowing with freshmen and sophomores. By 1904, the number of professors on the faculty had grown from twenty to thirty-two, but the number of instructors and assistants had nearly doubled to twenty-four in the same period.[14] Venable would lament that the lower classes in language, history, and literature were largely a continuation of high school best taught by competent "drillmasters . . . whether among the professors or those holding subordinate rank." These students, the president said, were not mature enough "to profit from the lecture-system."[15]

Graham gained the rank of associate professor in 1905 after he completed his further study at Columbia and Harvard. He was promoted to professor in 1907. Throughout these early years on the campus, Graham looked a bit out of place in the group photographs taken annually for the *Yackety Yack*, the campus yearbook that had supplanted the *Hellenian*. He is easily found

among the older, shorter, stouter men, many of whom wore mustaches and beards, as the faculty posed for its annual photograph. Graham's narrow face was clean-shaven. He had full lips, a prominent nose, and his dark eyes that evoked a soulful countenance. All in all, he was a handsome man who stood tall and appeared earnest in intent.

He was well liked by the students, and Venable often called on him to welcome freshmen to campus in the sessions that opened the academic year. Graham encouraged men to join the literary societies, where they would expand their friendships, gain a greater sense of community, and get on "the 'inside track' of things" happening on campus. Graham promoted membership in the YMCA as a place of "consecrated service."[16] It remained the most popular organization on campus, with about half the student body as members, and the new Y building was a social center for men in all classes. The building opened in 1907 after Venable completed a fund-raising effort that had begun nearly ten years earlier when Graham was a sophomore.[17]

Graham's classes on composition were among the most popular on campus. In the classroom, he nudged his students to unlimber hesitating minds by requiring them to create essays about commonplace, everyday activities. His goal was simple, yet profound—to express in good form what one knows. In his own way, Graham was challenging students to give written form to what Horace Williams got from his classes in lively debate. Robert Burton House, later a chancellor of the university, was one of Graham's students. He said Graham's instructions were simple: "Don't write until you have something to say. When you have something to say, then say that."[18]

Horace Williams later wrote that Graham "was the best English teacher I have seen. He could set a Freshman group afire. One day he had asked them for a theme describing a building being erected on the campus. That afternoon there were twenty in the trees, getting different views of the building."[19] On another occasion, Graham instructed his students to take a simple task as their theme and suggested the process for filling a fountain pen. All the students turned to their work, except one. Asked why he had not started to write, the man confessed he did not know how to fill a fountain pen. Graham's reluctant writer was Frank Porter Graham, his cousin, who had entered the university in 1905 and was notorious for his lack of mechanical ability, even into adulthood.[20] Frank would later say his cousin Ed was the finest teacher he had ever known. Indeed, his influence would shape a generation of students.

"He was the greatest teacher I ever had—Chicago, Columbia, London," Frank Graham later told his biographer Warren Ashby. "His high standards . . . getting a lot of hard work out of you, which you enjoyed. His insistence on excellence. He was one of the most logical people I have known in my life. He would take a question and analyze it. Third English—English composition—it was a course in not only mechanics of writing with emphasis on unity, coherence and empathy; it was a course in logic and philosophy and life itself, on campus issues and the world. We selected our own topics, out of our own interests. Then he would tear our papers all to pieces."[21]

In other courses, Graham inspired his students to enjoy the rhyme of Shakespeare and the rhythm of the romantic poets, and he created an appreciation of the power and beauty of words. One of his favorite poems, for the precision with which the English romantic John Keats chose his words, was "Ode on a Grecian Urn." For the Grahams, wrote Robert B. House, who had been educated by Ed's uncle John, "education is [the] most congenial way of expressing their Scotch Highland love of freedom and religion. They are Presbyterians predestined to teach."[22]

He was an exacting teacher who pushed his students to go further than they believed possible, and then he found outlets for their work. The *Carolina Magazine*, which he had helped revive as an undergraduate, was still publishing. He was a leading figure in the new Modern Literature Club that was organized in 1904 by C. Alphonso Smith. Its purpose was to encourage original literary effort at the university and in the state. The following year, Graham organized the Odd Number Club. Students met monthly to listen to poetry, sketches, and other prose written by its members. The members connected with similar societies at the Universities of Tennessee, Georgia, Virginia, and Texas, as well as Vanderbilt University. The club attracted some of the brightest men on campus, including Oscar Ripley Rand, the university's Rhodes scholar in 1908 whose brother died in the hazing incident. A further purpose of the club was to promote campus journalism.[23]

Graham grasped the social changes occurring on campus, with the public schools adding a leveling influence to the social and class distinctions of the past. He moved to build upon earlier efforts he undertook as an undergraduate to create a more unified student body. In the spring of 1904, with Venable's endorsement, Graham, Eben Alexander, and Horace Williams created the Order of the Golden Fleece to deal with what Venable considered petty competition among campus factions. It was similar in cross-pollination to the

Gorgon's Head, the secret society Graham and others had created in 1896. The Golden Fleece was modeled on Yale's Skull and Bones, a senior society of which Alexander and Williams had been members, and brought together eight men considered to be the best from the fraternities, the classroom, and athletic competition. Those tapped for membership included the best writer, the best social man, the best debater, and others who had excelled. The club sought to build on what Graham later referred to as the beginning of the university's "solidarity as a community." He called the Golden Fleece "part of the University Movement—a feeling of national consciousness" on the campus. "The business of the club so organized was to discuss University affairs in a liberal mood of sympathy, to make a constructive council that would summarize the loyal intent of representative citizens to do whatever might be done to foster the general good."[24] One of the members later wrote that it was "a chance to get on the inside of things that no other organization affords."[25] Horace Williams considered its creation and rise to be a coveted honor on campus as one of his finest moments.[26]

The signature anthem for the university—"Hark the Sound"—was published in the 1907 *Yackety Yack*, confirming its unifying quality for students and alumni alike. The words had been written a decade earlier by William Starr Myers at the request of one of his professors. It was first performed by the campus Glee Club in a commencement concert on June 2, 1897. Myers married his nostalgic verse for "time-worn walls" to the music of "Amici," a popular campus melody of the day. The song's title at its first performance was "Hail to the Brightest Star."[27] The ecumenical movement to unite the campus got another boost in the spring of 1908 when Frank Graham helped organize the nonfraternity men, a majority of the undergraduates, to elect a Greek as president of the junior class.

"We had a mass meeting about it," Frank Graham said many years later, "and decided we'd elect on the merits a fraternity man president of the class which broke a tradition of several, one or two decades anyway. And we would organize a class dance called the junior promenade, certainly the first junior prom in my memory and it was open to all boys, to us unwashed non-fraternity boys and to you privileged fraternity boys."[28]

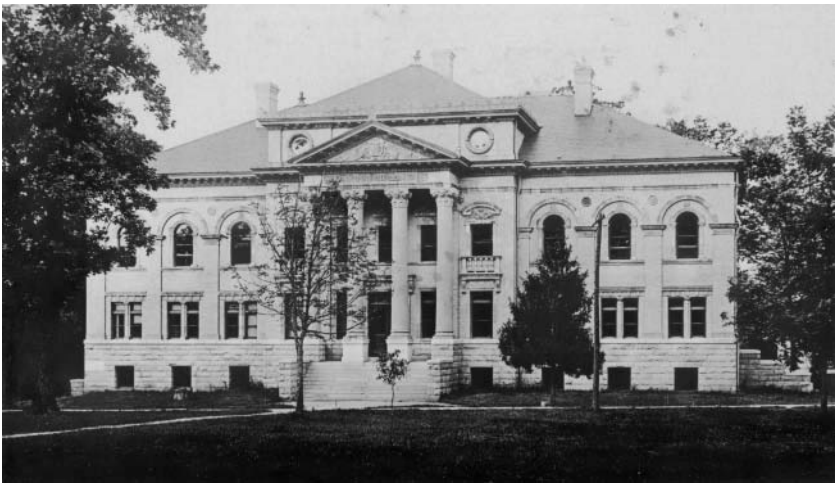
Venable made steady headway in getting the university's case before the General Assembly. When he arrived in office, the annual appropriation was $25,000 a year. He pleaded in letters to alumni, to whom he wrote for support, for an additional $15,000 just to keep pace. He did not get that, but,

in time, during his first ten years as president, he was more successful than any who had gone before him. The annual appropriation doubled, and he secured funding for the first building to be paid for out of state funds. Legislators approved $50,000 for a chemistry building—after Venable reported that noxious fumes from lab experiments were a genuine health hazard—and it was in use eighteen months later.

Venable's success was a hard slog, however, and never to the president's liking. Going with his hat in hand to the legislature was one of the most disagreeable assignments that came with the job. He thought it undignified and delegated most contact in Raleigh to the trustees. His low opinion of the petitioners who hung on the railing outside the legislative chambers was shared by the members themselves. In 1903, one legislator proposed to a senate committee that lobbyists wear a six-inch badge on their lapel bearing a skull-and-crossbones symbol and the words "Pizen, Beware."[29]

Historian Henry McGilbert Wagstaff wrote that Venable "held somewhat nearly to the normally impracticable view that it was the business of his office to know his institution, to plan its development in terms of lowest cost, then to set forth these plans in concise terms to the trustees and the legislature. At that point their business began. It was their institution, and investment sense ought to produce the results in income that he had requested."[30] Despite Venable's own poor opinion of his lobbying skills, one of the university's good friends in the General Assembly told him "'the enemy' were quite bitter towards [George T.] Winston [returned from Texas to become president of the North Carolina College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts in Raleigh] & [Charles D.] McIver [at the normal school in Greensboro] but strangely generous in what they said of [him]."[31]

He was engaged in fund-raising from alumni in his first days in office. Alderman left him with an unfinished Alumni Building. After being proposed by the trustees in 1891, nothing happened until 1895, when enthusiastic alumni promised to raise $20,000 to pay for the building. Alderman was well short of the goal in 1898, but he went ahead with the laying of the cornerstone at commencement. Two years later, the building was a brick shell with a roof. The missing windows and doors were visible behind the faculty gathered on the steps of the unfinished building for a photograph. Venable recruited a fund-raiser to gather in $9,000 in outstanding pledges, and the work recommenced. All but the basement floor was ready for the president and the small administrative staff—a registrar and a bursar—by 1902, and the



Construction of Alumni Building began in 1898, but the structure was not completed until 1901. Funded by contributions from alumni, it was the first building erected on campus since completion of New East and New West in 1859.

Department of Physics moved into the lower level two years later. It was the first building not to be used for bedding or feeding students that had been built since Person Hall was converted from a chapel to instructional service in 1837. Located on the green across from Person, Venable called the Alumni Building the "chief ornament of the campus." Its siting on the north side tilted the campus axis closer to the village.[32]

The Alumni Building was available for use by the end of 1901, a year and a half after the trustees had found money from a variety of sources, including a generous donation from Julian S. Carr, to open a new dormitory across from Smith Hall, which housed the library. It was dedicated in Carr's honor and was available for use within a year of another building that Venable arranged to be paid for out of a generous bequest that had come to the university in 1891. Venable invoked a novel approach and arranged for the university to borrow the money to build the dormitory from the Mary Ann Smith trust and then repay the trust the $16,000 needed for construction from annual lease payments from the university. Even with the new dormitories, the additional rooms barely kept up with the growing enrollment. Nearly six hundred students were on campus in 1902, and there were rooms for less than half of those enrolled.

The third President's House, erected in 1907, sits on the corner of East Franklin and Raleigh streets.

Venable took particular pride in the gift of a gymnasium from William Preston Bynum. It was built between Smith Hall and Carr Building and faced north, and the three structures formed a small quadrangle on Cameron Avenue east of South Building. The gymnasium saved Memorial Hall from further wear and tear on the floors, to which the athletic apparatus was attached, and meant the president had to replace fewer windows broken by misfired balls and Indian clubs. The showers and lavatories in Bynum Gymnasium added to the comfort and compatibility of all concerned. Even so, campus sanitation remained inadequate for four hundred men living in close quarters in 1904.

Venable was proving to be the greatest campus builder in the university's history. During his tenure, sixteen new buildings were occupied, purchased, or erected. Around half of those were paid for without legislative appropriations for capital improvements. This included a home for the president that was modeled on a columned plantation house and built on Franklin Street at the corner of the road to Raleigh. It was a grand residence that was designed to accommodate the president as well as important guests of the university.

The money for the house, said to cost $15,000, came from money that

A $55,000 donation from Andrew Carnegie and gifts from alumni paid for construction of a new library. The Carnegie Library, now known as Hill Hall and home to the music department, opened in 1907.

flowed to the university from lapsed bank accounts in the state. Venable and his family moved into the residence in 1907, the same year that the largest, and most expensive, building opened on the campus. It was a library built with a $55,000 donation from Andrew Carnegie that was matched with gifts from alumni. The new library was located directly across from the Alumni Building and the long broad lawn filled with trees that lay between South Building and Franklin Street.[33]

At this time, Graham was a lodger at the home of Adam A. Kluttz, a busy Franklin Street retailer whose wife, Orah, loaded a table with food for a limited number of boarders. The house stood on the north side of Franklin Street, just across from the president's residence. It had once been the home of Samuel Phillips, a Republican and solicitor general under four presidents who had helped plead Homer Plessy's losing case before the U.S. Supreme Court. The decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) led to the separate-but-equal doctrine being used to justify legal racial segregation. In April 1907, when

Orah Kluttz took in young ladies who were in town for the spring dances, Graham found himself all but restricted to his room.

"I am the only man on the place," Graham wrote his friend Louis Graves.

> Six women and one man in a house makes six women very bold and the one man very much abashed. My two rooms flank the bathroom too, you remember. Normally a bathrobe and a bit of lingerie on a female person do not frighten me—a man who has walked along the streets of NY during several "white sales" is at least not shocked by any apparel that he sees, but when I stick my head out of my door and am greeted by screams and shouts of "there's a man!" I hide my face in shame for nothing at all and quarantine myself for two hours. During which time I evolved this piece of philosophy: that the man learns how much gratification to feel by the shock that the woman shows and not by what he has seen. (subject to revision when more observations are at hand.)[34]

Graham's rooms served as both residence and office. Faculty members had no space in the university buildings save the classrooms they occupied at appointed hours. A small conference room for the English department had to suffice for everything else. Graham moved easily about the campus and was gaining a reputation as a talented teacher with an ability to relate to students in ways that his colleagues envied. While his studies ended with his master's degree, he was fulfilling one of Venable's requirements for academic advancement—he was getting articles published. Beginning in 1907, his work appeared in the *Sewanee Review*, *Bookman*, the *North Carolina Journal of Education*, and *Putnam's Monthly*.

The *Putnam's* piece is a whimsical rambling that touches on literary men who lived their lives without a spouse. It is entitled "The Necessary Melancholy of Bachelors." He opens it with a conversation between himself and his niece, who tells him what she thinks of bachelors: "His club, his own little den, the irresponsible enjoyment of his tastes, no life could be more fascinating." Graham goes on to muse about the solitary life, concluding that happiness and comfort are not one and the same. Bachelorhood is not, he concludes, a cold deliberate choice, an observation he says was seconded by "Henry, the best of amateur philosophers." The Henry in this reference is Henry Smith, an older African American man who had once been the butler for President Winston. In Graham's time, Smith was serving men in the dor-

mitories and responsible for ringing the campus bell that regulated the daily schedule. It was said that Smith was always on time, but his watch was not.[35] When asked about choosing between bachelorhood and marriage, Smith told Graham, "Whichever you do, suh, you'll regret it."[36]

"Bachelors" appeared in *Putnam's* September 1908 issue, a little more than two months after Graham gave up bachelorhood to marry Susan Williams Moses. She was the daughter of Edward Pearson Moses, a superintendent of public schools, first in Goldsboro and later in Raleigh, and an early education reformer who had been promoting local taxes in support of schools since the 1880s. In the early 1890s, Moses had been a contender for the presidency of the state normal school in Greensboro that he and others had urged the legislature to create to train teachers for the public schools. The job went to Charles D. McIver.[37] Moses was often part of the summer school faculty at the university, an assignment that he shared with Alexander Graham.

Susan Moses was one of six children, and something of a prodigy. She was sixteen when she enrolled at the university in 1898 and had already spent at least a year at a South Carolina teachers' college in Rock Hill. She remained as one of a handful of female students at the university until 1901, and she was awarded certificates in Latin, Greek, German, and French. She then left Chapel Hill to teach for one year at St. Mary's School for Girls in Raleigh before earning her undergraduate and master's degrees at Cornell University, where she was Phi Beta Kappa. She taught Latin and Greek at Sophie Newcomb College in New Orleans until 1906. Then, when Sweet Briar College in Virginia opened that year, she took charge of that college's Department of Latin and Greek. She married Graham on June 25, 1908, at the Chapel of the Cross, the Episcopal church in Chapel Hill, which was decorated in Queen Anne's lace and feathery ferns. It was a simple ceremony; the bride had no attendants and the reception was held next door on the porch of the home of the university's professor of Greek, Eben Alexander, whose wife was one of Susan's relations.[38]

Only a scattering of letters to and from Graham still exist from his early years on the campus. Most of the surviving correspondence is with Louis Graves, a 1902 graduate who went on to become a reporter at the *New York Times*. None of the letters from Graham mention any romantic interest, although in one he tells Graves of the scarcity of ladies in Chapel Hill. "The scant crop of girls has been carried to other markets and a great famine is on

the land," he wrote in the fall of 1906.[39] He and Graves saw one another at least once a year, with Graham traveling to New York City for extended stays. There he refreshed his wardrobe, took in a variety of shows, and, whenever Graves was available, headed out to a baseball game or a tennis match. There is one revealing letter that suggests Graham still was not settled on a career at Chapel Hill. In June 1907, he wrote Graves after returning to North Carolina that he had been reluctant to leave the city. It was an easy trip. Graham could board a Pullman in Raleigh at about 7 p.m. and be in New York City by midafternoon the following day in time for dinner and a show. On his latest visit, Graham wrote Graves, he had had half a mind to stay and "cast my lot with N.Y.—for better or worse. If I get any sort of congenial change—but that's guessing."[40]

Moses and Graham would have known each other at Chapel Hill, where they shared many friends. Just how, or when, they developed a romantic interest in one another is not known. During her first year on campus, when she was one of nine women at the university, Moses and another woman were members of the Society of Ancients, an informal group, with M. C. S. Noble as president, Horace Williams as the poet, and Eben Alexander as the historian. The two women were listed as vice presidents. At the time, she was still a teenager, and Graham was himself unsettled about his own future and not ready to settle down. She left for her studies, and jobs, out of state. Graham seemed to enjoy his personal freedom and frequent trips out of Chapel Hill. He told Graves in the spring of 1907 that he wanted to go to Europe when classes ended in May. He made an extended visit to New York instead. There was no mention of being tied to the schedule of another.

Chapel Hill was enjoying something of a building boom in the first decade, and property values were rising. Graham and Graves invested in some building lots, one of which became the site for a two-story frame house, covered in wooden shingles. It had a broad porch with a swing, facing the street, and sidelights beside the front door. It became Ed and Susan's home and was called Bulrushes, which was a nod either to Susan's maiden name or to a dense stand of bamboo on the property. The home stood at the very eastern edge of the campus, just up the hill from Kemp P. Battle's home, Senlac. The couple honeymooned at a large resort hotel at Warm Sulphur Springs in the Virginia mountains. After a week with his new bride, Ed invited Graves to join them. "It is an ideal place—," he wrote, "the finest food, the prettiest country, the prettiest girl—with a lot more girls as satellites—the nicest people—a big

Edward Kidder Graham (seated, center) and his cousin Frank Porter Graham at E.K.Graham's home Bulrushes, 1911.

hot sulphur pool for bathing—everything I can think of to make a summer resort what it should be."[41]

A few months before his wedding, another of Graham's articles appeared in print. It was a refinement of a speech he had made the year before at the annual meeting of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association, a new statewide organization dedicated, as its name indicates, to the cultural development of North Carolina. One of its early initiatives was the creation of the North Carolina Historical Commission. Graham advanced the theme that he had first explored as a student in "The Economic Man" and moved it forward with the argument that industrialization and culture could co-exist. Industrialization had lifted the state out of poverty, and North Carolina would need the forces of culture and industrialism to succeed in the twentieth century. In the version submitted to the *South Atlantic Quarterly*, a journal edited by his future colleague Edwin Mims, he titled his piece "Culture and Commercialism."[42] In it are the seeds of the thought behind the university's extension movement that would later connect the campus in a relationship with the state's people like never before.

Commercialism is not simply greed, as cynics had argued, Graham said.

America was not guilty of the race for wealth at the expense of culture. "Work and achievement and not greed are the basis of commercialism, just as the basis of a sound Democracy is work; and work is in itself a spiritual function and capable of developing the spirit." Commercialism had united the nation and removed barriers of caste and class, he wrote, ignoring the recent Jim Crow laws that sidelined African Americans in the South. Graham even argued that commercialism was eliminating prejudice, creating tolerance, and providing new opportunities for women. People should look for the new conditions in the region, once brought low by war and poverty, and they would see "definiteness, accuracy, courage for details, quickness, confidence, power to organize, the strong ability to utilize the opportunities for effective living[;] these qualities of mind and character no less than of business, and formed in the stream of life rather than in pleasurable leisure, are qualities that the spirit that has lately come into its life has so emphasized as to make them appear new." Commercialism will look to education for leadership, and education "must as always be applied to present life. That is what commercialism and Democracy insist upon."

In shaping his argument, Graham may have had in mind the words of Henry Louis Smith, who lamented, when speaking at the inauguration of William Louis Poteat as president of Wake Forest College in 1905, that a "rushing flood of mammon-worship has sprung up a new cult in the South." Smith said the "Christian colleges of liberal culture are the hope of the South" and stood as an alternative to the "technical training" of public institutions and "this muddy tide of luxury, frivolity, and shallow money-worship."[43]

Democracy was not just a grand concept for Graham. It was real, almost tangible. Apparently, Graham was not bothered by the disconnect between his devotion to democracy as a Jeffersonian ideal and a real world that denied it to a large portion of its citizens. Only a handful of African Americans throughout North Carolina could exercise one of the most fundamental principles of democracy, the right to vote. That had been settled with the approval of an amendment to the state constitution in 1900, when new literacy requirements for voter registration effectively disenfranchised most African Americans and all but the laziest and most illiterate of the state's whites. Graham lived in a state, and on a campus, where African Americans were in service to whites and had little or no hope of rising above that station as janitors, cooks, washwomen, and groundskeepers. There is no indication in the record that Graham ever had a relationship with an African American outside of

these very rigid confines of racial segregation, even after he assumed greater responsibilities within the state.

Nonetheless, democracy was something that Graham believed in and worked to instill in the young white students in his charge. In the fall of 1909, he renewed his efforts to unite the students into a single community as he took on new responsibilities from Venable, who appointed him head of the English department and dean of the College of Liberal Arts to replace Eben Alexander, who was given a year's leave of absence. The assignment was remarkable if only because of Graham's lack of academic credentials and limited service with professorial rank. In addition, at the age of thirty-two, he was the youngest man among the senior faculty.

Graham revived chapel exercises for all undergraduates, a practice that had been suspended for the upperclassmen because there were not enough chairs in Gerrard Hall. An interior renovation with money Venable squeezed out of the last session of the legislature allowed for all of the men to attend a thirty-minute program that Graham set for the half hour just before noon. The new dean salted the schedule with enough ministers to keep denominational interests at bay, but he recruited speakers on a variety of topics, some of them downright pedestrian. One fall morning in 1909, William MacNider of the medical school talked about infectious diseases and how to prevent them. That same week, another speaker from the medical school talked about the necessity for regular bathing. "Most of you here take plenty of baths," Charles S. Mangum intoned, "but there are some of you who were brought up by old-fashioned folks who did not believe in much washing."[44]

Graham drew topical issues from the newspapers and corralled campus guests—be they trustees or legislators or businessmen—as speakers. One day it was a visiting ambassador. Francis Edward Winslow was a law student rooming in the Graham home with two friends, Kemp Davis Battle (the former president's grandson) and Ed's cousin Frank, and recalled hearing Ed Graham practice his introduction of one guest while he stood in front of a bathroom mirror shaving.[45] The variety of speakers was stimulating and created curiosity among the students. Attendance at chapel was no longer a problem. Not long after Graham changed the program, the *Tar Heel* reported that "chapel attendance will soon come to be looked upon as a privilege and not as an unpleasant necessity."[46]

Some years later, Robert B. House wrote that Graham's own presentations at chapel were as memorable as any he heard:

> The attractiveness of these fifteen-minute talks was their thought and the beauty of clear expression. Ed Graham was a thinker. He used no art in oral or written English except the integrity of his thinking. . . . He would take some campus event, a game, a debate, a noteworthy student achievement, anything. He would reveal how the seemingly commonplace, if understood in its full significance, opened intellectual and spiritual vistas. To him the student and the University were in the center of state, national, and international affairs. He showed us ourselves in our deepest needs and opportunities and related us literally to the whole universe. He did not talk with us so much as he took us into his confidence and thought with us. He respected his mind and enjoyed using it. He respected our minds and by example taught us to respect them and to enjoy using them.

For House, Graham "made chapel the greatest teaching instrument in the history of the University of North Carolina."[47]

With Venable's endorsement, Graham urged the trustees to renew their efforts to build new dormitories not just to provide safe and healthy lodging for students but for other practical reasons. The university could reduce its crippling rate of attrition among the freshman class if new students were brought close to the bosom of Alma Mater rather than pushed into off-campus housing in an unsupervised and often lonely setting. It was just the beginning of a campaign to prevent what Graham called the "waste of men" who came to the campus for one year and then did not return to continue their education. At the time, Graham struggled with the high attrition rate of incoming freshmen, half of whom never made it beyond their sophomore year. Most were lost to poverty, but some just never connected with the school in a way that might have encouraged them to find ways to overcome their empty pocketbooks.

Graham began working with fraternity men—who made up about 20 percent of the student body—to improve their grades, which were about a point or more below those of their nonfraternity classmates. He began pushing with all the authority in his new position various propositions that had not been addressed when he was an undergraduate. The campus needed a central social hall, a place where men could entertain family members or guests. A dormitory room was not a proper venue, and the YMCA building was too small, with rooms unsuited to large gatherings. Graham had seen what he wanted at Princeton and Harvard, and he wanted the same for Chapel Hill.[48]

Graham was a perfect teammate, and a relief, for Venable. The president was feeling the strain of the job as he tried to balance his administrative responsibilities and continue his research and writing at the same time. On the recommendation of his doctor, he removed himself entirely from the campus in the summer of 1908 and traveled with his family to Europe. Bringing a vigorous young man like Graham into the management of the campus produced good results, but another doctor, a specialist this time, was concerned about the president's health and prescribed more travel for relaxation. Venable sailed for Europe again in 1910.

As dean, Graham had the frontline responsibility for discipline. He rolled out more authority to a reorganized Student Council to deal with hazing and violations of the student honor code. A committee on minor infractions—chapel absences and such—was put in place. He had been in the job about a year when the members of the Student Council, in which he placed great faith, resigned in protest over a faculty committee's reinstatement of a student the council had expelled for stealing. Graham helped negotiate a settlement that reaffirmed the council's authority, but he also established a system whereby the council's decisions could be appealed to the faculty, who had the ultimate responsibility for campus discipline.

Graham was becoming the public face of the university administration. He answered calls to speak at high school commencements, represented the university at the inauguration of heads of other institutions, and continued to refine his thoughts on citizenship and developing the strength of the commonwealth, favorite topics for his speech making. Each step brought him closer to the argument that the university was a valuable resource dedicated to the improvement of all, not merely those students in its lecture halls. The South was fortunate to have two important forces at work—"education and business," he said in an address to the 1909 meeting of the Southern Educational Association. Higher education made possible the understanding of the uses of steel and brick to allow the construction of tall buildings. It was not good enough simply to have knowledge; one must be able to use it in the daily life of the state.[49]

The two men—Venable and Graham—shared a love of athletics and worked in tandem to develop a broader athletic program on the campus. "The weakest spot in college athletics," Graham said in his report as dean to the president in 1910, "has long been recognized as this over-emphasis on the star athletes, the men who least need training." He wanted athletics "revised downward"

and spread throughout the year to involve as many students as possible. He asked for an addition to the faculty of someone to direct intramural contests. "Given a college of young men between 19 and 22 years old, almost perfect weather conditions, and unrestricted space, practically every student should give a small part of every day to out-of-door sports, just as he should give a large part of every day to study."[50] Robert Baker Lawson, a former professional baseball player with a wicked curve ball and a degree in medicine, took up management of the gym when it opened in 1905. He also administered the physicals to incoming freshmen, coached baseball, and became an associate professor of anatomy in 1908.

Venable was twenty years older than his dean, better schooled, and more widely traveled. His twin sons were students at the university in the fall of 1910, while the Grahams were expecting their first child, Edward Jr., who was born in 1911. Venable was trained as a scientist; Graham's love was the humanities. Yet they shared common interests, such as a love of tennis. Graham played several times a week. They also shared a deep affection for the university and its long history. In addition, both were sons of fathers who had served in the Civil War. Venable's father entered as a private and rose to the rank of lieutenant colonel on the staff of General Robert E. Lee. One of Venable's prize possessions was a compass that Lee had presented his father for his service. Graham's father had met Lee once while serving as a courier for the commander of Lee's cavalry, General J. E. B. Stuart, who sent him to Lee's headquarters one day with Stuart's wishes for Lee's good health.

Members of the board of trustees also had served the Confederacy. Thus the war was not a mere point in history. Each year, the campus celebrated the anniversary of Lee's birthday, dismissing classes for the occasion. In 1909, Princeton University president Woodrow Wilson was the speaker. Wilson was back in late May 1911. He was now the governor of New Jersey and was welcomed as the commencement speaker. It was with great ceremony and no small amount of emotion that the university prepared in 1911 to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the start of the Civil War. It was personal for men like professor of mathematics William Cain, who had worn a uniform, and for nearly a hundred surviving alumni out of the four hundred who had marched off to war between the years of 1861 and 1865 and had never returned to receive a diploma.[51]

"Your Alma Mater that sent you forth, a mother of sorrows, welcomes you home, a mother of exceeding great joy," Graham said on the morning of May

29, 1911, as Alumni Day opened during the annual commencement exercises. Gathered in front of him were about half of the hundred alumni who had survived the war. One of the most active in university affairs was Julian S. Carr of the class of 1866. He had served as a private, but in later life had taken the title of general for his efforts on behalf of Confederate veterans. "To her you are not gray-haired old men, but her own immortal boys, ever young and ever fair," Graham said in his welcome to the veterans. "For her your great deeds, and the patriotic impulse that glorifies them will ever be an inspiration in her eternal business of making for the service of the State noble-hearted men!"[52]

While Graham could swell the hearts of aging veterans with talk of the honor, valor, and bravery of southern soldiers, he coupled that history with a different perspective for his twentieth-century students. The campus recognized Lee's birthday, but Graham also used a chapel appearance a few years later, as war loomed for the United States, to talk about Abraham Lincoln. "Ed Graham shocked us," Robert House remembered. "He moved right on to Lincoln, praised him and tied the greatness of Lee to the greatness of Lincoln. It was not, he said, a matter of Lee *or* Lincoln but one of Lee *and* Lincoln. Then he convinced us. America, he said, was coming closer every day to World War I. That was our job, and it would take the loyalty of Lee and the vision of Lincoln to do it. And further, he said, when World War I was over our call was to the future and the New South in the nation. He sent us out with our loyalties intact and our vision enlarged. It was a formative moment in our lives."[53]

Venable seemed content to leave public affairs of the university in Graham's hands. The young dean was eminently quotable, spoke often around the state, presented a progressive image within the education community, and did not interfere with Venable's administration of campus affairs. In fact, Venable saw Graham as his likely successor and would have handed the presidency over to him—with the consent of the trustees, of course—when Edwin A. Alderman, who had become president of the University of Virginia in 1904, invited him to consider leaving behind the stress and pressure of the administration, to come home to Virginia and teach in Charlottesville where his father had built a strong record. At the time of Alderman's offer, however, Venable did not believe Graham was ready for the responsibility of the presidency and chose to remain in Chapel Hill.[54]

It would take a tragic death in the opening days of the 1912–13 academic year to convince Venable to leave office. The circumstances surrounding the

accident that killed Billy Rand were no different from what Venable's own sons had experienced a few years earlier when they were students. When they graduated in 1910, class members claimed to have been the object of more hazing than others had been in years past. "The nightly renditions in speech and song seemed to greatly delight our Sophomore audiences," the historian wrote in the *Yackety Yack*.[55] Nothing, it seemed, could end hazing, whose eradication had been predicted for years. This time, however, the consequences were fatal, and certainly unforeseen. It would bring an end to Venable's years as president, a period that was productive and eventful.

"Dr. Venable had a Presbyterian conscience and the Virginia gentleman's sense of honor," House later wrote. He had been one of the freshmen sitting with young Rand when Venable welcomed the class of 1916. "It was simply unthinkable to him that so disgraceful, as well as horrible, a thing could occur in the University unless he in some unknown way had been also morally at fault. He searched himself as well as everything and everybody to find out how such a thing could be. We knew of course that he was blameless. What he symbolized to us was honor, integrity, frankness, courage, and prestige borne with humility."[56] All wished him well as he left for an extended leave in the summer of 1913.

CHAPTER FOUR

Acting President

FRANCIS P. VENABLE WAS still struggling with the tumult over the death of Billy Rand in the fall of 1912 when he found himself in the midst of an alumni uprising over varsity athletics, especially football. That November, the school suffered a humiliating trip to Richmond, where the University of Virginia won the annual Thanksgiving Day game, 66 to 0. Three weeks later, a summit meeting on varsity athletics—football and baseball mainly—was held in Chapel Hill, with students, alumni, and faculty members hashing out the latest struggle to produce not just a winning football record, but one that included defeat of its archrival to the north.

Intercollegiate sports had become as much a part of university life as the debates at the literary societies and Sunday afternoon walks through Battle Park, but they remained largely in adjunct status, merely appended to the university. The student-run Athletic Association set the game schedules, hired the coaches, handled ticket sales, and scrambled to pay the bills at the end of each academic year. More often than not, the association's budget was in the red. Football powers in the Northeast—Harvard, Yale, Princeton, West Point—were moving to bring more order to the game, mainly as a response to the number of deaths and injuries that had provoked no less a national leader than President Theodore Roosevelt to call for reform. But the work of the newly created National Collegiate Athletic Association had not reached deeply into provinces like North Carolina where game rules and schedules were negotiated between the competing teams. The university administration was not entirely without influence over the athletic program, since the faculty decided which students were eligible to participate.

President Venable was not antagonistic to intercollegiate sports. On the contrary, he was an early supporter of varsity teams in baseball and football and had helped get intercollegiate contests reinstated. He believed that college athletics, properly conducted, produced "quickness of decision, control of temper, concentration of effort toward a definite end, control and direction of the efforts of others, moderation and abstinence, high ideals of honor, honesty and courtesy."[1] He praised "team play" but was alarmed at the attention devoted to star athletes. Three years earlier he had told the trustees: "I deprecate the unhealthy advertising which a few athletic heroes receive in the daily papers. In this we have truly a subversion of ideals." His anxiety was such that he asked for a trustee committee to consider whether football should be continued.[2]

The program remained unchanged. Three years of uneven performance followed a revolving door of coaches, and continuing financial losses preceded the meeting in Chapel Hill on December 16, 1912. Student morale was low, but not just because of football. The meeting was provoked by alumni who were openly critical of the faculty, whom they considered "unsympathetic theorists, perhaps even tyrants in dealing with athletic questions."[3] The faculty clung to its authority over eligibility, fearing that any slippage in its position would lead to scandal. The university was still smarting from criticism among southern schools for allowing Professor Edward Vernon Howell, as fine a broken field runner as ever wore the colors, to make the winning touchdown in a Virginia game more than a decade earlier.[4] Venable was determined not to barter a victory on the playing field for the school's reputation.

Ed Graham knew the athletic program inside and out. He had been president of the Athletic Association as an undergraduate, had served as a faculty advisor, and was the current chair of the association's finance committee. He took part in the December 1912 negotiations that resulted in a new start to the athletic program in which the alumni would play a larger role. Most important, the alumni pledged to raise the money to clean up the association's finances as well as hire professional coaches who would work for the newly created General Athletic Committee, controlled by the alumni. Several weeks later, the committee gave a three-year coaching contract to T. G. "Doggie" Trenchard, the former Princeton star that President Winston had had something to say about in 1896.[5] The settlement was hailed by some as the alumni returning to the aid of their mother, but as Venable sailed for Europe, leaving football and other worries behind, Graham was dealing with an athletic port-

Susan Moses Graham, son Edward Kidder
"Sonny" Graham Jr., and Graham at Bulrushes, 1911.

folio that would test his patience, his commitment to academic standards, and his relations with some well-placed and wealthy men around the state. In a year that would see Graham emerge as a popular and visionary leader eager to articulate a new mission for the university, he would be dogged by many of the same problems that had crippled Venable and led to his retreat to Europe. Football was Graham's first challenge.

After his appointment as acting president in June 1913, Graham took a couple of weeks off in July for a trip to New York City before returning to take up his new responsibilities. His wife, Susan, finished the summer vacationing with a friend at Nags Head on the Outer Banks while her sister Elizabeth, soon to leave for college in Greensboro, moved into Bulrushes to take care of the house and look after Edward Jr., the Grahams' two-year-old son whom everyone called Sonny. Graham was eager to begin the new work before him, but he joked to his wife that if he made a mess of things, he could "find consolation in the fact that I can bury a lot of my mistakes. Being boss one can arrange his own funerals."[6] Shortly after Venable departed, a letter from the president of Elon College landed on his desk. It was a precursor of some tough days ahead.

Elon's William Allen Harper, whose denominational school was located west of Chapel Hill near Greensboro, was the same one who had been so quick to pounce on the university following young Rand's death. This time he

complained that the university was promising scholarships to Elon athletes if they would change schools. Graham responded that no "responsible" person had made such an offer, leaving open the possibility that something might be amiss in athletic matters. "It is possible that some irresponsible party did this," he wrote in reply. He promised to investigate and have the student in question "swear on his honor he never accepted anything."[7]

A week later, Graham wrote a cautionary letter to George Stephens, the Charlotte businessman who was the point man for the alumni on athletic questions. The letter reached Stephens at his mountain resort on Kanuga Lake, just south of Hendersonville, where he and Trenchard were midway through a six-week summer training camp for the Carolina football players. The schedule called for the men to rise early, take a dip in the lake before breakfast, and then spend the morning in football skull sessions and working with tutors on their academic courses. Squad scrimmages filled the afternoon. Graham warned Stephens that overzealous "patriotism" on the part of one or two of the alumni could land the university "in the midst of an athletic scandal." Stephens assured Graham in a carefully worded reply that "everything is perfectly clean and the men who have been induced to go to the University through our efforts are men who will be worthy representatives of the institution in every way."[8]

Graham heard from Harper once again. This time Harper offered evidence to back up his claims of impropriety. A day or so later, Graham unburdened himself to his friend Louis Graves. Graves had left a job at the *New York Times* and was working for a New York borough politician, as good a platform as any to analyze the political situation back in Chapel Hill. In a letter to Graves, Graham wrote:

> The main point with me is not so much this particular man [singled out by Harper] but the policy, and the greatest point for action to make a row about this instance which has been cleared up, but to prevent a row about some other instances by keeping that instance from happening. That is my whole policy in regard to this athletic difficulty to save the people who are doing unwise things, by keeping these things from happening if possible. I don't want to see anybody punished, and I want the success that they want, and I want them to build on the foundation that they are building on, and in the aggressive fashion in which they are building, and I particularly want them to cut out shabby and rotten

work, even if there is little of it, because it will make this whole thing fall to pieces.

In other words, goodness in athletics to my mind means permanent efficiency. I am not interested in the theory of purity, but in the practice of it as a long sighted policy. I know the other thing is short sighted and foolish. I am not thinking about the rules of other colleges primarily, but our own salvation. There is too much good in this present campaign to make a mess of it through a bad piece of detail.[9]

Trenchard's audacity for unilateral action had begun earlier in the year soon after he arrived in Chapel Hill in February. He introduced himself to the campus with a blunt assessment of the athletic program: students had no spirit; cooperation among students, faculty, and alumni was poor; and the players arrived on campus ignorant of the fundamentals of football.[10] The university had no feeder system for players found in other states, since secondary education in North Carolina was young and there was little money to pay for the playing fields and equipment needed for a football program. Baseball was the preferred sport in North Carolina, where summer leagues growing up around the textile villages kept the sport alive and drew enthusiastic crowds. With this background, Carolina's football players averaged about a year and a half of experience while competitors had men with much more time in uniform.[11] The losing team in Richmond the previous fall had included men as light as 142 pounds going up against players weighing 15 to 20 pounds more per man. Throughout the spring, the coach had dogged Venable for letters to use in recruiting prospects, conducted a spring training program, and lobbied the trustees to increase the student athletic fee.

The Carolina athletes, including the player Elon's president had complained about, were among the nearly 840 students already registered for the fall term when Graham opened the university in mid-September. Graham's welcome on opening day was a refreshing introduction to the new academic year. While Venable was respected and admired, he had never engendered the kind of love and devotion that attached to the acting president. This adoration was particularly felt by the campus leaders and those who influenced student opinion through the publications they edited. These men were Graham's former students, and they knew him well, having worked through their prose and poetry in his classroom during the day or in the evenings on the front porch at Bulrushes. He had sat with them through the tapping of members

for the Gorgon's Head and the Golden Fleece and had been the guiding force in the creation of the Greater Council, a group populated by representatives from all the classes that gave students more voice in hashing out issues and problems on campus. His ecumenical spirit, his optimism, and his deep enthusiasm for greater student participation in campus affairs were infectious. "In fact he believed in us more than we did in ourselves until his faith in us elicited a deeper faith in ourselves," one of his students later observed.[12]

The *Tar Heel* wished Venable well in his recovery: "May he find the rest he seeks and return to carry the work forward." The paper's affection, however, was for Graham, who editors said had the "enthusiasm and confidence" of the student body, and readers were urged to make his year a success. "We have it in our power during this year to annoy or help, to make trouble or to banish trouble, to sit idle or to create an opportunity. We have absolute confidence in Dean Graham and our good wishes are his."[13]

Recollections of Billy Rand's death the year before hung heavy over the campus and checked the impulses for misbehavior among the sophomores, most of whom had been his classmates. Among the 269 freshmen was Oliver Gray Rand, Billy's brother. Alumni took Oliver Rand's enrollment as his father's affirmation of confidence in the university. A report on the university's opening in the year's first issue of the *Tar Heel* observed a new atmosphere of civility where even verbal taunts of "Fresh" loosely tossed at the new students were considered intolerable: "Every student seems to realize that on him rests the duty of maintaining the dignity of the University and of acquainting the new men with the customs of the institution in which they at first feel unfamiliar. By this method the new material can be best assimilated."[14]

While Graham's exchange with Harper was carried out in private, a very public broadside soon came from the Methodists in Durham. Trinity president William Preston Few raised the same issue as Harper, but he did it at a forum that got reported by the daily newspapers. He did not mention the university by name, but he implied that Carolina was using scouts "to buy promising athletes." Bishop John Carlisle Kilgo followed with a biting sermon on the subject, showing he had no more regard for the sport in 1913 than he had nearly twenty years earlier when he abolished football at Trinity.[15] Julian S. Carr, the president of the university alumni association, called Few to account for his charges and asked for details. Few told Carr the newspaper reports were correct. "And if I should have any occasion to call names and to make charges," he said, "there will be no possible mistaking of my meaning."

"I have strong convictions on the subject; and as a man interested in educational conditions in the State I must, of course, be allowed perfect freedom to express my convictions," Few wrote in a letter that Carr forwarded on to Graham. "I believe that athletic conditions are growing worse rather than better, and as long as I have this belief I shall feel it my duty when occasion calls for it to say so."[16]

Few's attack irritated Graham, perhaps because he believed the university was vulnerable to criticism over an aggressive coach who earned as much or more than some of his faculty members, and because Trenchard operated beyond his control. More than that, however, Graham could not bear attacks on the honor and integrity of the university he loved and served with every ounce of his being. When a particular problem troubled Graham, he would often follow his initial response to a questioner with a long, detailed letter to some ally. In this case, he wrote Carr and reviewed the case of a former Trinity student who had been taken in on scholarship in Durham the year before. He said the student had asked to transfer to the university.

Graham accused Few of "using drug store gossip in the pulpit under the guise of performing a painful duty to truth." "We do not want to fight but if he insists on it, he will certainly get it to the full measure of his desire, and in a fashion, I fancy, entirely unexpected," Graham wrote in a tone that emphasized his irritation. "He claims religion as his standard and makes athletics ours. He attacks our administration of athletics. It isn't unnatural that we should attack if we were forced to do it, their practice of religion. Quoting his slogan of attack he will see that 'if I should have occasion to call names and to makes charges there will be no mistake in my meaning.'"[17]

Few's criticism coincided with the image popularized in the new motion pictures of university students as little more than football-crazed dandies. This was all very much on Graham's mind on October 11 as he led the procession of faculty, alumni, and students into Memorial Hall for the celebration of University Day. This annual ritual of self-congratulation over the founding of the university included speeches and music, as well as telegrams from alumni clubs throughout the state and in far cities like Atlanta and New York. Venable sent his greetings from abroad. The two speakers of the day were Graham's classmate Archibald Henderson, the university's professor of mathematics who had drifted into literature (Henderson's biography of George Bernard Shaw had just been published), and President Woodrow Wilson's new secretary of the navy, Raleigh newspaper publisher Josephus Daniels.

Graham's role that day was primarily as master of ceremonies, but he gave a detailed looked at what he called "the internal student life of the institution." He directed his attention to football and its place at the university. He acknowledged that students followed football, but they were not consumed by it, as some would suggest. "They are interested also in every other healthful expression of active, vigorous, young manhood. They have all of the interests of twenty-year-old twentieth century Americans. Football happens to be a powerful one of these; but it is emphatically not the main interest of the University of North Carolina student. He is much more aggressive, and his success is far greater, in activities other than athletics. Our athletic record is sadly eloquent testimony that our students do not play as aggressively as they work, or as they speak, when put in competition with their sister colleges."

Sports were not all-consuming on the campus. In fact, Graham said his concern was that students did not play enough: "Sport is not their mood, and the reason is clear enough: they come from an environment of which the spirit of play has formed a negligible part. Their attitude toward work is the seriously minded temper of North Carolina as it emerges from its long battle for economic freedom." Carolina students were busy with their studies because they came from modest circumstances and hardworking families that had sacrificed to send them to college for an education, not to have a good time. Careful records are kept of class attendance, Graham said, and those numbers showed that students were serious about their mission. It is what students do in their free time that demonstrates the "true nature and genius" of a Carolina man. "They are his interests in debating, in religion, and in self-government."

He also included a pointed rebuttal to those hard-shell preachers of the Gospel who complained that the university was undermining the influence of the church and turning young men into atheists. This recurring complaint seemed never to die. In Graham's defense of the moral stature of the students, he said more men attended Sunday school classes than participated in sports, and he documented his report with Sunday-morning head counts at the Chapel Hill churches. In addition, he noted that the weekly Bible studies at the YMCA drew regular attendance from 175 of the approximately 400 students who were members of the YMCA, an organization that included about half the student body, and that men were out in the community teaching young people about the Lord. "His religious activities are of the alert,

genuinely interested sort that express themselves when normal young men freely catch sight of the higher visions of life."

There was a more significant change on the campus that excited him even more, and it was the one that Bishop Kilgo held in such disdain. The "slowly evolving system of self-government . . . is perhaps the greatest pride and the highest achievement of the University student community." It was not perfect, Graham said, but "the actual result achieved is a real and noble triumph; a community that governs itself so well and has established so fixedly high standards of personal conduct that its leaders do not have to occupy themselves with repressive and punitive legislation, but are left to lead in constructive development and co-operative progress."[18]

That seemed to put an end to the latest round with the Methodists. Graham briefed Venable on the controversy in a letter mailed just after University Day in which he said he planned to follow Venable's example of not "jumping into the newspapers to jump on somebody." Rather, he said, "It seems to me that the best thing to do is to drive forward as hard as possible and not stop to whip little boys like Brother Kilgo off the tail of the cart."[19]

Graham's troubles with Trenchard were just beginning, however, and continued through a tumultuous football season. The university abruptly canceled its game with the North Carolina College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts (A&M) in a dispute over eligibility of the players at the sister campus in Raleigh. Graham opposed the cancellation, but he finally agreed that proceeding with so many disputes over eligibility was worse than enduring the criticism of those who said the university pulled out because it could not win. Indeed, Graham had reports that A&M included players from experienced teams in the Northeast—Brown, Holy Cross, and Georgetown—who were not required to have been at A&M for at least five months, which was the standard for Carolina. A&M's rules also allowed men being paid as assistant coaches to play in the game.

Throughout the fall, and into the early part of 1914, Trenchard continued to push the limits in aid of his desire to create a winning team, regardless of the rules. University athletes were supposed to be true amateurs; compensation of any sort was not allowed. Yet Trenchard ran a "training table" at a Chapel Hill boardinghouse where thirty athletes ate free when the going rate for students was $10 to $15 a month, depending on whether they ate at the less expensive Commons or in an off-campus boardinghouse. With money

in short supply to run the university, Graham was alarmed that Trenchard spent $750 more than had been budgeted for food for the season. Such a sum could pay the salary of a teaching assistant for an entire academic year. Along the way, Graham warned Stephens that his agenda for running the university was full and "this growing athletic dissention is a larger question than you can imagine."[20]

The coach had persuaded the trustees to adjust the rules, over the objections of the faculty, to include a man's summer study of law to count as enrollment so that he could qualify to play under the five-month rule. Graham was astonished that after the A&M debacle, Trenchard attempted to recruit one of the ineligible A&M men to play for Carolina in Richmond. Later, when Trenchard's prize athletes fell behind in their studies, he lobbied Graham to influence their instructors to let them slide by. Such shenanigans sent Graham to the end of his tether. "I have cooperated with Mr. Trenchard in every possible way in the past three months," he wrote Stephens in November, as the football season was coming to an end.

> But I positively refuse to cooperate with him in any particular whatever if he is to throw suspicion on the judgment and good faith of the men with whom I work and to consider his main business to be attacking the rules that it is good for everyone to carry out.
>
> The opportunity of entering the southern field of athletics is offered to us through the generosity of the alumni coaching fund; that opportunity will be thrown away in ten years if we do not build on the broad basis which practical athletics has found to be the only door to success. Not only so, but our own internal organization on the relation between faculty and students, the whole *morale* of our college life as well as every practical consideration of athletic success demands that the agitation carried on by the coach stop; that these matters be talked over by the faculty and alumni in friendly conference and then *rest*.[21]

In January 1914, just days before the winter meeting of the trustees in Raleigh, Graham learned that Trenchard was lobbying the trustees to overrule the faculty on eligibility questions. Graham wrote Stephens that the coach was out of line:

> I agree with you perfectly about the value of Trenchard's services, but nobody who is associated with him can doubt the necessity of restrict-

> ing him. If I owned this shop and were running its athletics as a despot, I wouldn't take $10,000 a year for his services, but I wouldn't let him have his way if anybody would give me $100,000 a year—at least if I cared about the future. The situation in which A&M and Georgetown find themselves at present is the situation that any college will get in that hasn't the courageous control of far-sighted men who refused to be fooled, and who can be made to forget (and we are all likely to forget) what the real purpose of a college is and for what the men who come to college come for.[22]

The problems with Trenchard were a trying annoyance, but Graham was not going to let his opportunity to lead the university be consumed by a football coach. Graham harbored some doubts about his readiness to actually succeed Venable in the job and planned to give it up without complaint when the president returned. He and Susan were talking about a trip to England. At the same time, Graham was not interested in a caretaker presidency. He planned to use this rare opportunity to advance ideas that had been forming for years and that he often outlined in his "want book."[23] He had come into the presidency unexpectedly, and he was working against a clock, but he arrived with ambitions for the institution that had been accumulating since his days as an undergraduate and that had been shaped as a junior faculty member and, finally, as the dean of the College of Liberal Arts.

During his days as a student, Graham had heard Presidents Winston and Alderman talk about the university as the head of the public school system in the state. That declaration had been enhanced over the years by the creation of the School of Education under M. C. S. Noble and Nathan Wilson Walker's work in expanding the summer school, where hundreds of public school teachers improved their proficiency in basic subjects. Walker also had taken on the job of assisting local school boards in opening bona fide high schools all across the state, as authorized by the legislature in 1907. Walker was constantly on the road, meeting with teachers to improve the curriculum, or working with the principals of the new schools in expanding the course offerings and boosting the quality of their teaching staff. It was not called extension work, but that is what it was in its basic form. The university was in service to local communities in one of the most important enterprises of the day, and the university's growing reputation was the beneficiary.

While university extension had been part of the vocabulary for several

years, it had not actually made it to the official agenda until 1911 when Graham proposed a faculty committee on extension. The committee was formed, and out of it came a high school debate competition and a statewide track competition that drew hundreds of students to campus in 1913. The notion was slow to gain traction because Venable was tepid in his support. He saw extension as a diversion of faculty attention from their primary work of teaching the students on the campus. When the committee's chairman headed out for a round of speaking engagements in the spring of 1912, as benign an effort as possible, Venable bluntly told students and faculty at a chapel gathering that the university had no business in what he was about to do.[24] The president believed it was sufficient for the university to produce solid, well-educated graduates who would themselves build communities and improve the quality of life. His convictions were of long standing. "Train the men who are to make the laws but leave legislation alone," he had said in 1907. "Teach art so far as it bears on education, but let others develop the potteries."[25]

With Venable in Germany, visiting the laboratories and classrooms of his youth, Graham used his remarks on University Day in 1913 to articulate a vision for the university that was decidedly different from Venable's. He offered no details of a program that would eventually reach into every schoolhouse and community around the state in a declaration that would become one of his most remembered lines: "We hope through our recently organized Bureau of Extension to make the campus co-extensive with the boundaries of the State, and while keeping the standards of University instruction and scholarly research on the highest plane, to put the University as head of the State's educational system in warm sensitive touch with every problem in North Carolina life, small and great."[26] In one sentence he acknowledged Venable's concerns while also giving notice that the university wanted to be part of the very life of the state, not merely supported by taxpayers for its own purposes. The next day, Raleigh's *News and Observer* took note. "A Move Full of Promise," the paper's headline read. "Instead of the people having to go to the University for the inspiration and incentive that it affords, it will come to those who can't go to it." The Greensboro paper headlined its editorial "A University for the People."[27] It would become a slogan that would soon resonate around the state.

Graham did not elaborate on his plans because the program that would eventually emerge was still forming. But he had planted the idea. In fact, what he hoped to see happen throughout North Carolina would rise, in part, from

on-campus sessions that had been held the week before University Day, when Eugene Cunningham Branson was his guest at Bulrushes for five days. Branson was a North Carolina native who had created a sensation at the State Normal School of Georgia in Athens, where he taught what he called rural sociology. Using his students as researchers, Branson had compiled detailed information on every Georgia county. This information was then used to introduce teachers-to-be to the communities where they planned to live and work. Branson compiled data to measure the social, economic, agricultural, and cultural dimensions of Georgia life. It was said that reformers in the legislature used the particulars gathered by Branson's students to overhaul the state's tax system.[28] Branson had been in Chapel Hill to speak at the summer school the summer before. Graham brought him back in early October for classes, seminars, and discussion with faculty and students.

Graham wanted the same kind of attention and self-examination paid to North Carolina. County clubs had sprung up on the Chapel Hill campus in recent years. At first they gave men from the same locale a common bond, much like the clubs of students who came from the private prep schools. While the function of the county clubs was primarily social, Graham had encouraged members to spend their time together to study ways to connect the university with their own part of the state. More than a dozen county clubs, with the smallest having nine members and the largest thirty-two, were meeting regularly the year before when Graham brought them all together in a confederation called the North Carolina Civic Association of the University of North Carolina. Only the YMCA involved more students in a common endeavor, and more clubs were formed in the fall of 1913. Graham asked Branson to use his visit that October to inspire the Chapel Hill students to action. It was a big plan, Graham wrote a friend, but if it worked, "it will be our biggest work."[29] Before Branson left, he had coached the members of the Johnston County club, one of the largest on the campus, on how to gather information and find out, among other things, how many of their neighbors could not read and write, how many worked tenant farms, what sort of crops were produced, and who carried the greatest burden in local taxation. The Johnston County report was to be the model for the other clubs.

Branson was back in Georgia by mid-October and quietly considering an informal offer from Graham to leave his job there to become the university's professor of rural economics and sociology. If Graham was going to lead the university beyond Chapel Hill's old stone walls and carry its program into

the far reaches of the state, he wanted Branson as his "professor of North Carolina."[30] In the meantime, Graham told Branson that his visit had given him the "biggest idea that I have had in many years."[31]

Graham was inspired and invigorated by his new responsibilities, if his letters to friends and colleagues, and his public comments, are to be believed. With the university at the head of the state's growing education movement, he could see the institution's hand in raising living standards and reshaping communities to meet the needs of a new century. Most of this enthusiasm for education was in the cities, where voters had approved higher taxes to pay for high schools and to supplement teacher pay. Yet, even in rural North Carolina, where 85 percent of the citizens lived, people were awakening to the need for education and community improvement. In recognition of that need, the university had recently added a professor of rural education to its School of Education. Moreover, education was tied to other growing social movements. It had the support of the Farmers Union, recently organized in the state and growing rapidly in membership and influence, especially in the piedmont region of the state. Graham's initiative also coincided with the formation in 1912 of the North Carolina Conference for Social Service, a citizens group that would agitate for improving the welfare of the poorest and least able to provide for themselves. It would soon include Graham as a member, and later its president.

Graham never defined the big idea that Branson had provoked, but a few weeks later in Charlotte, in a speech delivered at the conclusion of Farm Life Week, he borrowed heavily from Branson to call for a statewide examination of local concerns. The state's top educators were on hand, including the state superintendent of public instruction, James Y. Joyner, and A&M's president, Daniel Harvey Hill. Also on the platform were Charlotte's mayor and leaders of the city's Woman's Club, as sturdy a group of reformers as existed anywhere. Jane McKimmon, whose name would soon be synonymous with farm demonstration in the state, handed out prizes to girls in the Tomato Clubs whose canned tomatoes were the rage of markets across the South. Boys in the Corn Clubs, another demonstration program, got blue ribbons. Henry Quincy Alexander, a Mecklenburg native, physician, and president of the Farmers Union, was there. Orchestrating much of the three-day event was Graham's sister, Mary, who concluded the program with a parade by eight thousand schoolchildren who were given a class holiday so they could march down Tryon Street with banners and a band playing "Dixie."

The celebration concluded with Graham's address. Drawing on speeches and articles he had written months and years earlier, he expanded on themes he had been preaching to the students at Chapel Hill. At the heart of his address was his belief in the power of democracy and citizen cooperation. The community would grow when everyone worked together, he said. The farmer, the businessman, the educator, the preacher, and mothers and fathers all had a stake in making a better life in a state with tremendous potential: "It is a difficult doctrine but a necessary one: that we will never get the sort of democracy we are trying to make, the sort of place to live in, we want, until we understand that when we say that our government exists to promote the general welfare we mean all of the welfare (material as well as spiritual) of all of the people."

North Carolina could not be proud that it stood "near the bottom of the long roll of States in illiteracy, and near the top in the proportion of our children that work in factories." Some families lived in better homes in mill villages than they had known on the farm, it was true, "but none of us can deny that the economic condition that makes this true is a wrong condition." Farmers, and farm children, were leaving the land because of a wrongheaded economy where tenancy and oppressive farm credit discouraged and defeated farmers living from year to year on little or no return for their labor. Moreover, in order for education and other civic improvements to advance, the government must plan for better schools and better roads, rather than fund these vital programs merely by appropriating the money left over when all the other bills were paid.

"Education that goes with a plan of increased tax in one hand, should go with a plan of increased ability to pay in the other," Graham said. "Christian philanthropy that goes with a plan of salvation in one hand should go with a liberal land lease and credit system in the other; politicians and public men who on election day 'view with alarm' iniquitous conditions in Wall Street, should also look with studious care and sympathy on facts that every day are making or marring life on Trade street and the Pineville road."

The farmers in the audience sat through most of Graham's long address without response, according to one who was there. They had heard promises of bright futures before. It was what Graham did in his conclusion that roused them from their lethargy. Taking a leaf from Branson's book, Graham proposed a statewide civic service week that a year out, in November 1914, would bring together all the interests for a day of community self-examination.

It would not be a program just for the cities, or even the small towns. It would call for the involvement of everyone:

> We need conferences on education by the school people, and on roads by the roads people; conferences on various special interests by labor people, bankers, and merchants; conferences for the good of the farmers and of the city people; but we especially need non-partisan conferences by all of the people, for the common good of all. We need conferences where we would see our civic life for what it truly is: a single thing—not made up of separate, antagonistic divisions but all members of one body, in which the blood that strengthens the arm strengthens the mind and purifies the spirit, and where it will be seen that there is no permanent progress for any without due regard for all of the interests of all.[32]

Before Graham left the podium that afternoon, the Farmers Union president had expressed his support for the plan, and Alexander set about writing a resolution to ask the governor to endorse a civic service week and to create a commission to make it happen. The chair of the city school board helped him prepare the resolution. All in all, it may have been the first time that a North Carolina leader had ever paid any sort of favorable attention to the university. Within the year, Graham would not only be working hand-in-hand with Alexander and the Farmers Union, but he would subsequently lead a hundred or more of its members on a tour of the campus at Chapel Hill, another first for the university.

Graham's appearance in Charlotte put new clothes on the president of the university. During his thirteen years as president, Venable had made only one speech of note, and it was delivered on campus on University Day. Graham had carried a reluctant audience of country folk, people who worked with their hands, through a long address that ended with excited applause. Instead of talking about the university and its need for financial support, Graham had embraced support for public education at all levels, especially in the rural townships. He talked about the economic uplift of the entire state, including rural communities, and asked ordinary citizens to use their collective power to make a difference in their communities. In effect, Graham and the university were throwing in with the farmers and their families, city folk and the wage earners, in a way that had never been articulated in so passionate a fashion. He expressed his optimism and enthusiasm for the power of de-

mocracy as profoundly as any Presbyterian professes a belief in the power of predestination.

In addition to drawing on Branson's model as the foundation for his Charlotte address, Graham also may have been thinking about his wife Susan's recent community outreach in an African American neighborhood at the edge of Chapel Hill's town limits. It was an effort aided by her husband's cousin Frank, who was running the campus Y. Although Frank had his law degree, he had stayed on in Chapel Hill when Ed Graham took charge. Frank and his friends often ended up sitting around a table at Bulrushes on Sunday nights. Susan and the Chapel Hill Community Club allied with the Y members to organize a neighborhood improvement project, awarding prizes for such things as the cleanest house, cleanest yard, and the finest fence. This work coincided with Frank's expansion of student-led Bible study classes to include instruction in reading and math for African American men. These "moonlight" schools had been spawned two years earlier by students responding to requests for help from the twenty-three- and twenty-four-year-old black servants in the dormitories who cut firewood and daily filled student pitchers with fresh water for their wash bowls. Within a couple of years, the curriculum would grow to include classes in history, English, writing, debating, and home sanitation, as well as the Bible.[33]

Ed Graham's civic improvement proposal caught the attention of the state's largest farm newspaper, the *Progressive Farmer*. He thanked Clarence Hamilton Poe, the editor and publisher, for his support, writing in early December that if his civic service week were to succeed, the university must have Branson, "or a man like him and so far as I know, for North Carolina at least, there isn't any man like him, consequently, I feel that we are going to get him, just how, I don't know, but that doesn't shake my belief that we are going to get him."[34]

Adding Branson to the faculty, at a salary of $2,500, the highest end of the pay scale, would take approval of the trustees. Graham began building his case to hire the man with others who would hold sway at the upcoming meeting of the trustees. He told Josephus Daniels, one of the more outspoken members of the board, that the trustees should approve his request, even if there was no money for it in the budget. Graham said he could get the money to pay Branson from private sources, if needed, "though I believe that Branson would make such an impression that the legislature would make the appropriation

very soon."[35] Graham had the approval of the trustees executive committee when the full board met in late January.

The winter meeting of the trustees was something of a test for Graham. It would determine whether he was merely a man who could make a good speech and arouse an audience, or whether he was a leader with the gravitas to press an aggressive agenda. He had a lot in his "want book" as he headed toward Raleigh, including a warning on athletics that had been part of his written report to the trustees that he submitted in December. Graham applauded alumni efforts for football, but he said that "the sudden impetus of interest in the success of our athletic teams must not in any way nor in any degree be allowed to lower or even temporarily obscure University standards." Students take what they see on the athletic field to heart. If the university were to take the low road, "looking to the success of a particular team, if men of high ideals allow men of low ideals to assume leadership in athletics, it would be better for all the good purposes that the college exists to serve if intercollegiate sports were abolished." In order to carry forward, Graham declared, "the whole responsibility for making and enforcing athletic rules should therefore, be placed entirely upon the college faculty, and this difficult responsibility made as easy as possible by putting behind the decisions of the faculty the sympathy and the united support of all true friends of the college."[36]

Graham got the support he asked for from the trustees, although it did not altogether tame Trenchard. There were a few other dustups with the administration in the spring—including a dispute over the coach's request that faculty give athletes special treatment in the classroom—but the direct challenges diminished and Trenchard was told to leave any promises of scholarships to the administration. Graham wrote George Stephens in April telling him that even though Trenchard was not a university employee, the public did not understand the distinction and that he would hold Trenchard accountable for the behavior of traveling teams. Graham's note followed reports of "certain things" that had happened on the trip to Richmond in the fall that apparently fell outside the bounds of the rules.[37]

Trenchard may have decided that it was not wise to antagonize a president who might get him a bona fide athletic field with seating to accommodate up to twenty-five hundred spectators. Graham's best hope in finding the money to build this modest stadium was Isaac Edward Emerson of Baltimore. He was an 1879 graduate who had grown wealthy through the sales of his creation, an antacid called Bromo-Seltzer. (Its active ingredient sodium bromide, later

withdrawn from the market, was considered a curative for hangovers as well.) By the end of the term, Emerson had promised to build the field.[38]

It is more likely that Trenchard had discovered the acting president's relations with the trustees were better than his own, in spite of Graham's temporary appointment. In addition to winning an endorsement of faculty authority over athletic eligibility, Graham won approval to hire Branson at top academic pay in a new chair of applied economics and rural sociology. Graham promised Branson a large office in the new Peabody Building, home of the School of Education, and said he would do what he could to replace the $900 in clerical support that Branson had available to him in Georgia. At the time, Graham, like all the presidents before him, relied on a self-help student to type his own correspondence. Branson said he would be on campus by the fall, but he proposed initiating a study of Orange County immediately.

Graham had to weather a contentious debate, but the trustees also approved his plan to ask the Rockefeller Foundation for $50,000, to be matched with $25,000 raised at home, to build a proper student center for the campus. The new building would replace the cramped and overworked quarters of the YMCA. Graham's plans later fell apart, however, when word reached the Rockefeller people that some trustees objected to receiving "tainted" money. Opposition to the recently disbanded monopolistic trusts in oil, tobacco, and other commodities ran high in the South.[39] The trustees also endorsed a new bureau of extension that had been created as Venable was leaving for Europe. It had no money behind it, but under the direction of university librarian Louis Round Wilson it was developing one new initiative after another, building on Graham's plan to take the university out into the state.

After the meeting of the trustees, Graham entertained a visiting lecturer, Professor Shosuke Sato from Japan, whose broken English left his audience in "paralized attention."[40] He then escaped the campus in early March to attend a meeting of the Religious Education Association in New York City. He stretched the meeting into a week's stay, aided in part by a winter storm that dumped a foot of snow on the streets. The meeting drew academics from across the country, and Graham talked with the presidents from Vanderbilt, Washington and Lee, and the University of Texas, an institution that perennially raided the Chapel Hill campus for faculty. Two university men, James Finch Royster in English and Harry Woodburn Chase, a more recent hire in psychology, would have offers from Texas by spring. The trip gave him a chance to renew his contacts at Columbia University, and he paid a visit to

Yale, where, he observed in a letter to Susan, he was writing from his three-dollar-a-night room while the snow was still piled high outside.

He traveled alone, and he wrote his wife almost daily, noting the shows he saw on Broadway. *Seven Keys to Baldplate*, a George M. Cohan production, gave him a laugh. He was not impressed with *Kitty McKay*, a musical that "bored me to death. I know I could play the whole plot on a cottage organ after I'd heard the first two notes and the sentiment much boasted of is sugared licorice." Another, *When Claudia Smiles*, had just opened in February. It closed two weeks after he left. After about five days, he told Susan he was ready to be home and would head south after he picked up a bottle of sherry for the cupboard. "Getting my rural perspective adjusted to the metropolitan environment (I hope I make myself clear) is somewhat of a strain," he wrote.[41]

Graham appeared to be growing comfortable in his role as president. He had the freedom to travel about the state, develop his ideas, and yet remain in touch with students at chapel meetings and in the classroom. Throughout the year he continued to teach English III, the journalism course he had created. In a letter to Venable in early spring, he wrote that construction on the new dining hall was progressing well, as were most other matters. "I am not bothering a bit about the weight of the responsibilities, etc., that you speak of. Now and then when I wake up in the morning, I feel a sudden sense of a burden that has not been absorbed by sleep but it is quickly over, and I am about as happy as a Calvinist can be."[42]

The letter went out just as the dust was settling on a report in the Raleigh newspaper about the arrest in Chapel Hill of six students and the trainer of the track team, along with a few townspeople, who were involved in a moving craps game. The authorities became aware of it when one of the losers wrote a bad check for his debts. The faculty suspended the students, the trainer resigned, and not much came of the episode.[43] Graham also told Venable that the speaker for the McNair Lecture—George Edgar Vincent, the president of the University of Minnesota—was entertained as a "smoker" at the President's House and that he had "your man George at the door. Vincent doesn't smoke, you know, so we were in our usual predicament: giving our smokeless guest the diversion of seeing us smoke." He did not mention that just a few weeks earlier a fire in the Alumni Building, probably sparked by Joshua Gore's X-ray machine in the basement, had caused $1,800 in damage.

Weighing more on his mind was a recent editorial in the Greensboro newspaper that praised the new spirit at the university and Graham's performance

in Venable's absence. It was entitled "A Master Hand Is Guiding the University."[44] Some took it as a public endorsement of Graham as an immediate successor. Graham told Venable he was "very much humiliated" by the editorial. Yet Graham was probably aware that there was talk among some of the alumni, and a number of the trustees, that the university needed him to replace Venable permanently. It was a delicate matter, and by all indications Graham was not directly involved. In fact, Josephus Daniels, a Graham man, warned that the effort would be over if Graham was made aware of any attempt to force Venable out.[45] Shortly after the newspaper editorial appeared, Graham wrote one of Venable's steadiest allies, Richard H. Lewis of Raleigh. He was one of the elders among the trustees and as secretary of the board the president's closest liaison to the board. The two had worked closely together during Graham's tenure as acting president. "No word, nor act, nor attitude of mine has been tainted with the least disloyalty," Graham declared.[46] He said his plans remained the same as they were when Venable left. He would return to his deanship and lend whatever support he could to Venable, by drawing on what he had learned during his absence.

One of those deep into the effort to replace Venable was R. D. W. Connor of Raleigh. He was two years younger than Graham, a trustee, and the son of a politically influential family. In the spring of 1914, Connor was trying to find a trustee who was close enough to Venable to encourage him to leave the presidency and "retire" to a chair in chemistry, much as Kemp P. Battle had done twenty-three years earlier. "Unless it is done by some friend of his who has his confidence," Connor told George Stephens, "it is almost certain to be done by some enemy."[47] Charles Walter Tillett Jr., a young Charlotte lawyer and classmate of Frank Graham, began counting votes of younger trustees they could depend on to elect Graham. Tillett had gotten a warning from Connor not to be rash or to do anything to suggest anyone was rushing Venable out the door. Apparently, Governor Locke Craig was not opposed to finding a new president, a feeling shared by important legislators.[48]

Some years later, Louis R. Wilson recounted that legislators had been quite blunt in their feelings about Venable. One who was there at the time later summed up the feeling in Raleigh: "Get a new president, put yourselves in touch with the people whose creature you are, and come back to us for support."[49]

By all accounts, Graham remained clear of any intrigue. He certainly did not act like a conspirator and maintained his plans to step aside on Venable's

return. In April, with the president due back by the end of May for commencement, he wrote one friend that he hoped to spend the month of June in England.[50] A short time later, he briefly entertained an invitation from another friend who wanted him and Susan to join in a bicycle tour of France.[51] In mid-May, during the lull between the end of classes and commencement, Graham took a trip to Columbia University in New York City and lazily returned to Chapel Hill, stopping over in Washington, D.C., to look in on the House and Senate, which were in session.

Venable was an ocean away in London, where he and his family had been since the end of winter. No doubt, he was considering his options, but it is not known if he was aware of those reluctant to see him return to the presidency. From his point of view, there was little to persuade him to return to a job that demanded he keep faculty from fleeing Chapel Hill for better jobs, constantly petition a reluctant legislature, and manage the surprises and pitfalls that came with university administration. His recent visit to the campuses where he had studied as a young man, and developed the imagination and creativity that had made him a great chemist, surely was a reminder of all that he had given up to become president. He had his mind made up by May 17 when he wrote the trustees and tendered his resignation. He asked to be allowed to resume teaching. "I have lately come to realize that the nervous condition is easily brought on again and my medical adviser warns me against another breakdown," Venable wrote. "I desire now to return to the work of my original choice and for that I believe my health and strength are sufficient when freed from the worry and responsibility of administration."[52]

Graham may have been the most surprised of any at the news of Venable's decision. A personal letter to Graham arrived at his office about the same time that Venable's letter of resignation reached Richard Lewis in Raleigh. Venable's decision "was a great shock to me," Graham told Lewis the day he heard from Venable. "I have been genuinely depressed since receiving the note, and have spent most of my time wondering if there was some way out of it. As for myself and the office, I am all at sea. I am not taking it for granted that the trustees will want me to fill the place, but am thinking of whether I should accept it should they tender it to me. I am in very grave doubt."[53] News of Venable's decision reached the faculty in indirect fashion in a letter Venable wrote to the dean of the Graduate School, Charles Lee Raper, who was a tenant in the home he had left for the President's House. Ven-

able notified Raper that he would be needing his former home on Rosemary Street.[54]

Graham was encouraged to make himself a candidate by virtually everyone, including men like the venerable Dr. Lewis, who said if Graham took the job he should find ways to relieve the burdens of office so he did not end up like Venable, "and it is not only for the preservation of your health and strength but it is to give you an opportunity to go out in the state and do what you can do . . . [and] bring the University and the people in closer touch." The time was right for Venable to step aside, Lewis said, partly because of the "undeserved dissatisfaction (unjustified in my opinion) that exists," and because the state had a man like Graham ready for the job.[55]

Graham had his doubts. In the quiet of the evening, as news of Venable's decision circulated through the village, he and Susan sat on the steps at Bulrushes and talked about their future. They had been married for six years and Sonny was still a toddler. Ever since they had been together, they had been busy people, he with his teaching and administrative duties, and she with civic work, most recently as an officer in the North Carolina Federation of Women's Clubs. A year before he was thrust into the president's office, Ed had told R. D. W. Connor that he was not sure he could follow his heart and teach and also deal with the demands of a deanship. Now he could have the presidency with the nod of his head. The couple talked and wondered aloud. "I decided not to take it . . . because I suppose we wanted to go our own way content with each other and our friends and not worried by responsibility and all the intrusions of office." Two days later, or maybe it was just one—he could not remember as he later recalled that night for his sister-in-law—"after that perfectly definite and sincere decision we took the job we'd agreed to refuse without a murmur."[56]

The trustees did not consider any other candidate when they met at commencement to elect a president. Josephus Daniels nominated Graham, former president Kemp P. Battle was a seconder, and the vote was unanimous. Across Chapel Hill and out into the state, people saw Graham's election as many things, all of them good. A friend in Washington, D.C., called the election of Graham a "test of strength between the new thought in the university and the old."[57] Horace Williams bumped into one of his former students in Memorial Hall and said, "E. K. Graham is now, already, the greatest college president in the South, not even excepting [William Louis] Poteat."[58] Paul

Cameron Whitlock, a Charlotte banker, wrote to tell Graham, "The Class of '98 is watching you—has been from the beginning. It feels a proprietary interest in your incumbency." It was a compelling letter and one that captured the best of any of Graham's own ambitions as president.

"It is yours to give to the people of North Carolina their university," he told Graham. "They have never felt that they had a university. I do not mean the informed people, but the masses—the toiling, digging masses. Some of them have found it out. It is our mission to let them know it, feel it, realize it; so that every Tom, Dick and Harry of them will say, and can say with truth, as they say of the little red school house on the hill: This is ours."[59]

CHAPTER FIVE

The Graham Era Begins

THE SIZE OF THE crowd that moved toward Memorial Hall for the inauguration of Edward Kidder Graham on April 21, 1915, had not been matched since the governor, the council of state, and members of the legislature climbed aboard a special train in Raleigh and set out for Chapel Hill in the cold and ice of January 1897 to install Edwin A. Alderman in office. This time, Alderman was again part of the procession, representing the University of Virginia as president, and the twenty-year-old undergraduate who had watched him assume office eighteen years earlier was the one to whom the governor would present the official seal of the university.

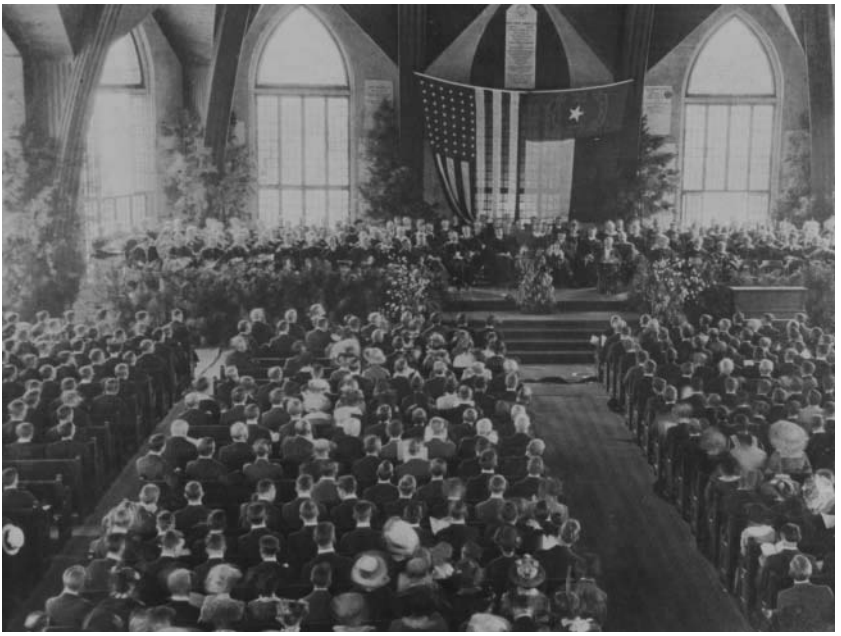
Graham walked with his predecessors: Alderman, Venable, and the aging Kemp P. Battle, whose administration had begun nearly forty years earlier amid poverty and denominational suspicion. Battle's successor, George T. Winston, was too ill to attend. The four trailed behind fourteen hundred spring-gladdened people organized in marshaled divisions of students, alumni, faculty, public school teachers, robed presidents from a host of colleges and universities, delegates from scientific and professional societies, justices of the supreme court, legislators, and the state's highest elected officers. The tunes played by a band borrowed from Raleigh accompanied the procession of men walking four or more abreast, with the gravel of the dirt campus paths crunching underfoot. It was a circuitous route that ended at the entrance to Memorial Hall, which was not large enough to hold all those who reached its doors. Inside, the podium was all but buried in boughs of longleaf pine and dogwood whose blossoms punctuated the greenery.

The new president was the man all had come to see, and to hear. Not yet thirty-nine years old, Graham was handsome, vigorous, creative, inspiring,

Graham (foreground)with former president Kemp P. Battle (right), followed by former presidents Francis P. Venable (far left) and Edwin A. Alderman in processional during Graham's inauguration as president on April 12, 1915.

and a new, well-spoken public voice for the university that some had been waiting for since the days of Alderman. "Graham was somehow the embodiment in men's minds of a new liberalism, or the democratizing trend," a friend and colleague later wrote.[1] In a little more than a year's time, he had created a new spirit of service about the university, injecting it into the affairs of virtually every community in the state. His Community Service Week in the fall of 1914 had brought together farmers, merchants, schoolteachers, parents, preachers, bankers, and laborers to consider where they lived and how life could be better in their communities. They had talked about roads and schools and good health and sprucing up their own front yards. The sessions concluded just as the legislature was preparing to meet in January where Graham and the university did not go unnoticed. The new state budget, compiled and completed just weeks before the inauguration, included a hefty increase in the appropriation for running the university.

Before Graham rose to speak, the crowd heard from Alderman and the president of Johns Hopkins University. The presidents of the University of



Assemblage in Memorial Hall for the inauguration of Graham as president.

the State of New York and Harvard University also were scheduled to speak but had to cancel after the program was set. Alderman quoted Thomas Jefferson and set the stage for Graham's own declaration that education was the heart of true democracy, a word that he often wrote with a capital *D*. Governor Locke Craig, who had endorsed Graham's Community Service Week with a proclamation and a working commission, presided. Chief Justice Walter McKenzie Clark administered the oath of office.

The forum was a familiar one for Graham. Nearly seventeen years earlier he had taken the Mangum Medal in a speech delivered from the same spot. Incorporated into his inaugural address were portions of that speech, along with more recent addresses to bankers about their responsibility to the world around them, to teachers about the profound impact they make on their communities, and to the young men gathered for morning chapel who heard him often speak on their duties to themselves and to the university. This time, he expanded his thoughts on the university's obligation to the state—and through its new responsibility, university extension—in building

a better commonwealth in a new century. This was an ecumenical movement, he said, with the university filling a role in a vast partnership of educators and others all across the land.

"The state university is the instrument of democracy for realizing all of these high and healthful aspirations of the state," he said. The institution was not a critical partner, but a sympathetic companion and coworker. Its duty was to combine classical education with service, not by dispensing what he called "broken bits of learning" cast beyond the walls, "but as the radiating power of a new passion, carrying in natural circulation the unified culture of the race to all parts of the body politic. It would interpret its service, not as sacrifice, but as life, the normal functioning of life as fruitful and fundamental as the relation between the vine and the branches."

More forcefully than any of his predecessors, Graham allied the university not only with the public schools in the state, but with institutions at all levels, from the one-room schoolhouses to the state colleges whose delegates sat before him, whether they be secular or denominational. The university's only antagonist was ignorance: "Ignorance it conceives as the unpardonable sin of a democracy and on it in every form it would wage relentless warfare." As he did often in chapel presentations, he talked of the university being as dear as family, another mother not only to the students on the campus, but to the community at large. "As the alma mater of the living state and all of its higher aspirations she would draw from it the strength that is as the strength of its everlasting hills and give answer in terms of whole and wholesome life as fresh as the winds of the world that draw new life from its pine-clad plains."[2]

The speech touched on notes sounded years earlier by Graham's hero, Woodrow Wilson. As president of Princeton, Wilson had spoken early in his career about the duty of higher education to serve the nation. During Wilson's campaign for governor of New Jersey, he had returned to the theme of the role of American colleges and the duty they had to open their doors to the masses, rather than serve only the upper class. Graham was trying to turn around the thinking of North Carolinians in much the same way that Wilson had attempted with his trustees and alumni.[3]

Six hundred men and, for the first time, women gathered for an afternoon luncheon that began at two and did not end until nearly six. It was a "speaking fest" presided over by Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels and was held in the campus's new dining hall named for former university president and governor David Swain. (Daniels declined Venable's offer to name it for him.) Three hundred students gave up their seats to accommodate the university's

Speakers and distinguished visitors for Graham's inauguration.
(1) Walter Clark, Chief Justice of N.C. Supreme Court; (2) Howard E. Rondthaler, President of Salem Academy and College; (3) Governor Locke Craig; (4) Graham; (5) Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy; (6) Frank J. Goodnow, President of Johns Hopkins University; (7) Francis P. Venable, former President of the University of North Carolina; (8) Francis A. Alderman, President of the University of Virginia; (9) A. Lawrence Lowell, President of Harvard University; (10) Kemp P. Battle, former President of the University of North Carolina

guests, and sixty-two student volunteers waited tables. Venable and Battle spoke, and so did Graham's old friend Edwin Mims, who had moved on from Chapel Hill to teach at Vanderbilt University. Judge James S. Manning was the last to speak at the luncheon. Manning was a trustee and had been on hand for every commencement since 1875, the year before Graham was born. A reception in Bynum Gymnasium followed at nine and filled the evening hours, and the Grahams did not get back to the president's residence—a house full of overnight guests—until the early hours of the next day.

Largely overlooked in all the praise and ceremony was Graham's thin résumé for such a high honor and responsibility. He also was young, but he was older than Alderman had been when he became president. Most striking was Graham's lack of academic credentials normally associated with the office.

He qualified for the courtesy title of "Dr. Graham" on inauguration day by way of an honorary degree only recently conferred on him by the University of the South. Others would follow from Lafayette, Wake Forest, and Erskine Colleges. His preparation had been largely provincial—educated in Charlotte public schools and at Carolina, with subsequent studies at Columbia University for his master's degree. He had never even seen the great universities of Europe, where Venable trained for years. His academic contacts had been largely limited to the men he had known at the university since he was an undergraduate. He was a homebody who hurried back to Chapel Hill and the bosom of his extended campus family after spending too much time in distant cities.

Yet Graham possessed qualities of leadership and maturity that the trustees could not ignore. He carried himself with ease in most any company, including the president of the United States and his peers at the most prestigious institutions in the land. He was wholly unpretentious, open to strangers and constantly observing the world around him. He loved roaming about New York City on his own and sometimes boarded a bus simply to ride the streets and avenues and see the sights. His warmth and accessibility allowed him to connect with all who came within his presence. Most impressive was his vision for the university. As a result of their enthusiasm for Graham, the trustees had found a president whose years would be marked as among the most important in the university's twentieth-century history. Graham would define the institution as the "university of the people" in ways more profound than any of his predecessors and would set the stage for its development in the years to come.

Graham himself was a bit embarrassed about his new position, judging from some of his correspondence written after his election. He continued signing his letters as "acting president" for nearly two months. Writing a classmate in June, he said he felt at home in his new office until he remembered "the time when we were all squabs together [and] it seems the most ridiculous situation for me to be in."[4] He still picked up his own mail at the post office on Franklin Street, and he agonized over relinquishing his last course, English III, where he had shaped the words and thoughts of juniors and seniors. Now that it was gone, he told a friend, "I have abandoned my last stronghold of retreat."[5] He and Susan did not get to England as they had hoped, but they did spend the early part of August at the Marlborough-Blenheim Hotel in Atlantic City, a rambling resort hotel at ocean's edge. "Bring all the money

that is lying around loose," he told her as she prepared to join him at the shore. He wanted enough cash to buy her a new hat and "eat soft shell crabs 4X a day for two weeks."[6] After their retreat, they returned to Chapel Hill and reluctantly gathered their belongings from the familiar rooms at Bulrushes and moved two blocks away, into the president's white-columned "mansion," as Ed Graham called it. A summerlong shuffling of residences to accommodate Venable's family left Edwin Almiron Greenlaw, the chair of the English department, as the tenant in the Graham home at the campus boundary.

For his part, Venable easily slipped back into the role of professor. He received letters of appreciation from college and university presidents, including Alderman, as well as a former North Carolinian, William B. Phillips of Texas, whose own career of European training and teaching at the University of North Carolina resembled Venable's. "What more is there but to live peacefully to do your appointed and chosen work and, incidentally, to keep an eye out for skunks?" Phillips asked him. "Oh yes, the good Lord takes a hand in human events, but out this way we kill the skunks just the same."[7] Alderman praised Venable's thirteen years in office, and Venable replied, saying, "Every waking hour brings additional thought of thankfulness that I am a free man once more."[8] Not long after, Venable told his daughter Laura that the university and its troubles disappeared once he reached his laboratory.[9] The trustees left him comfortably situated. He retained his presidential salary of $4,000 a year, and his tenure was secure in a professorial chair created on his behalf. Horace Williams delighted in the new administration. The presidency was now freed of the hands of the scientific crowd, as he called it.[10]

The rush of world events during the summer of 1914, as European armies prepared for battles that would produce incredible carnage across many fronts, seemed only to increase the urgency of Graham's mission of preparing his students, wherever they may be, for the new world that confronted them. Graham had followed the upheaval in Europe and the recall of ships to Atlantic ports while reading the New York papers on the porch of the hotel in New Jersey. When he returned home he found three of his faculty members struggling to book return berths following their summer travels in Europe.[11] The war was on his mind when he welcomed students on opening day in mid-September. By month's end, there would be nearly a thousand students on campus, up 10 percent or more from the previous year. Included among those enrolled for the first time was the football coach, T. G. Trenchard, who had taken up the study of law as a sideline to his athletic duties. The univer-

sity also had its first female candidate for a medical degree. She was Cora Zeta Corpening from Mars Hill in the western North Carolina mountains.[12]

The European war should awaken students in such a faraway place as Chapel Hill to their responsibilities in the world, Graham said in his welcoming address. He reminded each student "to look out beyond his own yard and see that the road that passes by his door leads to the end of the world." It was a line he would use a month later in an address before the American Bankers Association meeting in Richmond, Virginia. "The fact that people in North Carolina feel the blight of the war in Europe will help to bring in the brotherhood of man. America faces civilization's greatest responsibility and greatest opportunity. The college man is determining now by his work the place he will take in this situation, unparalleled for its responsibility and opportunity."[13] Graham was speaking to a student body made more international than usual with registrations of students from Japan, Persia, and Cuba. The student from Japan was Kameichi Kato. He had been a steward for Isaac Emerson of Baltimore, the Bromo-Seltzer king whose generosity was paying for the new athletic field that was under construction.

The opening weeks of the 1914–15 session were full, but not overly so. The embarrassment of hazing seemed to have receded, perhaps forever. Graham hoped that would be the case. The management of student government through the work of the Student Council and the Greater Council advanced without complications. Even Coach Trenchard seemed to be falling into line with Graham's call for righteous behavior. At a rousing welcome for new students held at the Carnegie Library, itself decked out in blue-and-white bunting and pine boughs, Trenchard admonished students to attend their classes with regularity. No cutting, he said. Slights in the classroom led to an early exit from the university, and the university needed four-year students as players and as fans.[14] Trenchard also joined the Greater Council as the representative from the law school.

Graham had at his side in managing the campus the assistance of Marvin H. Stacy, whom he had appointed as his successor as dean of the College of Liberal Arts. Graham had named Stacy to that position in a temporary capacity during Venable's absence and made the appointment permanent at his first faculty meeting. Stacy was an easygoing son of a Methodist minister, one of several brothers who had all done well at the university. Three of them, including Marvin, took the Mangum Medal as undergraduates. Stacy was trained in mathematics and engineering and had displayed a talent for admin-

istration, discipline, and Christian education. Stacy shared Graham's belief in self-government and began working to reduce written rules and increase reliance on a student's honesty and integrity. Within a year or so, he would even remove the class attendance rules and put students on their honor to do their duty and show up for lectures, laboratory meetings, and recitations.

Blossoming under the direction of Louis R. Wilson was the new Bureau of Extension, which was on the verge of becoming more than a promotional device to bring attention to the university. Extension was a large part of the educational effort of midwestern universities, but these institutions included all aspects of higher education on a single campus. That was not the case in North Carolina, where the university's traditions were in the liberal arts while the campus in Raleigh concentrated on the agricultural and mechanical sciences. Nonetheless, Wilson wished to expand the university's offerings and began organizing correspondence courses for credit that would be available before the end of the term. Free advisory services to assist teachers and principals in the public schools had earlier been expanded to include aid to municipal officials seeking technical advice on water systems, sewer service, and street maintenance and construction, along with other requirements of urban living.[15]

Extension remained an effective means of public relations. The year's topic for the high school debate contest, which would draw hundreds of high school boys and girls to the campus for the final declamations in the spring of 1915, was the question of government subsidies for merchant shipping, a timely and critical issue that brought the issues of the world directly to the schoolhouse. Wilson would soon expand the bureau into a close relationship with women's organizations around the state. His surveys of the state showed that the university's support among women was very thin, and if the university was to make any headway in gaining broad support among North Carolinians then special attention to this half of the population was overdue.[16]

In addition, Graham's new professor of rural economics and sociology, E. C. Branson, was installed on the campus. He immediately convened the North Carolina Club, a confederation of the county clubs whose members would dig into life back home. He also was putting together plans to begin a new publication, the *University News Letter*, which would be a single-page broadsheet published weekly that he planned to cram full of information and data on the state. It would begin publication in November with a print run of four thousand and grow in a few years to a circulation of fifteen thou-

sand.[17] No other university publication had a broader audience or was more frequently quoted in the daily newspapers. On University Day, United States commissioner of education Philander Priestley Claxton was the speaker, and he gave a rousing endorsement to Graham's plan to expand the service of the university, repeating Graham's own phrase about blending the boundaries of the state and the campus. Graham's finely crafted and balanced one-liner, delivered a year earlier, was now the central theme of a movement with more force and determination than perhaps he had imagined possible.

During his year as acting president, Graham had faced virtually every challenge, external and internal, that came with the job. He had weathered the public censure rising out of the gambling episode, and he had lobbied valued faculty into turning down inviting jobs elsewhere. Harry W. Chase had submitted his resignation and prepared to take a faculty position at the University of Texas, but he was back on campus in the fall. That was not the case with James F. Royster, Graham's former colleague in the English department who had been teaching the journalism course he created. Royster left for the University of Texas. Graham had found private money for campus projects, such as Emerson's gift of $25,000 for a stadium, and he had dealt judiciously with the university's detractors. The Methodists had been a bother, but the Presbyterians had been particularly quiet. Graham had enticed the Farmers Union president to help lead a rural life conference on the campus during the summer school. He also had overseen the construction of the new dining hall. Four hundred sixty men were eating at Swain Hall on a fare heavy with meat and potatoes. The dining facility eased the financial strain of boarders with monthly rates a third less than those charged at a private table. The one thing the president had not encountered was preparing a budget and seeing it through the General Assembly.

Graham's presidency would be marked by openness. It had begun in his first year with the posting of office hours that allowed anyone, student or faculty, parent or casual campus visitor, to arrive unannounced at his office and gain a few minutes of his time. There was no doorkeeper; people just walked right into his office on the first floor of the Alumni Building. In the fall of 1914, he maintained that option for visitors and began institutional changes that brought more of the faculty into the decision-making process on campus. A faculty advisory committee was appointed to assist in planning and development. An executive committee, led by Stacy, was delegated authority to deal with disciplinary matters, thus relieving the president of reviewing

every incident of student misbehavior. Had Venable chosen these options, he might not have ended up in such mental distress. Graham also asked the entire faculty to tell him what the university needed most. His invitation was a signal to all faculty members that they had a stake in the future of the institution.

Since Graham's last days as an undergraduate, the university had become a large and complex operation. Over a decade and a half, the number of course offerings had tripled. In December 1914, Graham reported to the trustees that enrollment would pass 1,000, up from 512 in 1900. When he included the summer students, he said the number taught by the university was 1,578.[18] There now were two dozen buildings on the campus where there had been only ten in 1900. Yet state support of the university continued to lag well behind that of institutions elsewhere in the South that had smaller student populations. Even within the state, the university's appropriation in 1913 was less than that granted A&M in Raleigh, although the difference was mainly in money for new buildings on that relatively young campus. Whatever the reason, Graham was not prepared to sit still and see a repeat in 1915. In the fall of 1914, three months before the legislature was due to convene in January, he wrote trustee James Alexander Gray Jr. of Winston-Salem to say, "We are trying to conduct a first-class university on an appropriation suitable for a third-class college. We are trying to do with ninety-three thousand dollars per year what other institutions do on two hundred and fifty thousand."[19]

Graham's request for proposals from the faculty produced a tablet full of ideas, most of which would cost money. The replies were not parochial or self-serving. Psychology professor Harry Chase lobbied for a new engineering building. The broken plaster and worn appearance of Gerrard Hall, used daily for chapel exercises, were a disgrace and embarrassment, especially when distinguished visitors took the stage, said Dean Lucius Polk McGehee of the law school. More classrooms were needed for virtually every discipline, and they needed to be outfitted with blackboards and maps of foreign countries, said Walter Dallam Toy, the professor of modern languages. He also encouraged more classes in German. The campus remained short of dormitory space, and the existing rooms needed reading lights. (The old dormitories also needed reliable sources of heat in winter.) M. C. S. Noble asked for a practice school for use in the training of future principals and superintendents in the School of Education. William MacNider at the medical school called for hot water for bathing. He and Nathan Walker at the School

of Education both asked for a campus physician who would be charged with improving health and hygiene on campus and in student housing off campus. "It seems to me to be little short of criminal to permit students to board or occupy rooms in a house where members of the family are dying of tuberculosis, for example," Walker wrote Graham.[20]

Several mentioned faculty pay, but it was not a top priority for all of those who responded. A more urgent plea was for adequate faculty housing. Once Graham had a new faculty member hired, he often had to follow his work with a hunt for some place for the man and his family to live. The village was growing; Franklin Street was enjoying improvements with new stores and conveniences, but there was no speculative home building of any sort. Faculty members eventually built their own homes, as Graham had done, but they had to shift about, sometimes for years, before they had accumulated enough cash to put up their own homes. In some cases, the university made home loans, using funds in private endowment accounts for these secured mortgages. Graham himself was now a landlord, and his home would remain a rental for faculty members for years to come. The university should get into the home-building business, Graham was told, and seek money to build houses for rent to faculty members.

The extension bureau's Louis R. Wilson, whose paying job was as the university's librarian, asked for financial aid to support the expanding offerings. He had one clerk for two hours a day to respond to requests from citizens for home-study material or teachers seeking classroom aids, part of the bureau's forty thousand requests a year, he said. The university's program was manned by volunteers like Wilson who often paid their own travel expenses to speak to groups on topics of interest, a service offered through the bureau's lecture division. About three times a week, all across the state and throughout the year, about a half dozen faculty members were guest lecturers at schools, churches, or civic and social clubs. Branson informed Graham that at the University of Wisconsin the extension program received $300,000 a year, more than three times the total state appropriation for the university.[21]

Graham prepared for the coming legislative session like a field marshal organizing his troops. His resources were strong. Among his most devoted followers were hundreds of young alumni who the decade before had been in his classroom and had come to know him as their favorite teacher. The trustees had also come under his spell, and among them were younger members, some of them his contemporaries, who were eager to aid in advancing his

program for the university. One of these new leaders was R. D. W. Connor of Raleigh. He had succeeded Richard Lewis as secretary of the board. Connor and Graham were in constant communication. They had come to know one another as undergraduates when both were brothers in Sigma Alpha Epsilon, with Connor graduating one year behind Graham. Connor served the president as a conduit to officials in Raleigh. Graham also could draw on the good feeling and association with those working in the public schools throughout the state. Many of them had had direct connection with the campus through the summer school, and they found in Graham an effective advocate for the educational movement. His sister, Mary Owen Graham, serving as the first woman elected president of the North Carolina Teachers' Assembly, made her political contacts available to her brother.

The university had another tool that had not been available to most of Graham's predecessors. Until 1912, campus publications had a limited circulation to a narrow audience. The *Tar Heel* was the most widely read, but it was written for students and faculty. Now Graham had at his disposal the voice of the *Alumni Review*, edited by Louis R. Wilson, which was launched in the fall of 1912 as part of a renewal of the alumni association. It was published monthly during the academic year and produced a constant flow of campus news and reports on athletic contests. Its opinion pages were usually filled with an examination of the needs of the campus. The *Review* had a circulation of several thousand and was reuniting the alumni, old and young, with the university in a way that had never been achieved before.

Then, in mid-November, what would become the most widely read campus publication ever produced published its first issue six weeks before the legislature was due to convene. Branson's *University News Letter* was not as opinionated as the *Alumni Review*, but in its columns could be found striking evidence that North Carolina was well behind other states not only in its support of education but also in other measures of public welfare. The articles were usually short, only three or four paragraphs long, but they contained useful nuggets of information that Branson and his students in the county clubs had gathered. Bertie County had the most miles of paved road; Guilford County's population had grown nearly 55 percent from 1900 to 1910; a cheap back-porch sanitary closet (outhouse) could be built for five dollars; a ranking of state support for higher education showed North Carolina at the bottom. More than a dozen items might appear on the page, and many often found their way into the daily and weekly newspapers of the state.

The *News Letter* was on Branson's agenda even before he arrived in Chapel Hill in September. Graham was a hearty supporter and had helped him find private funding. One benefactor was John Sprunt Hill of Durham, a wealthy banker, businessman, and trustee. Hill and Branson were fast allies in support of the state's struggling small farmers as Hill pushed the legislature to create rural credit unions to help farmers free themselves from crop liens to finance their annual planting. Graham fielded some letters from a few critics who told him the newspaper was crude and not well edited. We will work on that, he said, but the important thing was that the *News Letter* was another demonstration of the democratization of education. It also was a weekly demonstration of what students were learning about their state at the university.[22]

The *News Letter*'s December 16 issue was devoted in large part to the events of Community Service Week as proposed by Graham a year earlier. More than half of the state's counties produced organized three-day programs where citizens met and talked about roads on the first day; education, sanitation, and public health on the second; and county progress on the third, among other issues. In some counties, participants reviewed the results compiled from questionnaires distributed in advance of the meeting to count the number of homes with screens on the windows, books in the household, rural mail-delivery service, fire insurance coverage, and newspaper readership.[23] A half dozen or more faculty members were invited to speak at the public sessions. Branson was the most active of the lot. On Monday he was in Rocky Mount speaking on community service and citizenship. He went from there to Raleigh for two days and ended the week in Wilmington, where the chamber of commerce, bankers, businessmen, preachers, and school people turned out in one of the most well-attended sessions.

In Chapel Hill, about one hundred students took on a variety of projects. One group worked on improving Franklin Street under the direction of Joseph Hyde Pratt, a university faculty member and the state geologist. He had chaired the first Good Roads Institute held in Chapel Hill the previous March and would soon join the newly created State Highway Commission. Students provided the labor while merchants and bankers paid for the teams hired for the day to pull drag pans and graders to shape contours and smooth the roads. Another group felled trees, dug stumps, and prepared the grounds around Swain Hall for landscaping. "Roy Homewood threw himself into a defiant mound of dirt with the same abandon and momentum that characterized his fierce playing in the Carolina-Virginia game," the *News Letter* reported.[24] A

crew supervised by the Reverend William Dygnum Moss, pastor of Chapel Hill's Presbyterian church and a regular chapel speaker, cleaned the trails in Battle Park. And a fourth swept through the alleys in town gathering debris and trash. Meanwhile, about 250 citizens met at the courthouse in Hillsboro to consider the needs of the county and to hear Graham's address on community service. When Branson returned from Wilmington, he reported to Graham that if Community Service Week was done as well elsewhere as what he had seen on the coast, "it is the biggest thing ever pulled off in this state."[25]

Throughout the year, Graham had given the planning for this event his undivided support as a commission recruited organizers in interested communities, but he argued with Branson over putting the university label on everything that was produced, although much of it came from Wilson and his volunteers in the extension bureau. The connections that the university had developed with people all across the state were enough of a satisfaction for the president. If others gave the university credit, that was sufficient.

As year's end approached, Graham was deep in developing his plans for the 1915 General Assembly. For the past decade or more, university representatives had been seldom seen and only occasionally heard when the legislature was in session. As a result, the university usually succumbed to the legislators' pleas of lack of funds and took what it could get. Graham seemed eager for the coming session to begin. As soon as the fall elections had determined the membership, Graham was corresponding with trustees who had been elected members of the house and senate. He urged James A. Gray Jr. to see a key senator and committee chair who lived near Winston-Salem to let him know that "stand-pat" appropriations simply would not do this time. His former student Charles Tillett Jr. in Charlotte reported to him on contacts with legislators from there. Dean Stacy's brother Walter was a new member of the house from Wilmington. R. D. W. Connor, in Raleigh, said he was working on the governor to lend support to the university in his legislative address. Graham's next stop was the board of trustees, whose winter meeting coincided with the opening of the legislative session.

The president's annual report to the trustees was usually a recitation of facts and figures. Graham's predecessors had reported on the comings and goings of faculty members, offered tributes to trustees who had died during the year, and accounted for the needs of the various schools in the university (liberal arts, medicine, law, education, applied science, pharmacy, and graduate). Graham approached this gathering of potential lobbyists on the

university's behalf with the attitude of a teacher, with a little bit of preacher mixed in for good measure.

He reminded the trustees of the qualities of a great university and of what the University of North Carolina with its renewed mission was attempting to achieve: "It must not only seek the truth in perfect and disinterested freedom, it must also interpret its truth, diffuse its spirit and carry its scholarly achievements out to men wherever they can be reached. The fine spirit and atmosphere that is the essence of all the good that a university has to give is not thereby lessened; it is liberated and humanized, and acquires a richer vitality and a robuster tone."

The university was doing this even in the face of pinched budgets and stingy appropriations. "Some of its finer qualities are the result of the severe discipline of reconciling austere economy with high standards of instruction. On the contrary, many of its worst faults are the result of the limitations and restrictions of an economy so austere as to be paralyzing. In five years it has lost from a single department three professors whose retention would have distinguished the faculty of any institution in the South, and whose going was a loss to the State too costly to estimate." Buildings and materials had been bought on the cheap, he admonished, rather than with an eye toward what was best for the long term. "This is not economy for a permanent and growing institution."[26]

He offered up a list of campus needs. He asked for money to hire the health officer recommended by William MacNider and Nathan Walker. The addition of another classroom building was essential. Only the eight recitation rooms in the Alumni Building, a structure that had been built with private funds, were available for general use, and they were filled six days a week. Some departments juggled class schedules so professors could use space in Gerrard Hall. Campus dormitories still only accommodated about half of the student body, and daily hygiene was a concern. There were sixteen showers on the entire campus to serve the bathing needs of nearly a thousand students. Faculty pay was very low in comparison with that at comparable institutions, and professors were getting offers of one-third to two-thirds more than what they received at the university. The budget Graham put forth asked for an annual appropriation for operations of $125,000, up from $95,000 the year before, and an increase in the fund for new buildings and permanent improvements from $50,000 to $60,000.

The legislative session of 1915 was the last to meet before America became distracted by preparations for war. It also was the last one before a new gov-

ernor, Thomas Walter Bickett, would lead a reform of the state's antiquated and inequitable tax system that favored large landowners and manufacturing concerns. Moreover, it was the last session before the state would begin to seriously consider a comprehensive road system that would not only connect counties one to another, but also provide a traveler with a direct route from the coast to the mountains. Joseph H. Pratt figured the state was wasting about $750,000 a year on unsound engineering practices and parochial interests. It was not possible to travel easily from one county seat to another since local interests built roads designed to protect merchants from competitors in neighboring counties.[27]

Graham found himself hearing the same old pleas of poverty from legislators he talked to. He wrote Josephus Daniels that every request of the university was genuine and needed, and "has been occasioned by the success of [the university's off-campus extension] work, and by responding to rapidly increasing demands made upon us. The only objection to giving us every cent we ask for, that I have heard raised, is that the State hasn't the money. Nobody can ever convince me that this is true. North Carolina can give to its state university every cent it needs."[28] Graham refrained from hanging around Raleigh. He made his obligatory committee appearance and went back to Chapel Hill, leaving the university's fate with those he had prepped for battle. In late February and into March, he waited, as he told one friend, "for the legislature to let us know whether we are to be paroled or given the death sentence."[29] His first report from Connor was positive. The university did not get its full request, Connor wired in a telegram, but a 20 percent increase was in the final budget.[30]

Considering the provincial nature of the General Assembly and that Graham was new to legislative affairs, the university perhaps did better than might have been expected. The university did not get the $125,000 for annual operating expenses it was seeking, but it did get $115,000. Graham did not get the $60,000 he wanted for campus improvements, but the university did get $60,000 to use over two years. Much of this money would go to pay for the University Inn property on Franklin Street and the land under Peabody Hall that had already been acquired but was not yet paid for. The rest would go to making repairs in existing buildings, some of them a hundred years old and neglected by insufficient upkeep.[31] (The year before, residents in New East and New West had asked for refunds on dorm rent when they were unable to stay warm through winter.)

The results left Graham optimistic about the future. "What they did was

U.S. District Court Judge Henry Groves Connor, former United States president William Howard Taft, and Graham on the front porch of the President's House at UNC in 1915. Taft was at the university to deliver the inaugural Weil Lecture on American citizenship.

far short of what our needs demand," he wrote Gray, "but I am not discouraged. I feel, on the contrary, that we all should feel greatly heartened by the friendly feeling that was shown, and realize it is a big job getting an institution of higher learning adequately provided for in a state such as ours is."[32]

As the legislature adjourned, Graham was preparing the mansion for a three-day visit from former president William Howard Taft. He was due in Chapel Hill for a series of lectures on politics and the presidency. During an earlier visit to Chapel Hill when Taft was president, he had been the guest of the Venables. At one meal Sallie Venable had fed him oysters wrapped in bacon, a delicacy she called "pigs in blankets." Taft had overindulged and fallen ill, creating a stir in Washington. Nothing troubled him on this visit, and Graham thoroughly enjoyed his guest. "He is a good fellow; all wool and three yards wide," Graham reported to his friend Ralph Henry Graves in New York.[33]

Graham at his desk sometime after spring 1915, when installation of telephones began on campus.

Graham finished his first academic year as president in fine fashion, with only a rainy day marring the traditional campus procession of graduates, faculty, and special guests to commencement proceedings in Memorial Hall. There were no embarrassing dustups to provoke public criticism of the student body. The intercollegiate wrangling over athletics was kept to a minimum, although Elon College's William A. Harper continued to complain about a player lost to the university's new baseball coach, Charles Glenn Doak. Graham diplomatically brushed aside Harper's complaint, saying that until Elon had more than 150 students and qualified as a college as defined by the federal commissioner of education, his teams might continue to be raided by other schools. The university even had the beginning of a telephone network. The electrical engineering laboratory overhauled used phones salvaged from a Durham textile mill to connect the Alumni Building offices of the president, the business manager, the treasurer, and the registrar. The student engineers had also put a radio antenna on top of New East and were ready to receive box scores of the baseball games.34 Trustee George Stephens was at work raising money so the president would have full-time clerical help. The capstone for Graham may have been the June issue of the *University Magazine*, which was dedicated to him. In prose and poetry the campus li-

terati praised their new young president, for whom the title "president and professor" was far too common. The consensus was that he should be their "Mr. Graham."

The same issue of the magazine that honored Graham carried a short story written by Benjamin Franklin Auld about a German soldier driven crazy by the war. The events from across the ocean were becoming part of the conversation of the university community.

CHAPTER SIX

A Rising Tide

Ed Graham's wife, Susan, was beautiful, charming, and intelligent, a perfect mate whose academic credentials—a master's degree from Cornell University and election to Phi Beta Kappa—equaled his own. She completed his life. For Ed, nothing was funny or beautiful until he had shared it with Susan. She passed on every word he wrote, and she embraced her role as a president's wife even though it intruded on their lives as parents of a young son. During his trips to New York City, Ed would shop for his new collars at Rogers Peet and cast an eye at other store windows for a smart new hat for her. They shared in hosting visiting dignitaries such as former president William H. Taft and advancing woman's suffrage, a touchy political issue at the time. Thus, when Susan, only thirty-four, fell ill in early November 1916 and struggled with a raging infection for six weeks, only to die just three days before Christmas, the loss was almost more than he could bear.

Her death came at around 10 a.m. on the twenty-second, and word flew across the campus. It was a Friday and the final day of the session. All remaining classes were canceled; students packed and headed home, and a gloom hung over the entire community throughout the holidays. Her death was unexpected, at least by her husband. Three weeks earlier, Ed believed she had begun to rally and was on the mend. Apparently she could not overcome a bacterial infection that may have set in after a possible miscarriage in early November.[1] She was buried in the Chapel Hill cemetery on December 23 following a service in the Chapel of the Cross, the church where she and Ed had been wed eight years earlier. The Reverend W. D. Moss of the Presbyterian church, a personal and spiritual counselor who had blessed that union, presided.

More than six months passed before Graham could fully disengage from his presidential duties and face his grief. In mid-July he arrived in Atlantic City and took a room by himself at Galen Hall, a seaside resort hotel featuring baths with hot and cold seawater and a solarium on the roof. Susan's sister Mildred, or Mimi as he called her, was in Chapel Hill looking after six-year-old Sonny. America had joined the war in Europe, and he was lost in thought. He stopped in at the Marlborough-Blenheim, where he and Susan had vacationed before, and the recollection of their time together flooded over him like the tide. "She was so wonderful to me," he wrote Mimi, "sweetness, and sense and love and understanding and sympathy—she was my life. Nobody knows what she was in every way—little and big—and how much she helped me—how perfectly we grew along together. I am glad with more gladness than I can say that I knew this and felt it before she was taken and that she knew I knew it."[2]

During his week at the shore, he wandered the boardwalk alone absorbed in his own thoughts, recovering from a loss that his friend Horace Williams had worried would cripple him.[3] Graham captured what he saw and heard and put it all in letters to Mimi and Sonny. He wrote of a dowager bartering with a "Syrian" over a ten-dollar tablecloth—the man wanted twenty dollars—and he bought a dog he named Gyp and sent him home to the "presidential yard." He got sunburned on the beach and watched the "pretty people" who passed by in a seemingly endless stream. "You don't see the ugly ones," he wrote. "Your eye picks out only those that are pleasing and where there are so many it is just a procession of pretty people." The children playing in the surf prompted a special word for Sonny: "The waves come and knock them head over heels, but they don't mind."

Graham had recently learned that Secretary of War Newton Diehl Baker, the speaker at the university's most recent commencement, had put his name forward for the presidency of Smith College. This reminded him of that evening with Susan on the porch at Bulrushes, three years earlier, when they had pondered their future at Chapel Hill. He said the Smith trustees probably would not give him a second thought if they "could see me attending the movies, auction sales, the minstrel show on the steel pier, and other diversions of like nature not lawful for college presidents. Some times when I get to those places I wonder what my colleagues—whom I just left in Washington—would think if they could see me. When the thought crosses my mind I feel like a little boy Eddie Graham caught with jam all over his ears. Of course I

am not really ashamed of any place I go. I merely like to go to undignified and often cheap places because *people* are there behaving like people and I like to be with 'em."[4]

This summer's flight into anonymity was unusual only in the length of Graham's long stay at Galen Hall. When he traveled to meetings or appointments in the North, Graham often took an extra day or two for himself in New York City, perhaps to see Ty Cobb play baseball or to catch a new Broadway musical. He once boarded a bus near his downtown hotel and took it to 168th Street and back, just because he could. On another trip, he delayed his departure back to Chapel Hill so he could mingle with the crowd gathered in the city for a suffrage parade. Graham frequently extended his return home with a stopover in Washington, where he would get a room at the Willard Hotel and wander over to Capitol Hill to listen to congressional debate. One day, North Carolina's Senator Lee Slater Overman guided him through the corridors of the Capitol "with all of the easy good nature of Doc Kluttz showing you his chickens—J. B. Duke, Governor Johnson of California and enough senators and such truck to start a fairly good government in South America."[5] It was all good public relations, and he enjoyed it so. On another occasion, he dropped by the White House to see President Woodrow Wilson, who invited him to stay for lunch (the president had poached eggs, a sweet potato, ham, and fruit).[6]

The visit with Wilson brought together two men with backgrounds as a college president who had a number of shared experiences. Both were southerners and devoted Presbyterians. They also shared a love of history and appreciated the new role of higher education in uplifting American society. Both had been influenced by the counsel and thought of North Carolinian Walter Hines Page, whom President Wilson had appointed as the ambassador to the Court of St. James. Graham had been a fan of the president since Wilson's first visit to the campus in January 1909 as president of Princeton University, when he spoke on the virtues of Robert E. Lee. Later, in 1911, he had returned as the governor of New Jersey to deliver the commencement address. Ed Graham's cousin Frank was part of the floor demonstration at the Democratic National Convention in 1912 when Wilson was nominated. He and some mates had been so impressed with Wilson on his first visit to the campus that after he concluded his speech they immediately met in the YMCA building and nominated him for president.[7]

Ed Graham's serendipitous excursions provided relief from the constant

sleeve tugging he endured in Chapel Hill. Even when he was at home, faculty members, students, and others made their way to the door of the residence on Franklin Street, which remained unlocked, even at night, until a stranger wandered through in the dark and frightened Mimi and her sister. His penchant for accessibility, and a kindly, sympathetic nature, meant his time was seldom his own. A friend once caught him leaving his office very late in the day and asked why. Graham explained that a father had stopped in to talk about sending his son to the university in the coming year. He had stayed for two to three hours. So why had he not sent the father on his way after a respectable time? Yes, said Graham, he had considered it, but the man's concern for his son's welfare was such that he did not have the heart to declare the visit an intrusion.[8]

Susan had shared in his early success as president and placed her own stamp on the official residence, where she supervised the application of a new coat of paint on the walls of the large airy rooms and spread colorful patterned Navajo rugs on the floors, an addition that put the previous mistress of the house on edge. The Grahams did not have the accumulation of furniture of an older couple like the Venables, so the interior looked a little spare. That made all the more space for special occasions such as University Day, when as many as two hundred guests found their way to the house.[9] While Ed organized counties for useful self-examination, Susan helped found the Chapel Hill Community Club, which cleaned the alleyways of trash and made the village more inviting for visitors from the country. After her death, a small two-sided fountain with a bas-relief of a woman pouring water from a vase was placed in her memory on Franklin Street as a drinking fountain for pedestrians and a watering trough for draft animals. Her rise to office in the North Carolina Federation of Women's Clubs allied her with women of influence and substance at the same time her husband was succeeding to the presidency of the North Carolina Conference for Social Service, making them a power couple before such combinations even had a name. In 1916, their respective organizations were the most influential nonpartisan power centers in the state, with agendas for such things as improving public health and limiting child labor.

Once fully vested in office, Graham had moved ahead with his vision for the expansion of the university. He built on his success in the 1915 General Assembly and began evangelizing the faculty, students, and trustees to move the institution away from its isolation and into the mainstream of the state. Every facet of the university drew his attention, from new programs like a school of

commerce that he began talking about in the fall of 1915 to the ragged nature of both the athletic program and the appearance of the campus grounds. His "want book" included notations about a new physics building and a social center for students, as well as more faculty to staff new programs of study. He drew on his colleagues for advice and support, and he sought Susan's counsel as well. She had experience as a department chair at Sweet Briar and knew the far corners of the campus as well as he did.

The year leading up to Susan's illness and death had been productive for Ed Graham. It had begun in the fall of 1915 with a trip to Easton, Pennsylvania, the home of Lafayette College, where Graham received an honorary degree. Honored with him that day were popular American writer Winston Churchill and Oswald Garrison Villard, a New York newspaperman who later edited the *Nation*, a leading weekly news journal with a decided isolationist bent. "Heaven help me," he wrote his wife. "I feel like a misplaced parcel of nothing at all." This was the trip where he delayed his return to take in the suffrage parade that passed in front of his hotel in New York. "This chunk of sacrifice ought to give me some sort of recognition in the Original Sons of Female Freedom when the society is organized," he advised his wife.[10] Susan let Dean Marvin Stacy know her husband would not be back on campus as planned, but Stacy had probably grown to expect that.

In his year-end report, Graham asked the trustees to endorse an alumni loyalty fund after the class of 1905 gave $1,000 to the university. Graham took their gift and turned it into an appeal to alumni nationwide.[11] The fund was not intended just for big givers, although Graham eagerly pursued the potential of generous bequests. It was tailored to appeal to the average man with ties to the campus who could afford to give $5, $50, or $100 a year. With six thousand living alumni—a number that was not fully documented—the fund could become something of real substance if all participated. The *Alumni Review*, Graham's cheering section, endorsed it with oceans of ink. The idea of soliciting private money to support a state institution was new. Although early response was enthusiastic, the actual dollars Graham anticipated never materialized.

The president brought campus athletics to heel after three years of an awkward relationship with a coach who was beyond his control. Trenchard's contract expired with the close of the 1915 season and another loss to the University of Virginia, and with him went the experiment of athletics controlled by the alumni. Even before Trenchard's contract was up, and the coach headed

off to a timber and real estate business in South Carolina, George Stephens complained to Graham that the alumni were not meeting their pledges of financial support for athletics, and he asked for state aid.[12] Graham and a faculty committee put in place a new system with athletics managed by a director of athletics. They proposed an alumnus for the job, and Graham wrote William Picard Jacocks, a product of the university's medical school who was just beginning a brilliant career in public health, and asked him to give it consideration. Jacocks said the timing was not right; he was immersed in eradicating hookworm in Trinidad.[13]

In late December, Graham authorized a delegation to attend the annual meeting of the National Collegiate Athletic Association in New York, using a couple of men who were already in the area. One was his cousin Frank, who was studying at Columbia. The other was Andrew Henry Patterson, the university's physics professor and the dean of the School of Applied Science, who was on leave and working in the munitions industry, where he was making more in two months than his university salary paid in a year. Graham also dispatched Charles Thomas Woollen, the university's business manager, as well as Edward Vernon Howell and Charles Holmes Herty of the Faculty Athletic Committee to attend the session, which was led by Dean LeBaron Russell Briggs of Harvard and where much of the discussion revolved around professionalism in college baseball. Coincident with the New York meeting came word of a date for Carolina's football team to play Harvard in the fall of 1916, as well as some sound contacts on refining the new rulebook.[14]

Graham found an athletic director and football coach in Thomas Joseph Campbell. Although not an alumnus of the university, Campbell did have experience as a football player, having been a star on Harvard's team in 1910–11. The new athletic director was on the campus by early March 1916, just ahead of a baseball game scheduled for April 3 with the University of Virginia in the new stadium paid for by Isaac Emerson, its stark white concrete stands rising out of a stretch of flat ground near the tennis courts behind Bynum Gymnasium. Graham probably was not disappointed the university hired a Harvard graduate to lead athletics. In a letter to Louis Graves in early December, in which he updated Graves on life in Chapel Hill and his own progress on the tennis courts, he asked Graves to solicit candidates for the university coaching job from *New York Tribune* sportswriter Henry Grantland Rice. Graham said he supported the hiring of an alumnus, but he was not any keener on having an alumnus coaching football than he was on having a university man

Emerson Field was named for Isaac Emerson, a Chatham County native and 1879 graduate of the University of North Carolina. Emerson used some of the wealth he gained from the development and sale of the antacid Bromo Seltzer to pay for construction of the field and stadium seating.

teaching biology. What was important was unified support: "I do want a sufficiently close relationship to exist between the coaching and the College to get the spirit of the College into the team."[15]

Graham hoped a new coach and a new stadium would inspire alumni to form a closer connection with their alma mater. For years, the university had suffered through seasons without a proper playing field and seating to accommodate spectators who otherwise had little reason to return to the out-of-the-way campus. The new stadium would seat up to thirty-two hundred cheering fans, and, for the first time, building plans at the university took into account parking spaces for automobiles. Meanwhile, Campbell began rebuilding a team under a new rule that required an athlete to have attended the university for a year before becoming eligible to play, along with tighter rules on compensation. The training table remained in place for the 1916–17 school year, but the university began limiting concessions for athletes. Campbell later informed Woollen that some baseball players recruited for the 1917–18 school year said they could not come unless their expenses were paid, as had been the practice for football players under Trenchard. Campbell wrote one baseball player to say he would be glad to help him get a campus self-help job that many students used to reduce expenses.[16] The one-year rule was coordinated with the University of Virginia, which also adopted tighter eligibil-

ity requirements. In the fall of 1916, the Carolina football team lost to both Princeton and Harvard, but on Thanksgiving Day, before a crowd of fourteen thousand spectators, seated and standing around a soggy playing field at Richmond's Broad Street Park, the university finally beat Virginia, 7–0. It was the first victory over Virginia in eleven years.[17] With his wife gravely ill at home, Graham missed the game.

Along with the major challenges, Graham dug into the daily chores of the office, including collecting bad debts left behind by alumni. One nagging case involved $37.50 that was owed by a medical doctor practicing in Charlotte who had failed to repay college loans from thirty years earlier. The president also answered letters from high school students who expected him to be a polymath. One inquiry that Graham fielded on his own regarded the relative speed of a bullet fired from the rear of a train. On another occasion, he went to the defense of a man in the village who was charged with stealing a watch from a dormitory. Graham told the state's prosecutor that the man had worked for him for two years, handling yard work and babysitting Sonny, and was just too lazy to have committed such a crime. He even took time to write a short piece of nonfiction about University Station that he sent to Louis Graves for approval and possible publication.[18]

At every turn, and with each development, Graham had an eye on the future. Nearly ten years earlier, Walter Hines Page had devoted an entire issue of his monthly, *World's Work*, to the future of the South, which he said was the new frontier of America's future. "Go South," he had written, for there one would find "a land of old-time courtesy as well as of a newly awakened activity." He had repeated this promise for the future four years later when he declared, "The next ten years will see such a development as was never seen elsewhere in the world except when the West was settled."[19] Graham needed little prompting to understand the same spirit that Page had found, and he planned to harness it in aid not only of the university but of the entire state.

He was thinking bigger than any of his predecessors, and in new directions. James A. Gray Jr. of Winston-Salem, a trustee and banker-legislator with considerable influence, wrote Graham to inquire about progress on the Alumni Loyalty Fund. His letter arrived early in 1916, when checks in small amounts were just beginning to arrive at the president's office. "If I had five thousand dollars for five years, I would establish the basis for a school of commerce," Graham told Gray. It seemed everyone in the state, Graham included, was focused on shoring up farmers who seemed to fall farther and farther behind un-

der a system weakened by tenancy, crop liens, and a reliance on the harvest of either cotton or tobacco, neither of which provided adequate sustenance for the farmers and their families. At the same time, Graham recognized that the state's cities were teeming with new businesses and manufacturing concerns, giving jobs to the university's graduates as well as to men and women fleeing the rural areas for jobs in the tobacco factories in Durham and Winston-Salem and the textile mills that lined more than 150 miles of railroad from Raleigh to Gastonia. Greensboro was known for its insurance companies as well as for the textile operations established by the Cone brothers Moses and Ceasar. Charlotte was emerging as a center for banking and textile brokers. For Graham, the evidence was as clear as the dawn that the state's future was in business and commerce. "We ought to lay the foundations and map a forward-looking expansive policy along these lines right now," Graham told Gray. He was already talking with a New York banker about the prospects for business education and looking for a man around whom he could build his school.[20]

Step by step Graham added to the list of opportunities he wanted the trustees to endorse for the next meeting with the state legislature, where Gray would take a seat in the state senate. The president had done reasonably well in 1915; he planned to do even better in 1917. A building for the university's School of Applied Science, a so-called physics building, was a top priority. Physics was A. H. Patterson's field, and the two corresponded over the need while Patterson was away on leave in 1915–16. At the time, physics instruction had the use of only two rooms in the Alumni Building. With the entire field of science expanding rapidly—exploding, some would say, like the artillery shells that carried fuses of Patterson's designs—Patterson feared that if the university did not move soon it would see the instruction in advanced science excised from the university and infused into the curriculum of the North Carolina College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts. The Raleigh campus, which would soon change its name to North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering (A&E), had proved to have plenty of friends in the General Assembly and fared better than the university in 1915, again gaining a larger appropriation for campus buildings. After its name changed in 1917, some began calling it State College, suggesting that it planned to expand beyond its narrow range of technical instruction. Just as President Julius I. Foust at the normal school in Greensboro worried about the university's intrusion on the training of teachers and women in general, Graham was anxious about

growing competition for state aid through the Raleigh campus's efforts to expand its course offerings, especially in the liberal arts. In March 1917 he wrote his friend Clarence Poe at the *Progressive Farmer* to tell him that "if substituting the name 'State College' for 'Agricultural and Engineering College' means that the general college idea is to be emphasized, it will mean that the agricultural and engineering features are to be less emphasized than they should be, and that there will be a confusion of functions to the disadvantage of the A&E features."[21]

Graham had buried his feelings well in February when he spoke at the inauguration of A&E's new president, Wallace Carl Riddick. As the legislature considered funding requests just a few miles from the campus in Raleigh, Graham declared a common bond with college leaders: "The common task of all of us is bigger than any of us, and it calls for the united, aggressive, whole-souled and complete cooperation of us all."[22]

Nonetheless, Graham's ire, and perhaps his anxiety as well, was up. The president was concerned that North Carolinians did not believe in the future of the university. In March 1916 he shared with Patterson a report of a $50,000 gift to the University of Virginia from a North Carolina philanthropist named (John Blackwell) Cobb. Graham said Cobb gave the money to Virginia because he wanted a great university in the South and "believed that Virginia had the best chance." Graham worried that if North Carolinians believed such was the case, then the university was in trouble. He would never be able to raise donations of that size, much less convince a room full of country legislators, who were mulish in their efforts to keep taxes—and hence appropriations—as low as possible, to allocate that kind of money. One member of the state legislature in 1917 had served, on and off, since 1875. "I think nothing except seeing this place grow into a really great university, not second-rate, not apologetic or shame-faced over anything, or lagging behind anywhere or anybody," Graham told Patterson. "Occasionally, I am surprised at my own thought, and think 'What a fool I am,' but most of the time I keep on being that sort of fool."[23]

He and Patterson had done some brainstorming the previous year to find a benefactor like Cobb, but they had come up short. There had been hints of sizable bequests in the air, however. James Sprunt of Wilmington, a wealthy cotton broker and master of Orton Plantation's eleven thousand acres, talked of leaving a bequest sufficient to pay for a dormitory with comfortable suites to house one hundred men. He wanted assignment preference for students

from Wilmington.[24] (It never came about, but he did give $50,000 to build a Presbyterian church in the village.)[25] About a week before responding to Sprunt's initial inquiry about a new dormitory, Graham received word from the university's old friend Colonel Robert Bingham, the patriarch of the Bingham School in Asheville, of something truly extraordinary. Writing in hush-hush tones in October 1915, Bingham said the university might benefit from the favor of Mary Lily Kenan Flagler, the South's wealthiest widow, who had spent the summer at Asheville's newest luxury hotel, the Grove Park Inn.[26] It was a remarkable pile with an exterior of huge boulders topped with a striking molded concrete roof covered with shingles of burnt orange. It commanded a site on the western-facing slope of Sunset Mountain overlooking the city and French Broad River valley below. In just two years, it had become a favorite retreat for summer tourists, and the widow Flagler had spent ten weeks there with her ailing mother.

Few families were as closely associated with the university as the Kenans. Kenans had been on hand for the laying of the cornerstone of the first building on a campus that included land provided to the state by Mary Lily's maternal great-great-grandfather. Ed Graham was an undergraduate when Mary Lily's brother, William Rand Kenan Jr., was teaching chemistry and in graduate studies with Francis P. Venable. The list of alumni and benefactors to the university with the Kenan name ran long. Not the least among many was Mary Lily's beloved uncle Colonel Thomas Stephen Kenan, a classmate of Bingham's who had been a trustee and was head of the alumni association at the time of his death in 1911. The colonel was one of those especially remembered that year when Graham eulogized the sons of the university who had gone forth in aid of the Lost Cause a half century earlier.

Mary Lily's wealth was the residue of her marriage to her much-older late husband, Henry Morrison Flagler. He was a partner in the Rockefeller oil empire and had turned the east coast of Florida into a tourist Mecca, with hotels serviced by his railroad line that ran from Jacksonville to Miami and, ultimately, on to Key West. His own Palm Beach mansion, Whitehall, stood near The Breakers, a grand hotel that catered to the very rich who flocked to the Florida shore in the dead of winter. Upon Henry's death in 1913, Mary Lily had inherited an estate worth more than $100 million. Bingham was certain she planned to settle some of that on the university, which had enjoyed earlier gifts of a few thousand dollars each from members of the Kenan family.

Bingham's report that the university might enjoy some of the Flagler money

was not the first to reach Graham. Three months before Bingham posted his letter, Graham had received a telegram urging him to come immediately to "the Grove Park place," as he recalled it, at a time when Mary Lily was reportedly working on the particulars of her will.[27] The wire alerting Graham to the university's possible good fortune—he did not say who sent it in later letters—had arrived while he was away from Chapel Hill on a faculty-recruiting tour in the Northeast. By the time he got the message, it was too late to sit and visit with the widow Flagler on the Grove Park's broad mountainside veranda, where the cool breezes entertained the guests. Bingham's letter had the same note of urgency. He feared that Mary Lily was about to wed Samuel Westray Battle, a man of impeccable social and medical credentials who ran a small hospital in Asheville that had been established by George Washington Vanderbilt. The doctor had been engaged to look after Mary Lily's mother, but Bingham noted he was spending considerable time with the daughter as well. There was talk of a courtship, and Bingham warned that the university would fare better before such a union took place, rather than after.[28]

In his correspondence with Bingham, Graham seemed reluctant to push himself upon Mary Lily, but his hesitancy may have stemmed from not knowing which string to pull to the greatest effect. Was the best contact through her brother, William, who held former president Francis Venable in high regard? Or perhaps it was through Marvin Stacy's brother Walter, who was a law partner of Graham Kenan, another prominent family member and a devoted fan of the new president. Graham agreed to follow Bingham's lead and rely on his sense for the best opportunity to present the university's case. He assured Bingham he would hasten to Asheville, or wherever, when beckoned to appear.[29] The subject of Mary Lily Kenan Flagler and her millions then disappears from Graham's files. He did follow up in the spring with an invitation to Bingham's son, a university graduate who was a judge in Louisville, Kentucky, to deliver the alumni address at the 1916 commencement. Bingham agreed to speak but then withdrew, citing pressing affairs at home. It is not known if Graham was aware that the judge, one of Mary Lily's suitors before her marriage to Henry Flagler, had renewed his acquaintance and was on his way to becoming her husband in the fall.

Graham's ambitions for some of the Flagler fortune renewed his dream of building a student center like the Michigan Union in Ann Arbor or Earl Hall at Columbia. It would require a hefty chunk of money, and he thought the idea of such a center of student activities for the campus might appeal to

Mary Lily's recollections of her uncle Thomas's affection for the welfare of students.[30] But it was just another structure, and other needs, such as a dormitory or two, begged for his attention. With a student population of more than one thousand, and growing each year, the university still could offer beds to less than half of those enrolled. Then, of course, there was the physics building to consider, and Dean Lucius McGehee was pushing for expansion of the law school program to three years. The school was suffering under wretched conditions in Smith Hall, the old campus library.

Graham was also aware of the need to provide housing for the growing number of women attending the university. Two dozen women were enrolled on the campus in 1917, most of them in the professional schools and upper-level classes; Graham said the number could double if there were a residence hall to accommodate them. It was not Graham's intention to upset the state's policy to educate women at the normal school in Greensboro. Rather he wanted to expand educational opportunities for women with instruction that they would otherwise have had to go outside the state to acquire. According to Graham, "The reasons why those especially gifted should be properly provided for and encouraged to come are unquestionably convincing." It was not lost on Graham that some of the university's most generous benefactors had been women.[31]

Another concern was the lack of a decent hotel to serve campus visitors, although Graham was not going to seek state money to build one. Writing a returning alumnus in 1916, he warned that Pickard's Hotel was no better than it had been ten years earlier when the alumnus was a student. "I guess I could not make that statement more emphatic. The hotel is impossible."[32]

The president's dreams of new structures presented yet another concern. If Graham had all the money he wanted and could erect all the buildings the university could use, just where would he put them? During the twenty years he had spent at Chapel Hill, the campus had expanded north, east, and west away from the cluster anchored by South Building and the Old Well. New construction had spread west from Memorial Hall along Cameron Avenue with the addition of the Mary Ann Smith Dormitory, Swain Hall, and the Peabody Building housing the School of Education. Another grouping was to the east with the Carr Dormitory and Bynum Gymnasium facing into a courtyard flanked by Smith Hall. The medical school sat just beyond to the east, and Davie Hall was across Cameron Avenue from that. Placing the Carnegie Library and Alumni Building on the shaded green that spread north

from South Building toward Franklin Street had shifted the balance a bit toward the village. All in all, the campus was growing up around opportunities that presented themselves rather than according to an orderly plan. The placement of one building was seldom considered in relation to its neighbors. Living mixed with learning. Moreover, the university buildings did not even look like they belonged to the same family. Memorial Hall, with its Gothic soaring arches and tall windows, was just across from the Italianate New West. The Alumni Building, inspired by the Boston Public Library, stood across from the so-called Collegiate Gothic Battle-Vance-Pettigrew Dormitory at the edge of the campus.

The eighteenth-century founders had placed Chapel Hill in a sylvan grove off the beaten path to keep it free from undesirable outside influences and temptations. One hundred twenty years later, campus guests still required detailed instructions on the proper train connections that would carry them to Chapel Hill. That was changing as the daily march of life inched closer to Chapel Hill. North Carolinians had discovered the automobile. Cars filled the streets of the village on special community days as they edged horse-drawn wagons to the side of dusty Franklin Street. Drivers parked them here and there about the campus. There is no evidence that Graham ever owned a car, even one of Henry Ford's affordable Model Ts, but then he had little use for one. The walk from his home to his office, or anywhere else on campus for that matter, took only a few minutes. And the lanky, long-legged, and athletic president liked to walk. One day he struck out for Durham with three friends, and four hours later they sat down for a meal in the city before taxi man Tank Hunter drove them home.[33] If he needed to travel around the state, he could have used a railroad pass like the one the late Alexander Boyd Andrews of Raleigh, a university trustee and a vice president of the Southern Railway, had provided him after his election as president in 1914.[34] Yet Graham was clear-eyed enough to know that with the university's front door open wider than before, the campus made a sad impression on the growing number of casual visitors who were not otherwise distracted by gauzy memories of their college years. The campus was not a picture of beauty, but one of neglect and accommodation.

Botanist William Chambers Coker shared Graham's concern for the condition of the campus.[35] A decade before Graham became president, Coker had taken President Venable up on a suggestion to turn a few acres of boggy land between the Alumni Building and the president's residence into an ar-

boretum. Over the years, Coker installed over a mile of subsurface drainage tiles, contoured the grade, and laid out curving pathways before he began installing a wide array of plants. Coker's plantings added to the beauty of the campus, served instructional purposes, and, to Coker's chagrin, became a trysting spot during the summer school sessions that attracted hundreds of young men and women. Coker became the chair of the faculty's buildings and grounds committee that Graham created at his first faculty meeting as acting president, and the botanist enjoyed a reputation as the leading advocate for proper landscaping. Especially bothersome to Coker was the crosshatch of dirt paths cut by students seeking the shortest distance from point A to point B that left the grounds looking like a trampled schoolyard. By the teens, he was also irritated at the insensitivity of drivers who parked their automobiles wherever they pleased, including in his arboretum.

With a president sympathetic to his quest for campus improvements, Coker began talking with Graham about a plan for the future. In aid of that plan, Coker opened a conversation with John Nolen, a city planner and landscape architect from Cambridge, Massachusetts, and a protégé of Frederick Law Olmsted Jr. Coker knew Nolen's work from designs he had prepared for Coker College in Hartsville, South Carolina. Graham was familiar with Nolen, too. Nolen had worked with George Stephens to create Myers Park, a subdivision in Charlotte that was designed to appeal to the city's growing number of the financially well-to-do. James Buchanan Duke's Myers Park mansion would come complete with a fountain of such capacity that when it was in use the water pressure dropped at the homes of his neighbors. In the spring of 1916, Graham won an endorsement from the trustees visiting committee to proceed with the development of a comprehensive campus plan. Coker and Graham soon began working on a date for Nolen to visit the campus so he could prepare his vision of what the University of North Carolina might look like in the future.[36]

Commencement in 1916 drew a big crowd, more than Graham had seen in many years, as he reported to Louis R. Wilson, who was recuperating from a debilitating bout of bronchitis in Asheville. (Wilson's illness was later diagnosed as tuberculosis.) The speaker was U.S. treasury secretary William Gibbs McAdoo, whose attendance was arranged by fellow cabinet member Josephus Daniels. President Wilson's son-in-law polished off his speech on pan-American policy in a modest eighteen minutes. The *Alumni Review* noted that one speaker some years back was at the podium for more than

three hours. That was time enough for one guest to leave for a meal at his home and return before the speaker reached the conclusion of his address. A student from the foothills of the Blue Ridge, future U.S. senator Samuel James Ervin Jr., was awarded a North Carolina Colonial History Prize, and a future governor, William Bradley Umstead, took the Mangum Medal. He spoke on "national self-consciousness in the United States." Fifty years had passed since Durham millionaire Julian S. Carr was due to graduate from the university, and, in honor of the occasion, he endowed a scholarship fund with a gift of $4,000.[37]

Graham was in good spirits and worked the crowd, renewing his contacts with alumni, especially those whose names were on the ballot in the state's upcoming new spring nominating primaries. One of them was Walter Murphy, a prominent Democrat whom Graham hoped to see elected speaker of the house at the upcoming legislative session. In advance of the elections, Graham had begun feeding tidbits about the needs of the university to the members of his own political network that included Charlotte lawyer Charles Tillett Jr. and businessman George Stephens, whose political connections reached from Charlotte to Asheville. Graham told Stephens that the time for the university to pay attention to the legislature was when members were campaigning, not after they were already elected and nothing could be done.[38]

Murphy got special attention. He was a recognized leader among the alumni, and his political record accorded him great respect in Raleigh. On him, Graham would build the university's position in the state house, where, he despaired, the state would once again hear the old refrain of poverty. Graham was tired of hearing legislators say that "they are heartily in favor of the cause presented, but that owing to the flood, or the plague, or the tariff, or the eclipse of the moon, . . . they must wait until the next legislature, otherwise the Republicans will get them. That has been the story of every legislature since the War of 1812."

"We have got to let the University grow," Graham continued, "and let it be successful, and let it respond to the demands made upon it; or we have got to curl up and quit." Graham was confident that the people were ready to spend more money on education, including larger appropriations for the university, and that Democrats would do themselves a favor if they would just join the parade.[39]

The Democratic Party's candidate for governor was Thomas W. Bickett, who had been attorney general since 1909. His selection followed the rota-

tion of office from west to east. Incumbent governor Locke Craig was from the mountains; Bickett was from Franklin County, just north of Raleigh. Bickett got his undergraduate education at Wake Forest, but he had studied law at Carolina. There was nothing to indicate any lasting connection with the university, but Graham was hopeful that Bickett's reputation as a progressive would prove beneficial. Graham was putting most of his attention on the legislative contests since the winners there appropriated the money and determined whether the university would, as Graham put it, have to wait for yet another year.

Perhaps the greatest promise for the university's future was with the generation of men who had known Graham during their college years and who now were running for public office themselves, or aiding others whose politics were more progressive, more enlightened, than those of men still living in the dark and depressing years of the nineteenth century. Graham's relationship with these former students was personal and close. He could call them by name, and they, in turn, believed he was one with them in moving forward in the new century. In chapel presentations, in the classroom, or in a club meeting, Graham had conveyed a genuine concern for the welfare and development of those who arrived as mere teenagers burdened by worry and fright over what lay ahead, only to be transformed by his blessing as college men worthy of respect. From their first meeting with Graham, they had known that he and the university were preparing them for their place in a world of boundless opportunity.

Graham was heartened to see the campus fill with students as the summer recess came to an end. A few weeks before opening day in 1916, students heard from the president in a letter introducing them to the new academic year. "To some of you, coming back means sacrifice and hardship on your part and on the part of others, and to all of you it should mean serious work," Graham wrote. "But, in spite of this, what mainly appeals to me is not its seriousness but its happiness. The return to college is the happiest event a young man can know, because it means that he is to have a full, fair chance to win whatever prize he seeks, and that to be a good sportsman is complete happiness. It is Destiny's way of answering his dreams of success, whatever they may be."[40]

Weighing on Graham that September was the growing cloud of war that darkened prospects across the world. President Wilson was campaigning on a platform to keep America off the battlefields where thousands were dying in a matter of minutes. Nonetheless, there was an underlying tone of urgency in

Graham's welcoming address. The future of the nation would require the best that men could provide. Entrance standards had been inching higher, but still students crowded into the university. He told those seated in Memorial Hall that they were among the most privileged of their generation, "not in that you are registered in a college, but in that you are permitted under the best conditions to work freely, loyally and wholly for all that men hold precious. I have every confidence that in this splendid business, you will so take your part that this year will mark a great and definite step in your individual growth, and make of this spot and of this institution the birthplace and mother of that best product of any civilization—masterful, intelligent men, eternally and invincibly loyal to their highest natures."

Graham's words burned into their hearts. Some remembered his talks into adulthood, and the words were just as fresh then as the days they were spoken. His message was as old as the Shorter Catechism, but he was not the starchy Presbyterian that these young men had known back home. Graham could talk of the lessons of Jesus Christ, discipline, and duty in ways that inspired students to be curious and to expand their abilities beyond what they thought possible. He urged them to shape their lives into an intelligent way of doing things. Life was not just rules, but an attitude, an "intellectual way of life, and it declares that curiosity, the spirit of free inquiry, the passion to know, is as natural in a human being as the desire to breathe or to eat."[41]

While the war remained far away, it was creeping ever closer and changing thought and action. Over the summer, Graham had heard from friends like Louis Graves and former students like Francis Foster Bradshaw who had joined in volunteer military training at an encampment at Plattsburg, New York.[42] Altogether, about sixty men from North Carolina, a dozen of whom were from the university, were enrolled that summer to learn how to clean and fire the army's hefty Springfield rifle, march in step, and perform rudimentary movements in the field.[43] Most hoped this advance work would equip them for commissions in the army should war be declared. In January 1917, Graham wrote Secretary of War Newton D. Baker telling him that he had four hundred men requesting that one of the government's new Reserve Officers' Training Corps programs be established at the university.[44]

Graham's own sympathies lay with the Allies, but he had also heard the arguments of those who said America had no business sticking its nose into affairs far across an ocean. Less than a year before, William Jennings Bryan, President Wilson's former secretary of state, who had left the cabinet to carry

the standard for the pacifists, had spoken at Memorial Hall to a crowd of students and townspeople that flowed out into the street. "If the war dogs in Europe won't stop fighting," he had declared, "don't let us get hydrophobia over here!" There was a diplomatic solution, regardless of what the "jingo" editors and munitions manufacturers were saying. Bryan told his audience that "you can no more judge the sentiment of the peace-loving people of this nation by the ravings of jingoes than you can measure the depth of the ocean by the foam on the crest of its waves."[45] The president confined his own thoughts about the war to private conversation, but in his campus talks he spoke of duty and preparation for what seemed an inevitable conflict.

Graham's early preparation for the legislative session that began in January 1917 was fortunate because the last two months of 1916 were lost to him as he worried through his wife's extended illness. The fall also was crowded with the usual—the resumption of classes and a memorable University Day, which included the return of a brass plate that was once part of the cornerstone of Old East. The proprietor of a Tennessee foundry had discovered it in a heap of discarded metal. There was no clue as to how it had come to be there. Former president William H. Taft also paid a return visit to the campus to speak with a gathering of newspaper editors in December.[46] Despite his deep personal loss, Graham prepared one of his most aggressive challenges to the trustees, and to the state at large, to finally do right by the university.

His report to the trustees, prepared as his wife lay gravely ill, had a touch of anger and frustration that was uncharacteristic of his public utterances. He pulled a quote from former governor John Owen, who in 1830 said that poverty of state resources was a reason for education, not an excuse to deny its support. "It is a policy that has kept the State in ignorance and the poor in poverty," Graham declared, quoting Owen. Then, in his own words, he said, "Let us have done forever with this fatally inverted logic. What we spend is a question of our preference in terms of our wise or unwise choice, and the inevitable index to our desires. A Christian may as well say that the Church is too poor to be honest as for a citizen of North Carolina to say that the State is too poor to educate, and to the limit of its desire." Full and free education, he argued, is the basis for progress. "An ignorant people are as truly in slavery, economic and intellectual, as if they were in physical bondage."[47]

Inspired, perhaps even ashamed of weak-kneed support in the past, the trustees endorsed his plan for a $50,000 hike in the university's annual appropriation to $165,000 for operating expenses and an appropriation of

$100,000 a year for five years to pay for new buildings and the renovation of old ones. It was the most ambitious plan that had ever been presented. It was bold and audacious, but the trustees had a president who could back up his request with details, as well as passion.

The university and its friends were ready as never before. This time, Graham did not proceed alone, but rallied together with educators at all levels to demand that the legislature do something significant for education. The common currency in the legislative exchange was information from E. C. Branson's students that showed North Carolina near the bottom among southern states in support of education. One factoid repeated over and over was a report that in 1915 North Carolina taxpayers had spent more on the upkeep of their new automobiles than they had on the salaries of public school superintendents and teachers.[48] The *Alumni Review* carried these facts along with dozens of other arguments to the nine thousand readers who picked up the magazine during the legislative session that began in January and was due to conclude in early March. The circulation covered not only alumni, but public officials and decision makers from all over the state. With the daily newspapers repeating what was printed there, the campaign for educational advancement was vividly presented across the state.

The university's record of need was undeniable, and Graham made it all the more compelling by illustrating the university's radiating influence. It was Graham's ambition for all citizens to consider themselves alumni, and he set out to show why: white physicians in six cities, and African American doctors in Greensboro, had attended a short course on childhood diseases sponsored by the university; 550 teachers had received assistance through the School of Education's teachers' bureau; 212 people had attended the on-campus Country-Life Institute; 1,000-plus students had enrolled in the summer school; 20,000 people had received extension letters and bulletins. The details were overwhelming. Graham presented the modern college student as diligent, serious, and hardworking. He said 70 percent of the students at the university earned fifty dollars or more (the equivalent of one term's tuition) toward their annual expenses. "If one wants college local color," he told the trustees, "he will find little of it in present college life. Mainly it is found in the alumni reminiscence and in college fiction of the nineteenth century." Moreover, he said, "college life has become more open, and less protected and less privileged, and much more like life on the outside."[49]

In mid-February, just one day before his presentation to a legislative appro-

priations committee, Graham escorted a group of legislators around the campus. He made sure they saw the sad condition of the oldest buildings—South and the early and later versions of East and West—with their rotted woodwork and cracked plaster walls. Some thought South should be torn down, it was in such sorry condition. They stepped inside Gerrard Hall, the only heated space large enough to seat a crowd for chapel or a visiting lecturer, and were reminded that there was space for less than half of the student body. They joined Graham in the need for a physics building, with sufficient space for laboratories, and in a written report endorsed Graham's request as "absolutely necessary."[50]

Of course, Graham was not the only one with political heft. Administrators from a broad array of state institutions had their friends in Raleigh eager to take advantage of general good feeling brought on by the highest cotton and tobacco prices in years. The governor had his favorite projects, such as money for construction of public schools, a program that fit nicely with Graham's overarching campaign for education. The tab for everything came to more than what could be managed in one session, so in late February key legislators began talking about a $3 million bond issue, from which the university would get its $100,000 a year for five years for new buildings. The details were worked out in private, and passage came swiftly, especially after the governor got behind it and Speaker of the House Walter Murphy took the floor to argue on its behalf.[51] It breezed through the senate before anyone could object and encountered only 14 negative votes, out of 120, when it passed the house on March 5 and became law just hours before the General Assembly adjourned and the members headed home.

The bond issue was roundly denounced by those who objected to spending state money on schools for African Americans, arguing that since proportionately fewer African Americans than whites owned property, they were not paying their fair share. The *Charlotte Observer* answered that "we ought to be willing to provide them with decent schools as compensation in part, at least, for their lost privilege of the ballot."[52]

The Baptists sputtered and fumed over the hasty adoption of the bond issue, but it was all to no avail. A delegation representing the Baptist State Convention of North Carolina, Wake Forest and Meredith Colleges, and the *Biblical Recorder* that made an appearance before the appropriations committee of the senate and house came away feeling like they had been given leave to attend so that the legislators could convince them that issuing the bonds was

the right thing to do. Some took potshots at the state colleges, claiming that the public schools had been brought in as window dressing on a bad bill, since only $500,000 of the $3 million would go to the "common schools." The Reverend Richard Tilman Vann of the Baptist State Convention singled out the university as being particularly unworthy in a letter published in the *News and Observer*. He claimed the state institutions could not be in such need if they could give free tuition and other scholarships to lure students away from the denominational schools. Vann was a former president of the Baptist Female University and managed its conversion in 1909 to Meredith College.[53]

Graham had become adept at parrying the thrusts in what was now a perennial match with titled churchmen. Just nine months earlier, Graham had not even responded to Trinity's William P. Few when the Methodist disparaged the university's high school debate contest by claiming students were being coached into victory. Charles Eugene McIntosh from the state school superintendent's office responded in defense of the program, saying that apparently the debate contest was worthwhile since Trinity's most recent debate champions were products of the university's competition.[54] This time, Graham answered Vann's letter with a generosity of spirit and accommodation. What was good for public schools was good for education overall, Graham said, and if there were any questions about undeserving scholarship recipients, the university's books were open for all to see.[55]

Graham could afford to be magnanimous with such a lopsided victory in Raleigh. Writing to Stahle Linn of Rowan County, a former student and one of forty-seven university men serving in the legislature, Graham told him "how deeply grateful this old mother of yours is to you, and how proud of you. When you come back here, it ought to make you very happy to look on this place, and to look on the other institutions in the State, and say, 'I had a hand in making that.'"[56] Graham confided to R. D. W. Connor that the Baptists had made a mistake in raising their protests on such flimsy grounds of haste and waste. "The impression is like the snakes in Ireland; there ain't none."[57]

The nagging from the Baptists continued for a few weeks, with Graham casually swatting down the complaints. Then he heard no more. Even before the critics put down their pens, he had shifted his attention to Washington, where the university's application for a Reserve Officers' Training Corps program remained unanswered. Military training had begun on campus, despite the lack of any official sanction. Now, the chorus of afternoon sounds on the

campus included the calling of cadence as five hundred student volunteers formed into training companies and practiced close-order drill. Graham seemed as impatient with America's slow drift out of isolation as the students half his age who marched in formation, dressed in mufti and yearning for a real rifle to cradle against their shoulders.

One of those keeping Graham current on the shifting mood in Washington was an accomplished Capitol Hill newspaperman named Levi Ames Brown. Editorials written by Brown, one of Graham's former students, appeared in papers in New York and Philadelphia. In late March, four days before President Wilson's scheduled address to a special session of Congress, Graham wrote to alert Brown that he had booked a room at the Willard Hotel and he hoped Brown could find him a ticket to hear Wilson on April 2, when Wilson would declare that "the world must be made safe for democracy." Perhaps, Graham may have thought, being with the president on that day might help him determine just how he would serve his nation in its hour of crisis.[58]

It was a historic day, with Wilson forsaking the tradition of communicating with Congress by letter. Instead, he appeared himself. If Graham's hero president was going to be talking about Democracy, with a capital *D*, then he was going to be there as well. And he was.

CHAPTER SEVEN

The War Comes to Chapel Hill

WELL BEFORE PRESIDENT WILSON called on the United States to join the war in Europe, the horrific conflict playing out four thousand miles from the quiet and calm of the Chapel Hill campus was a part of the daily conversation among faculty and students. When the United States entered the conflict in early April 1917, commencement was just weeks away, and the closing ceremonies became a patriotic rally for the American war effort, complete with comparisons to the spring of 1861 when Carolina men marched off in Confederate gray.

The war had begun creeping into the daily activities of President Graham in the spring of 1916, when he coordinated a scholarship program offered by a Charlotte businessman who paid the expenses of ten university men to attend the volunteer military training camp at Fort Oglethorpe in Georgia.[1] By the time they reported for duty there that summer, Arthur Bluethenthal of Wilmington, one of the football coaches under T. G. Trenchard, was already in France as a member of the American Ambulance Field Service. In June 1917 he joined the Lafayette Escadrille, a unit composed of other American volunteers flying with the Lafayette Flying Corps.[2] Earlier in 1917, before the faculty had responded to a student petition for the university to be included in the Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC), students formed themselves into volunteer training units and were drilling on Emerson Field with the butts of Civil War–era weapons cupped in their palms and the long barrels resting on their shoulders. North Carolina's most prominent member of Congress, House majority leader Claude Kitchin, an isolationist, may have been a drag on President Wilson's plan for preparedness, opposing at every step increased

military spending, but the university was invigorated by the patriotic fever driving America inexorably toward war.

"Preparedness and patriotism are at a high tide here now," Graham wrote to Washington journalist Ames Brown in late March, shortly before he left for Washington to hear Wilson's address to Congress. "We have gone far beyond the other Southern colleges and Southern sentiment in what we have done."[3] Brown was still on the payroll of national newspapers, but he would soon join Wilson's war propaganda apparatus with its unlimited budget and energetic and creative leader, George Creel. Creel's Committee on Public Information mobilized public speakers, writers, and artists behind the war effort, supplying material for Graham's own homegrown war information program that would be distributed by the university's extension bureau. A lasting image of Creel's work would be artist James Montgomery Flagg's image of a stern, goateed Uncle Sam pointing his finger and saying, "I WANT YOU FOR U.S. ARMY."[4]

Of the 161 graduates in the class of 1917, 65 were already in training camps by the time the commencement speaker, Secretary of War Newton D. Baker, delivered his address in June. Altogether, about 125 students left before the end of the term for officer training at Fort Oglethorpe. If their grades were satisfactory when they left the campus in early May, students were given credit for completion of their coursework. The university had a total contingent of 250 at Oglethorpe, the largest number from any institution in the South. Coach T. J. Campbell was in khaki at Plattsburg, and geologist Joseph H. Pratt, whose Good Roads Institute had become part of the university's extension program, was now an army major and had organized an engineering battalion. This exodus of faculty and students marching off to war quickened the memories of aging Civil War veterans. One who was at Appomattox with Lee in 1865 told the *Alumni Review* that he was ready to go. "I could shoot a German about as well as most of the boys," he said, "but I don't believe I could run as fast as I once could."5

The groundswell of patriotism reaffirmed Graham's belief that a new, unified national spirit abided in the hearts of the twentieth century's first generation. It was a topic that he had been talking about in chapel sessions and in the classroom for years. Graham honored the memory of the Lost Cause and those who had served the Confederacy. He could do no less. His own father had worn Confederate gray. Yet Graham brought young men to appreciate

the reunification of the nation and presented Abraham Lincoln as a national leader to be honored along with Lee. He embroidered his own speeches with Lincolnian phrases in the praise of human freedom and democratic ideals. Now, the nation's president was calling on all to join together in defense of Democracy—for Graham the word always was spelled with a capital *D*—and the ideals of the United States, not for conquest, but in a fight for freedom. Wilson's cause was Graham's with all of his heart, mind, and soul. There was now "nothing of concern in the world to-day compared to the terrible necessity of winning this war."6

If the editorials in the *Tar Heel* are any indication, the student body clearly looked to Graham for their lead. Serious times demanded serious response, which may have been why there were no hijinks inflicted by the sophomores on the freshman class at its annual meeting in May. Perhaps such behavior seemed all too silly as men were leaving the campus before the end of the term to report for military duty. Their president had spoken of duty, and of service both at home and abroad. Where to serve was left to each man. War "doesn't ask for the renunciation of any man's life," one *Tar Heel* editorial paraphrased Graham as having told them in a recent chapel session, "but for the consecration of that life to bigger things. The big thing now is to prepare. By performing diligently those daily tasks which confront us we are answering the call for men."7

Graham appeared to pay no heed to the arguments of Congressman Kitchin or Henry Quincy Alexander, the Farmers Union leader whom Graham had earlier engaged in support of the university and his pet project, Community Service Week. They maintained that America's isolation was essential for future security, when a robust United States would pick up the pieces after Europe had torn itself apart. Kitchin had resisted the efforts of those pushing for preparedness—which had led to the volunteer training camps like Plattsburg—and opposed Josephus Daniels's plans for expanding the might of the navy. Kitchin's resistance to the war remained steadfast to the point of opposing the war resolution when it came up for a House vote in the early morning hours of April 6. "I shall always believe that we could and ought to have kept out of this war," Kitchin said in an address from the well of the House as he declared that he would vote no.[8]

Commencement week at the university coincided with registration day for the newly imposed military draft. Men between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-one stepped forward on June 5, and North Carolinians were among the

nearly 10 million who were enrolled that day. In Chapel Hill, the old grads were reuniting with one another on the campus—including two from the class of 1857—while those who had registered for the draft in town were given armbands and a celebratory parade and dinner. As those in their twenties signed, marched, and ate in a North Carolina village, and an army was raised in all but an instant, the White Star's liner RMS *Baltic* was making its way into the submarine zone of the Atlantic carrying General John J. Pershing, commander in chief of the American Expeditionary Forces. He was on his way to London and then Paris, where the mere arrival of even a handful of American troops was considered equal to a victory on the battlefield.[9] One of Pershing's staff officers on board the *Baltic* was Captain Ernest Graves, the brother of Graham's close friend Louis.[10]

On June 6, three days before Pershing reached London, the general's boss, War Secretary Baker, was on the podium in Memorial Hall at Chapel Hill. American flags hung from every available beam. The hall was filled to overflowing with guests. Traveling with Baker was fellow cabinet member Josephus Daniels. Missing from the platform was Governor Thomas W. Bickett, whose absence to attend a march of Confederate veterans in Washington, D.C., left some deeply irritated.[11] Graham's hopes of making this celebration reach the height of its billing—it had been called a "patriotic rally" when the schedule was announced in May—lay in the address by Secretary Baker. He did not disappoint.

Baker was Wilson's youngest cabinet member at age forty-five. Only a few years older than Graham, Baker had served a remarkable four years as a progressive mayor of Cleveland and had just returned to private law practice when Wilson asked him to come to Washington in 1916. He had never served in the military—poor eyesight prevented his enlistment during the Spanish-American excitement in 1898—but he demonstrated keen judgment and good sense in the efficiency of the implementation of military conscription, the first since the draft riots of the Civil War. Congress passed the draft law on May 18, 1917, and on June 5 the only disruption was a shortage of forms at the local draft boards. In North Carolina, more men of draft age, black and white, registered than had been accounted for in the 1910 census.[12]

Baker left the patriotic tub-thumping to others. His message was more basic, and personal. This was a war of ideas and ideals, he said, repeating President Wilson's justification for joining the conflict. The world would never be the same, he said, and America must adjust to new conditions, and new gov-

ernments. His theme was one that Graham himself would repeat in his later speeches. This was a war with deadly consequences, unlike the rout of the Spanish nearly twenty years earlier. "No man can tell how long it will last," he said, as he cast sobering words to his audience. "Anyone could be blindfolded and turned loose in the vast audience in this house and touch men who will be on the battle fields within a year. Some will go, others will stay here. But there is work for all to do now and after the war is over."

"Whatever the exertion, don't let the lamp of learning go out," he urged. "Some will stay here, because it isn't their turn to go. There is work to do, if we are to rehabilitate the civilization of the world. Regard all time as a minute given to you on guard. You are not parading as a sentinel, but you are a sentinel. The minutes must be fruitfully filled. After the war fifteen or twenty million men will have been killed, enormous numbers maimed and physical resources wasted."[13] Graham himself could not have put it better as he worried about the impact on the university as young men rushed out the doors to the enlistment offices.

Commencement week was one to remember, Graham reported to Louis Graves, who was in uniform at Fort Oglethorpe. Graham said he had been warned against mounting a grand celebration, and in keeping with the national emergency all dances had been canceled. Some had advised him to do more, telling him, in effect, "We had better quietly pull down the blinds and sneak out at the back door." "That did not seem like good sense to me," he told Graves, "so I made it my business to buck up and see if we could not salute the world with some éclat, even though we were about to die. We had the biggest crowd that I have ever seen in Memorial Hall."[14] When his last houseguest had packed and was gone from the residence, Graham tended to a few matters in the office and then headed off to Atlantic City for the first rest and recuperation he had allowed himself since the death of his dear Susan six months earlier.

The retreat to the Jersey shore was a refreshing escape from his harried life since Susan's death. Graham wandered about, talking with whomever he met, and enjoyed his time alone with memories of his late wife. The shore breezes, warm sun, and the unhurried pace among interesting people gave Graham a chance to sort through the challenges that would face him when he returned home. The war had upended everything and all that he had planned for the university and won from the legislature. Now, all was in doubt as America, and North Carolina, dealt with the national emergency. The war threatened

to not only reduce the student body, but also deprive the campus of money for the upbuilding of the campus. His overarching desire was to put in action Baker's words. Just what was the role of the university in this time, and where did he fit in the call to arms? His own patriotic urges were no less than those of his peers who were in uniform and headed into harm's way.

Graham's immediate concern was maintaining enrollment for the coming academic year. Within days of the declaration of war, Graham had called on alumni to help see that the university was not drained of students—and the necessary income from their tuition and fees—as men answered a call for volunteers. In early May, he responded to a letter from a father angry that the university had allowed his son to leave school to enlist. Graham replied that he had counseled the man to finish his studies, but to no avail. He said the student told him he had his father's permission and signed an affidavit attesting that such was true.[15] The president's files filled with letters from former students asking for advice and for recommendations for admission to officer training programs. Men felt obliged to get in uniform as soon as possible lest they be thought to be unpatriotic. One who wrote Graham summed up the attitude of many when he reported, "The time has come when I can no longer walk the streets of this city with head erect without doing something toward preparing myself or offering my services to the Government."[16]

Graham's cousin Frank tugged at his sleeve. That spring, Frank was recuperating from eye problems at the home of his older brother Archibald, who was a doctor in rural Minnesota. He was worried that his uncertain physical condition would force him to the sidelines at this great moment in history. Ed Graham calmed him, saying he had no reason to feel any lack of self-respect. "Everybody is at odds with himself," he told Frank, "for not being allowed to jump out in the road and pull the Kaiser's whiskers and punch him in the jaw. We all have a sort of definitely great and inflated dissatisfaction with the state of the world, and an impetuous desire to step out and set it straight." Get a hold on yourself, he said. "You won't ever be fit if you don't quit worrying about not being fit, and quit accusing yourself of neglect of duty and all that sort of bally-rot—as we English say."[17] Two months later, Frank enlisted in the marines.

Graham had explained the university's duty to the nation within days of returning from his trip to Washington to hear President Wilson. More than a thousand attended a special gathering in Memorial Hall on April 20. Students should remain in school until they were called to duty, he said. "They

can serve best where they can learn most," he declared, paraphrasing General Leonard Wood, the leading voice for military preparedness. Students would not be idle on a campus where the university's military training would meet or exceed the program outlined under ROTC, in which the university was not yet recognized as a participant. A faculty committee was at work on a special program of instruction designed to aid the military, he noted. In the meantime, it was the task of students and faculty to be ready for a challenge even greater than the French Revolution, or the American Revolution, or, as he called the events since 1865, "the American Union." "Our larger task is peace; our immediate task is war! There is now no alternative for a Christian democracy. There will be no peace till the world is politically organized and it will not be politically organized till the people truly rule. To this great common good we once again pledge our lives and our sacred honor."[18]

Graham's concern about the future extended to the impact of the war on public schools as well. Colonel Robert Bingham at the Bingham School in Asheville wrote to ask for replacements for his teachers who were now in uniform. "I do not know what the schools are to do this coming year," Graham told Bingham. "All of our young college men are going into the war, and men who have graduated within the past four or five years, and who have gone into teaching, are giving up their work to go to Oglethorpe. I do not see any reasonable way out of the dilemma, though unquestionably, as you say, the 'seed corn' should certainly be spared."[19]

Graham's call for aid in recruiting students for the coming year was repeated in letters from the president's office to alumni across the state that went out in mid-June. He asked graduates to contact existing students and to send him names of potential candidates who should receive a personal invitation from the university. Graham also wrote Governor Bickett and urged him to establish a clearinghouse for summer jobs, especially farmwork, in order to keep students engaged and at home through the summer. The governor had wasted no time in mobilizing North Carolina behind the war effort. In mid-May, he had called on city dwellers to find a small plot of land in the country to cultivate and plant in corn, potatoes, peas, and beans. He discouraged summer baseball leagues, saying any man who could play professional baseball ought to be in the trenches or "in a furrow." He asked drivers to park their automobiles and later called on farmers to make their tobacco barns available for drying fruits and vegetables. "Let us work while it is summer. Winter cometh," the governor warned.[20]

By midsummer Graham feared that he would not be able to fulfill the promise of a full military program for the campus. At a Washington meeting with other university presidents, he learned the government was not expanding ROTC, in part because the army did not have sufficient uniforms and arms for the men at the regular training camps. North Carolina National Guard units training in South Carolina were still in mufti, and their "cannons" were fashioned out of pine logs from trees felled when the land was cleared for the training camp.[21] Moreover, Graham learned, if he was going to find an American officer to lead the volunteer training begun in the spring, it would most likely be a superannuated man unable to inspire students or impress the faculty. Any soldier worth his rank was needed at the front. Graham was looking for a real leader for the university's war training.[22] He believed the university's appeal to young men would fade without the right man and proper resources, and enrollment would suffer if students were not given an opportunity to engage in what they considered real war work. Attending classes alone would not suffice, regardless of how much Graham argued that such service was as patriotic as shouldering a gun.

Graham appealed to Secretary Baker and to Josephus Daniels, and he scoured the countryside for a candidate. The officer he finally secured for the job was not an American, but a Canadian who had led men in France before he was wounded twice and returned home to recuperate. Lieutenant J. Stuart Allen was a graduate of McGill University, and he had spent two years at the front. At Graham's request, Allen's commanding officer released him to organize the military program at Chapel Hill. By the time he arrived, he was a recently promoted captain in Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry.

Allen was a bona fide war hero, just the sort of man Graham wanted. He had been in the trenches at Ypres, the Somme, and Vimy Ridge. Allen had survived a bombardment that collapsed his dugout, burst his eardrum, and left him buried for fifteen minutes before he regained his footing to mount a counterattack despite a bayonet wound in his leg. He collapsed when he and his men reached their objective and did not awaken again until two days later as he lay in a field hospital. Allen arrived in Chapel Hill smartly outfitted in a beribboned uniform with pith helmet and baton. He was twenty-four years old and was already in uniform when the members of the incoming senior class were sporting about in their sophomore rags. The imagery of war found in student writer Thomas Wolfe's poem "A Field in Flanders" probably came from one of Allen's accounts of his own experience on that early battlefield.[23]

The university paid Allen's salary and other expenses for the training with $4,000 that Graham pulled from the budget, probably confident that no Republican, or Democrat, would complain.[24]

Graham would rely on a student's patriotism, and his own finances, to fill the ranks of what he wanted to call the UNC Reserve Corps. Volunteers would have to buy their own uniforms, at a cost equal to about one month's board at Swain Hall. As for equipment, he appealed to Daniels for "obsolete" rifles but was told there was no such thing. He still had the 250 Civil War–era rifles that Greensboro's Julius Cone had loaned the university in the spring.[25] These old weapons at least gave Allen something to use in the instruction of the manual of arms. The university's program could not guarantee a commission, which was available under ROTC, but Graham won approval to award five hours of credit toward graduation for the twelve hours or more a week that Allen intended to require of students in the field and in the classroom.[26] They would march until they dropped and dig nearly eight hundred feet of trenches that zigzagged across land on the eastern edge of the campus. Eventually, Graham begged twenty-five 1903 Springfield .30-caliber rifles from Daniels's Department of the Navy along with enough ammunition to guarantee about two shots per man.[27]

By mid-August, Graham told Allen to expect fewer than 800 students to be enrolled for the 1917–18 academic year.[28] That was down from a high of about 1,050 the year before, but attrition due to enlistments was not as great as that at other campuses. The president of Dartmouth College reported that more than half of his senior and junior classes were not returning.[29] Then, as Graham was adjusting course assignments to account for new offerings in the science of war and hiring replacements for eleven faculty members who were already in uniform, he got word that Mrs. Robert Bingham, the former Mary Lily Kenan Flagler, had indeed remembered the university in her will. She had died July 27 at her home in Louisville, Kentucky, and was buried in Wilmington four days later.

The first report that reached Graham in mid-August was that the university would receive $75,000. It was clearly less than Graham had hoped for. However, a day later a newspaper clipping supplied by a friend in Asheville explained that the $75,000 was just the interest on an endowment that would pay that much annually, at least for twenty-one years.[30] A "Dear Ed" letter from Dr. Edward Jenner Wood of Wilmington made the particulars of Mrs.

Bingham's generosity clear. Wood came to the details as a family physician, confidant, and neighbor of the Kenans. He informed Graham that the "gift is to be known as the Kenan Professors Fund and is to supply larger and more salaries for professors."[31]

As news of the bequest spread, Graham was beset by those who knew just what to do with the money. Trustee Richard H. Lewis recommended a new department of public health with a professor hired to do fieldwork around the state. Endowed professorships in the law school was the theme in a letter from former president George T. Winston, who claimed some credit for persuading Mrs. Bingham to aid the university. Pensions for aging professors was another proposition from Winston.[32] E. C. Branson saw a "Kenan School of Social Science" in the university's future.[33] Trustee James A. Gray Jr., the legislator so helpful in the spring, did not suggest how the money should be spent, but he asked Graham to see that the corpus of the bequest was deposited in his bank, the Wachovia Bank and Trust Company. It would be "small remuneration" for all his work on behalf of the university in the past.[34] A few gave Graham credit for the university's good fortune, but he told the Reverend W. D. Moss that he was not at all responsible: "I had no more to do with it than Victoria did with Victorian literature, which is nothing raised to the nth power, unless one wants to argue about it, and I know your attitude toward arguing."[35]

Based on what Graham knew, the money could not be used to pay for any new buildings. There would be no new home for the law school, or a student union. Graham also would have to find another benefactor to pay for a dormitory for women, another top priority. The money would go to the faculty, which raised all manner of questions. Winston warned Graham against using it in the general budget lest legislators think they could trim the university's appropriation by a like amount. At the time, the $75,000 annuity would cover more than half of the amount the state provided for salaries.[36] However the money was to be used, Graham learned he would not have a check on his desk any time soon. Wood told him to expect months of litigation, beginning with the state of Kentucky, which would be suing to recover estate taxes. The doctor himself would be involved in an intense private investigation and intrigue related to the circumstances of Mrs. Bingham's death.[37]

Graham's early work to recruit and retain students paid off. By the time he rose to welcome students to campus, there were nearly 1,000 registered, and

by October 1 the number had increased to 1,034. By the end of the term, there were about two hundred fewer students on campus than there had been in October. Undoubtedly some of these students left for military service.

More than five hundred students volunteered for the military courses. The most obvious change from the past was in the age of the incoming freshmen. The average age was seventeen, two years younger than that of students in the freshman class of 1915. Two students were only fifteen. They had applied for the military course but were turned down. The strain of such things as bayonet fighting would be too great, they were told.[38]

Seated with the men in Memorial Hall were two dozen women who, for the first time, had a designated advocate for their interests within the administration. Late in the summer, Graham had hired Clara S. Lingle, who had succeeded him as president of the North Carolina Conference for Social Service. She was the university's new advisor to women. Her husband, Thomas, a professor at Davidson College, was on his way to France, and she had appealed to Graham for a job. Her position was formally in the Bureau of Extension, where she was to work with women's clubs around the state, but Graham expected Lingle to provide a voice in the administration for women's affairs. "I believe that in this field of higher education for women in this state, there is a great work to be done," Graham wrote Lingle.[39] The appointment of the first woman to administrative duties at the university—even duties as vague as those assigned her by Graham—occurred without comment, from alumni or students, but such incremental changes in the past had not always been readily received.

Each of the addresses that Graham had delivered at the opening of the university, beginning in 1913 when he was acting president, was well crafted, thoughtful, touched with humor, and generously enclosed in lessons from the Gospel. Jesus Christ received regular mention. Duty and honor to one another and to Alma Mater were a given. His talks were not overly long, and they hung together with a logic and reasoning that exemplified Graham's own instruction to his students in English III. Have something to say, and say it well. In the fall of 1917, there was no question about the theme he would choose now that five hundred or more university men were in uniform, some already in France, and some just finishing their training and soon to be on their way.

One of those preparing to depart was Robert B. House, a member of the class of 1916. Writing to Graham that fall, in a letter that Graham chose to use to express the voice of the university men in service, House said,

> I am about to leave for France, aware what going there means, and glad to go. Before I go I want to send my love to you and Carolina, because you two both send me and at the same time make me hate to go. You send me because you have taught me ideals that won't let me stay here. You make me hate to go, because I cherish you with the same love I bear my parents. I am not a single-purposed man; if I have one dominant desire I don't recognize it. But the resultant of all my desires to live and serve is a purpose to fit myself to come back and serve through Carolina. This purpose I have, of course, subordinated to what the army may require of me until peace is won. But I am fighting to stop Germany, and not for the joy of fighting. I hate war and its whole stupid machinery as much as I love its opposite—the free, creative life of Carolina. I don't intend to run from the fact that war is wrong any more than I intend to run from war itself because it is painful.
>
> Therefore, while I am glad to serve in this war, I still maintain that peace is right and that it must be developed by training and organizing man for peace even better than he is now trained and organized for war. Carolina has the spirit to do this. . . . May you both live long and prosper.[40]

As the academic year opened on Thursday, the thirteenth of September, Graham put before the men and women the facts of the day. Among the women beginning classes that fall was Mildred Moses, Susan Graham's sister who had remained on to help look after Sonny Graham, who was entering first grade. Graham welcomed all to campus and noted this year was different. A far-off future, of their own making, was no longer at hand, he said. Rather, they were presented with "a present made grimly terrible by a job of death that desperately cries for all the disciplined manhood and resources that the world can muster." Even those susceptible to "listlessness, slackness, and indifference" could not shake the challenge that lay ahead "to play a man's part in a man's world." The university was no safe harbor from the trenches or preparation for jobs that fallen soldiers will leave vacant, he said, and if it were, the institution would be rightfully resented by all.

The war is about the rights of free men to do what is right, he said, not because they are told what is right, but because they have the self-discipline to understand the right. "We are fighting Germany for the privilege of staying in bed if we want to; but the victory of democracy will not be won unless

World War I roused intense patriotic fervor. This parade, in support of the American Red Cross and Liberty Bonds, traveled down Franklin Street.

when we win the right to stay in bed we choose to get up, when it's best to do it." Graham put his confidence in those seated before him to understand the issues involved and to respond accordingly. He said General Pershing hoped that the training camps would preserve the invaluable combination of initiative and self-confidence that American college men get in football training. Graham called it the "organized discipline of Germany and the soul of France." His message followed a cadence that harkened back to his student days as one of the finest orators on campus:

> That is the vision and the practice that must dominate our campus if we are to be faithful to the sacred trust committed to us. Surely if this reveille of the spirit that has stirred the wide world to endure mangled bodies that we might still be strong to carry the message on; sightless eyes that we might still follow the light; death in its most hideous forms that we might live more abundantly—surely at such a time for a man not to raise his energies to their highest power for the part of the great job assigned to him is to be a slacker of the most despicable type. There is no room in this or any other vital institution in the world today for neutrality in this high endeavor. To be a loafer today is to be not only disloyal to our country, but to commit the unpardonable sin of being a traitor to life itself. . . .

Graham with faculty on the steps of Alumni Building on University Day, 1917. Graham, Governor Thomas W. Bickett, and Captain Stuart Allen (left to right) are in the front. Bickett delivered the main address. Graham recruited Allen, a Canadian Army veteran, to organize voluntary military training on campus.

> Does the University have too much faith in you when it commits this vision of democracy into your keeping? I have another letter on my desk in which the father of one of you says: "Do not these University students have too much freedom?" To that, the University answers that it has no faith not based on full, complete, wholehearted faith in her sons. That faith is her life as it is the life of the world. And as it knows they would face death in a righteous cause with gladness; so it would have them face exactions of a disciplined life of freedom—not solemnly, but as a race of confident, upstanding, masterful, *happy* men—who know how to live an ordinary life in an extraordinary way, filled with that heroism for the daily task that marks the only true chivalry—the chivalry of the spirit.

Some who heard him that day would remember his reference to the soldier's monument on the campus, how university men had thrown themselves into battle fifty years earlier, and the account of young Isaac Avery, who died after leading a charge at Gettysburg that captured one hundred prisoners and four standards. He lived long enough to use his own blood to scrawl on an envelope the words, "Tell my father I died with my face to the foe." Bringing

that message to the current challenge, Graham said the ultimate fight "is to test the vision of freedom that has led men through the centuries to fight and fail and fight on, and gladly, if they still might pass on the torch, 'die with their face to the foe.'"[41]

A month later, Graham welcomed Governor Bickett for a rousing wartime speech at the University Day ceremonies. Bickett inveighed against slackers and loafers and said the war would be won "by fighting with every resource at our command—talon, tush and claw." Khaki was as prevalent as academic black on that day, and the marshals led the academic procession through ranks of men in uniform into a chilly Memorial Hall. Eleven days after University Day in Chapel Hill, the first American artillery barrage opened in France, when a 75-millimeter cannon sent a three-inch high-explosive shell into German artillery emplacements near Xanrey, France.[42]

CHAPTER EIGHT

In Service to the Nation

THROUGHOUT THE SPRING AND into the winter of 1917, beginning from the moment that the legislature voted to raise money for campus construction with the authorization of $3 million in bonds, certain denominational leaders would not let Graham rest. The Baptists continued to oppose the public investment in institutions such as the university and accused Graham of using accounting tricks to milk the state for more money than had been budgeted. One critic called an expense of $1,000 to cover a shortfall in income on meals at Swain Hall an unauthorized student subsidy. It appeared that even in the midst of a national emergency, there were some things that would not change.

As the war effort consumed the nation, the carping reminded Graham that he still had a university to run. His job was now bigger and more complicated than ever before with a new Department of Military Science and its faculty of three—as large as the Departments of Greek, Latin, or Geology—with more than half the student body enrolled in it. Graham piled the responsibility for the new courses and military training on top of everything else that he had to do as president, such as developing plans for a new building to house the School of Applied Science, or the engineering building as Graham referred to it. That structure would rise more slowly than others since he now had to navigate a new layer of bureaucracy with the recently established State Building Commission. In addition, the governor wanted an explanation of a minor hazing incident, and then there was the budget to keep in balance, although he left most of that to business manager Charles T. Woollen, a wizard with the numbers and accounting. Managing the faculty of more than a

hundred was a touch more delicate with many of them thinking about how the Kenan bequest might be used to improve their modest pay.

The tiff with the Baptists would continue into the 1918 political season with their vows to throw out Democrats who had voted for the bonds. The leafleting aimed at bond supporters turned mean. The university's champion, House Speaker Walter Murphy, was accused of authorizing a "home for harlots" as a result of his votes in favor of bonds to build a center for delinquent girls.[1] Graham had had enough of the complaints by April 1917, when he answered a particularly pointed challenge from the Reverend Livingston Johnson, a Rocky Mount pastor. Johnson had asked if an operating loss of $1,000 at Swain Hall was not indeed an unauthorized expense for students. If, as Graham had told him in reply, the loss was made up in other years when revenue was greater than expenses, then, Johnson argued, the "profit" in those years should have been returned to the state. In an uncommonly stern response, Graham said, "You address me as if I and the University were public grafters, and you are even good enough to say that you write with the best of feeling. I may be pardoned for failing to understand either the intelligence or the Christianity of such a position."[2]

There were no public objections to the university's newest initiative in the extension program. An entirely new layer of offerings related to the war was now among the free courses available to schools and interested citizens. University extension centers were being organized around the state where people could enroll in monthlong courses on European history, war issues, South American relations, and the theme of political idealism in American and British literature. Faculty members—working without any additional pay—planned to open and close these studies as well as be available for public lectures and special presentations. Professors also had prepared a reading list of books on war issues, and the bureau was producing materials to explain the war to North Carolinians under the titles "Why We Are at War" and "Why This Is Our War." After President Wilson had kept the nation out of war in his first term only to reverse course shortly after his second inauguration, many people remained confused about why Americans were involved in the conflict. Printed materials on war addressed to school principals and teachers produced a flood of mail at the small Chapel Hill post office.[3]

Graham saw the extension bureau as a channel for distributing information from the campus, and from the government in Washington, directly into every classroom and home in the state. Writing Ames Brown, who was still at

Creel's Committee on Public Information, Graham said, "I believe that the colleges of the country could be organized on this plan in a great educative machine that would saturate the public mind with the things that need to be said in the present emergency and for the needs of reconstruction that will follow the war. The college ought to be substations of power for relaying this matter into the homes of the people."[4]

Graham was particularly partial to the work of the Lafayette Association, a creation of Edwin Greenlaw, the chair of the English department. Greenlaw argued that as the French nobleman Lafayette had fought with George Washington in the American Revolution, "it is our mission now to fight by the side of France." He proposed to use the high schools of the state—and eventually the nation—to bring parents, students, and educators together to study American ideals, produce theatrical presentations on patriotic themes, and develop "imaginative expression" in essays from students and parents in participating communities. Prizes would be awarded for winning essays and the best pageants.[5] Their work would "symbolize the ideals to which Lafayette devoted his life, in order that he might make one safe place in the world for democracy."[6]

The program had everything Graham believed in. It focused on the classroom and the schoolhouse as the intellectual center of the community, the outline was vividly patriotic, and the name caught his fascination with history. A brochure promoting the association found its way to Washington and to the White House, with President Wilson himself calling it a "fertile idea."[7] One of Brown's colleagues at the Committee on Public Information, Guy Stanton Ford, recalled a similar proposal from the president of the University of Arizona and observed that "as the president is named [Rufus B.] von KleinSmid I can see a local and personal reason for issuing such a pamphlet."[8]

Graham never realized his dream of a Lafayette Association in every public school, however. He ceased promoting it after he learned the Junior Red Cross already had chapters in the public schools and was doing much the same kind of work.[9] Even state school superintendent James Y. Joyner was lukewarm and had refused to endorse it until other states were willing to go along.[10] The extension bureau's center in Winston-Salem (there was also one established in Raleigh) did adopt the name, and four hundred citizens signed up for courses and lectures in a series of conferences titled "America and Her Allies." Those registered included businessmen, teachers, and manufacturers. There was a separate class organized for African Americans.[11]

Everything turned toward the war effort. One casualty was intercollegiate football, which was suspended in the fall of 1917. Able-bodied men drilling in uniform occupied Emerson Field in the afternoons, and campus leaders across the nation sensed that the public would not abide the image of thousands of cheering fans, some of them wobbly from too much liquor, having too good a time during a national emergency. Captain Allen assumed the authority of the athletic coach and got students in shape with a regimen of digging trenches and chasing one another across the landscape in mock attacks, one of which sent men crashing through the greenery at William C. Coker's arboretum. Coker filed a complaint with the president after he watched in horror from his window in Davie Hall as his prize plants went underfoot. The botanist also suggested that Graham should warn Allen that area farmers were not happy about what his men had done to their wheat fields, either.[12]

Everyone seemed to have an opinion about how Graham and the university community should behave. A "mother, club woman and loyal friend of the University" advised against scheduling the fall dances, saying the girls should save their money. One Raleigh correspondent argued that the round of festivities hosted by the German Club be renamed the "dancing club" or "cotillion" so as not to "call to our attention the monster abroad." Graham ended up in an embarrassing pickle in the fall of 1917 after a scheduled appearance on campus by publisher Samuel Sidney McClure, founder of *McClure's Magazine*, was canceled. McClure's participation in Henry Ford's peace initiative in 1915 had left him with the reputation as a pacifist, about as dirty an epithet as could be tossed about at the time. McClure eventually spoke in Chapel Hill but only after his current political views had been vetted by the governor.[13]

The most nagging incident that questioned campus patriotism involved Graham's friend and mentor Horace Williams. Graham loved his old professor, whose presence on the campus had influenced him to put down roots and build his own academic career in Chapel Hill.[14] Neither the university community nor the state at large universally shared Graham's affection for Williams. Williams's neighbors thought he was a cantankerous individualist who refused to abide by the norms of community living. He fought the town over its extension of a water line to his home and an ordinance outlawing his horse stable within the corporate limits. Williams complained that "in the Middle Ages people feared the Devil and hoped to get to Heaven. Now they are afraid of a fly and hope to get in a bath tub."[15] Riding his horse through

Elizabeth Moses, the sister of Susan Graham, and Horace Williams, 1917.

the woods in the afternoon—he called the pine forest "his temple"—was a ritual not to be disturbed on any account.[16] Some trustees had long found his theology suspect and said his teaching set men to questioning the doctrines of the church. Josephus Daniels was one of his most vocal detractors. In 1913, Daniels mistook a report of Williams's request for a leave of absence for a resignation and told Graham, "This is the best news I have heard from Chapel Hill for some time."[17]

Williams was the professor of philosophy. He had little patience with the sciences and believed specialists who did not investigate the broader questions of life were a deadweight on education. He thrived on the nineteenth-century classical model of education that he had embraced when he joined an eight-member faculty in 1890 under President Battle. At the time, the president was looking for a Methodist to balance the denominational equation on campus, and Williams's upbringing in John Wesley's church, cou-

pled with his training at Yale, made him the perfect fit. His hourlong classes in logic were Socratic exercises in which he hoped to tangle a student's mind in mental knots.[18] Everything—and anything—was up for examination. One admirer said of him, "He has for thirty years set more boys to thinking than any other man in the State and afforded more targets for heresy hunters."[19] Williams's explanation of his teaching method was simple: students ought to get something for their money. He did not provide easy answers to questions and expected his students to seriously wrestle with the verities of life.

Williams was in Charlotte on the first Sunday in May 1917 to speak at the invitation of some of his former students. Lawyer Charles Tillett Jr. was one of these disciples and often credited his old professor for his forensic success in the courtroom. Williams addressed a large gathering of people at the YMCA, and his remarks were hardly provocative. The Bible was the bedrock of life, he said, and its spirit and message should be carried into every daily endeavor. Men coming to Chapel Hill retained their faith, though their circumstances changed dramatically once they left simple home life and gained the freedom of the campus. Likewise, businessmen should carry their religion with them into the marketplace. It was when people confined their religion to Sundays that they got into trouble. Williams had not come to talk about the war—Charlotteans were just beginning to digest America's new involvement abroad—but he could not dodge a reference to dealing with the changes created by the current conditions. He said he did not understand the war, but he warned that great civilizations had collapsed as a result of war and a new and untold world lay ahead. "Who is going to carry the torch of civilization and bear it along? I have great hopes that in some way America is going to prove equal to the task. I believe it will be either us or Japan, and I sincerely hope we will."[20]

The professor's problems arose from a postspeech session with a dozen or more former students, "his boys," he called them, who wanted to visit and talk, mostly about what was happening "on the hill." The Mecklenburg County Medical Society library was conveniently close by, and it became a de facto salon as the reunion continued into the evening. Williams was about to leave the gathering around 10 p.m. when Bailey Troy Groome, a former student who was the city editor of the *Charlotte Observer*, stopped him with questions about the war. Groome's verbal snapshot of Williams's response during the private interview appeared in the next day's paper under the headline "War Devoid of Much Principle." Williams was said to have

characterized the war as a clash of national interests, especially commercial supremacy, and not ideology. Moreover, America had entered the war simply out of retaliation. "Germany, he explained, has stepped upon the toe of the United States and must fight for it," Groome wrote. "He [Williams] would not attempt to prophesy what would be the outcome of the war for this country, as regards fundamental principles. He would not say whether or not the theory of democracy, as practiced in this country, would be the predominant note at the end of the war. He saw only that principle which makes all Nations through all time go to war and which he said was bound to continue through all time."[21]

Williams had said nothing more than what President Wilson himself had said just months earlier during his political campaign and in consultation with his minister to England, Walter Hines Page. Wilson's comparison of the warring nations had even brought a history lesson from Page, in an effort to convince the president to side with Great Britain.[22] Apparently, the memory of the editor of the *Landmark*, a newspaper in nearby Statesville, did not go back quite that far. Rather, he was more in thrall with the president's more recent war declaration and his promise to "make the world safe for democracy." The *Landmark*'s Rufus R. Clark responded to Groome's article with an editorial entitled "Amazing Talk." He recounted Williams's words as reported by Groome and observed, "Whether he thinks it wrong for the Germans to try to force autocracy on others, he didn't say. That is strange—passing strange—for a member of the faculty of the State University, when his country is engaged in war. That talk by some folks would be considered treason at this time."[23]

Those who knew Williams probably understood the essence of Groome's account. Williams was dissecting "war" as he would have from his spot at the front of his classroom, tossing questions back to students and nudging them to examine an issue before their patriotism and emotions propelled them out the door to the recruiting station. Unhappily for Williams, North Carolinians were not ready for such hairsplitting. Congress was on the verge of passing the Espionage Act of 1917, with Wilson losing by only one vote a provision that would have allowed prior censorship of the press. The professor's remarks would have been suspect under the new law. The *Landmark* editorial and broader circulation of the *Charlotte Observer* story only confirmed in the minds of many—particularly those who had questioned Williams's religious teachings—that he was not a fit member of the faculty.

The controversy was just gaining steam when Graham heard from Tillett about what was now being called the "traitorous talk." Tillett said he had been confronted on a train by a Davidson College professor who challenged Williams's intelligence. Tillett told the man that while he did not agree with Williams he could not let Williams's reputation go unchallenged: "When he talked about submarines, I talked about illegal blockades. When he talked about German domination, I talked about the possibility of German South America being freed from Roman Catholicism. I think I kept him on the search for about forty-four miles and I am sure I gave his patriotic Presbyterian soul forty-four shocks to every one of those miles."[24]

Graham, too, had been called on to defend his old friend. He recalled for Tillett a similar conversation with an angry Episcopal rector. "I was surprised at my fierceness and my rabid pro-German proclivities," he wrote Tillett. "I did not know that it was I that was talking."[25]

Graham never questioned Williams's loyalty or that of any other man on campus, despite some who may have been "mildly infected with passivist's [*sic*] views."[26] Graham and Williams had talked about the war since the summer of 1914 when Germany's aggression had left Williams deeply troubled. "For years my books had been German," Williams later wrote. "[Georg Wilhelm Friedrich] Hegel was to me the master inspiration. I read him daily. [Rudolf Christoph] Eucken was a favorite. It was a blow to me when he signed the academic statement to the Kaiser giving him support and praise. Intellectually my associations were all German." At the time, Graham, like many Americans, believed that Germany would prevail because of its might and what he called its supreme "efficiency." However, Williams told Graham then, three years before America's entry into the war, that Germany would be defeated. He recalled saying, "I had jarred him several times in our beautiful friendship. I expect this was the worst." Williams later wrote he told Graham that Germany was on the wrong side of history, with democracy on the march, and was destined to lose.[27]

The grumbling over Williams's remarks continued through the summer and into the fall, with other newspaper editorials critical of the wily professor.[28] In December, the controversy had reached such a state that Julian S. Carr, the wealthy Durham alumnus, sponsored a dinner for alumni and invited Williams to speak. It was a platform for the professor to clear the air, although it was not advertised as such. Williams issued no mea culpa. Instead, he gave a history lesson and recounted the wars that had shaken Europe for

centuries because of what he called a lack of moral, religious, or economic unity among the nations. Without calling Graham by name, he recalled his early prediction that the kaiser would fail because "civilization belongs to freedom, not to slavery. Not for one moment have I doubted the outcome of this struggle. It is too late to reverse the process of civilization." Continuing, he said, "The evidence is conclusive. Democracy, freedom is lodged in the structure of life, in the very nature of the universe. Now we see why absolutism has not won a struggle. The very nature of things forbids it. Absolutism fights the very heart of things, the structure of life itself. It cannot win."[29]

Despite the newspaper coverage given to the speech, faculty patriotism remained the talk among some trustees. One of them was John Sprunt Hill of Durham, the banker and entrepreneur who was a generous benefactor of the university. In April 1918 he warned Graham of his fears about "a small coterie at the University quite indifferent to the great issue (the war) and at times indiscreet and foolish in speech and conduct." His comments were spawned by a speech given by another of Graham's professors, Charles L. Raper, in which Raper was grossly misquoted, but which seemed to confirm Hill's feelings about Williams's public comments as well.[30] A few weeks before the June meeting of the board of trustees, Graham found himself explaining Williams to Clarence Poe, the editor of the *Progressive Farmer*.

With Hill nudging them on, the trustees asked the board's visiting committee to investigate the matter. The Williams affair was discussed at the board's June meeting, although the official minutes make no mention of Williams, the investigation, or any disloyalty of the faculty. A copy of the committee's conclusions exonerating all was later released.[31] The matter was closed.

Defending Williams was just part of Graham's dance with what he called the "picayunish persecutions of [the war's] non-combatants."[32] The president was on guard against rumors of traitorous skullduggery and questions fraught with political consequences. In response to a Wilmington lawyer who worried that Red Cross bandages prepared by volunteers in Chapel Hill had been tainted with the lockjaw virus, he wrote, "So far as I know there is absolutely no German sentiment of any description in the college or the village, and there has been absolute and enthusiastic unanimity the other way. There are no Germans in the student body, faculty, or outside, with the exception of a governess."[33]

Graham never questioned continuing the instruction in German at the university though he heard from educators, including college presidents in

Colorado and South Dakota, who asked for advice on how to handle the public's aversion to all things German. Graham seemed stunned by the suggestion that Americans would no longer learn German, read that nation's great writers and philosophers, or study its substantial body of scientific evidence. However, he could not deny the anti-German fervor that seemed to color every word and deed. Even his hero Edwin A. Alderman had bowed to pressure and dismissed a University of Virginia journalism professor after he made a pacifist speech.[34]

The Williams controversy never reached that stage, and there was no effort to dismiss the faculty in the university's Department of Germanic Languages. Graham did advise a local school superintendent in North Carolina to substitute French or Spanish for German, if he was forced to do something, although removing instruction in German would deprive students of an amazing culture and the ability to "read German newspapers to find out what they are about. They are going to be beaten, but they aren't going to be destroyed."[35]

Graham's reputation for integrity and patriotism was such that any suspicions directed at the university or its faculty never threatened him personally. There was even a report in late October 1917 that he was held in such high regard that some Democrats were looking at him as a replacement for U.S. senator Lee Overman in the next election. "They want him for post bellum purposes," William Thomas Bost wrote in the *Greensboro Daily News*. "They think the world has gone wrong enough to need pioneer and prophet to pull it back. They believe that Ed Graham would be the most valuable man North Carolina has." Graham contacted Overman immediately to say that he had no interest in political office, and he told a friend, "I can't even stir up a solitary flicker of an idea on the subject of the Senatorship."[36]

As this balloon floated aloft, Graham was growing ever anxious about his own patriotic duty. Exempt from the draft, he was under no apparent threat of being called to active military service. College presidents were likely to be deferred, plus he was a widower with a son. His own secure niche may have been why the more than eight hundred Carolina men in service were so often on his mind. Some were his classmates and close friends. Most were younger men, former students, but they were no less dear. Graham signed hundreds of postcards that he mailed to alumni and students serving in faraway places. They carried a photograph of the Old Well and South Building, Graham's

signature, and the message: "Your alma mater thinks of you constantly, with the deepest pride and the deepest affection."[37]

He was in regular correspondence with many who were in France or soon to arrive there. One or two wrote to ask about the uproar over Horace Williams; the news had spread that far. Quincy Sharpe Mills had been one of the early members of Graham's literary society, the Odd Number Club. He had gone on to a career in journalism, first as a reporter in New York where he was assigned to cover Theodore Roosevelt. He was writing editorials for the *New York Evening Sun* when he signed up for officer training at Plattsburg. Seven months later, he was in France at the head of an infantry company. Graham also was in touch with Francis Bradshaw, a more recent graduate than Mills. He urged Bradshaw to keep thinking of Chapel Hill. "Your spirit is here and the influences that you exerted still live, and will be active for years to come," Graham wrote.[38] After the war, Bradshaw would return to a career at the university as dean of students. Mills would die in an artillery barrage in the summer during fighting that decimated 50 percent of his unit.[39] His death in late July 1918 came only a few weeks after Ed Graham's cousin David, Frank's brother the marine, died in the same area at Belleau Wood in a fierce encounter where American forces stopped the latest, and last, major German offensive.

Graham's schedule was unrelenting. He devoted every available hour to his work, and his long days and missed meals trimmed more pounds off his lanky frame than he could actually spare. A doctor friend worried about his health and advised him to eat a daily pint of cream—"in any form that is pleasant for you to take it"—in order to build bulk.[40] With his former students marshaling for movement to the trenches in France in January 1918, Graham wanted to do even more. He confided to Ames Brown that "practically all of my friends who are not associated in some way with war work, are restless and depressed in the harness of customary tasks. There is one of the great unrecognized losses of the war: it inhibits the useful activities of those who would be useless in direct service, because they have lost heart and turn from their own good share in the game to watch the battle for the world's championship."[41]

He may have been expressing his own sense of helplessness in the face of the deadly consequences of the war that he read about in the newspapers. He may have felt more keenly than others a duty to risk his own life since he

was one of those who had believed that America should have entered the war long before 1917. Josephus Daniels had long endured Graham's arguments for America to check Germany, knowing that Graham "believed that civilization was at stake and that a German victory would turn the clock back to the days when Force alone ruled." Not long after writing Brown, Graham asked Daniels if he could come to Washington to talk about "the most important decision of my life."

Graham believed it was his duty to enlist. "Now that the battle is on, I must shoulder a gun and cross the seas and bare my body in a struggle which I believe is holy. I cannot do otherwise," he told Daniels during a conversation of two old friends, the younger man seeking advice from his experienced mentor. Daniels later recalled that their talk lasted long into the night. The navy secretary argued Graham was far more valuable at the university "doing ten times more to win the war than if as one soldier he were fighting in the trenches," and he undoubtedly reminded him of his duty to his son. Daniels did not believe he was making any headway in changing Graham's mind, so the next morning he did the only thing he knew he could to guarantee that Graham remained on campus. He went to the White House and asked President Wilson to issue a directive to prevent Graham's enlistment. Wilson complied.

Writing Graham after their session together, Daniels said, "Without any flattery there is nobody to take your place there, and there are plenty of men who could do the things in the war that need to be done now. . . . Our people are not given to expressing their appreciation of men who help them most, but you have every reason to feel the consciousness that the whole State believes in you and trusts you and that hundreds of men trust you with their boys. There is no trust that a parent can repose so sacred as this."[42]

Graham's confessional with Daniels came shortly after he was assured the university's affairs were in order and the winter meeting of the trustees was behind him. He also had survived a passing threat by the state fuel administrator to suspend all activities on campus for the month of January as a way to conserve coal supplies for the war effort.[43] Enrollment had not increased for the first time since anyone could remember, and as Graham prepared his annual report, he was aware that colleges and universities around the nation were missing sixty-eight thousand students from classrooms.[44] Yet Graham held out hope that college-age men now understood that they could remain in school and still hold their heads aloft until their draft number was called.

Graham spoke to students, parents, and teachers about the duty of young men. In one speech, which he titled "Patriotic Service, College Training, and the Draft," he said, "The best training camps for early preparation, the governor has learned from experience, are the colleges."[45]

He warned the trustees that this was not a time of retrenchment in provisions for either the faculty or the ongoing building program authorized by the 1917 General Assembly. The low pay of the faculty remained a deep concern. Faculty had received a $250 annual increase in pay in September 1917, but salaries continued to lag behind what was being paid at other institutions. With the onset of war, the cost of living was rising and maintaining one's standard of living was increasingly difficult. The top end of the annual pay for a full professor was $2,750. Another $250 increase was approved in January 1918, bringing top pay to $3,000 annually. Those who received the highest salary were usually men who had devoted their entire professional careers to the university. There was no provision for retirement. A few like Horace Williams had done well with their investments in real estate. M. C. S. Noble was president of the Bank of Chapel Hill. During their meeting at commencement in 1917, the trustees also had approved an increase in the president's salary, from $4,000 to $6,000, but Graham refused it when professors were struggling to make ends meet. He called the faculty "the heart of an institution's life" and argued that good men could not do their best work when worried about paying their household bills, nor could they remain in Chapel Hill when offers came from other institutions. The trustees should find a solution, and he warned that "in the long run an institution makes clear what it thinks good men are worth by what it pays them."[46]

The Mary Lily Kenan Flagler Bingham bequest was an enticing boost for the university, but the settlement of the estate was still tied up in the courts. At the same time, Graham was not going to wait for a final judicial determination before taking advantage of the largest private gift the university had ever been promised. He held out a suggestion in his annual report in December 1917 that the trustees consider using it for an overall salary upgrade. In the meantime, he proposed a modest distribution in keeping with the uncertainty over the arrival of the payment of the first $75,000 installment. At his recommendation, the trustees in January 1918 approved a salary of $3,500 for five men chosen as the first of the hundreds of Kenan professors to come. The money went to former president Francis P. Venable (whose pay would actually go from $4,000 to $4,500), biologist Henry Van Peters Wilson, Edwin

Greenlaw of the English department, William MacNider from the medical school, and mathematician William Cain.

The five had been chosen by a faculty vote under a scoring system of Graham's creation. Nominations from the entire faculty were received on one day, and on the next the voting for five professorships took place. Graham recorded the number of times a man was mentioned among the top five, and he awarded a value based on his rank, from first through fifth. Venable ranked at the top, with Wilson, Greenlaw, MacNider, and Cain following along in order. Those ranking sixth through tenth were the energetic E. C. Branson, whose *University News Letter* now had a weekly circulation of fifteen thousand; Lucius McGehee from the law school; Walter Toy, the department head for modern languages; historian Joseph Grégoire de Roulhac Hamilton; and George Howe, the professor of Latin.

All in all, the selections appeared to balance tenure and service, excellence in academic pursuits, and devotion to the overall welfare of the university. Venable, Wilson, and Cain all predated the Alderman administration. MacNider's appointment was in the medical school, but he played a lively role in all campus affairs and attended to the aches and pains of many of the faculty members and their families. Greenlaw was the newcomer, having come to Chapel Hill only four years earlier, but his English department was the pride of the institution. This would be the only time that anyone other than the president would formally nominate candidates for a Kenan professorship. After it was done, some faculty members grumbled privately about the process that Graham had chosen to use. The fans of Horace Williams were astonished he was not among the top five. (He came in thirteenth in the balloting.)[47] Graham's successor would have to untangle these knots.

Having prepared the university for its wartime duties during 1917, Graham's mission in 1918 was to prepare it for the years after the war. "Educationally the decade that follows war will be, I believe, the richest and most fruitful in the Nation's history," he said in his 1917 report to the board of trustees. If schools are closed for lack of fuel, if terms are shortened out of economy, if building construction is postponed, and if the university cannot compete with business for the best men, then the state will have forsaken its promise that education is the "basis of the democracy for which we are fighting. No sacrifice is too great to make for the schools, and no patriotism is more genuinely productive than the patriotism whose faith in the schools is so deeply

rooted that no public distraction or disaster is permitted to blight them as the source of all of our reconstructive power."[48]

In the face of rapidly changing events in 1917, and pushed to find replacements for the faculty members the university had lost to war service, Graham had delayed his plans for expansion of the university. Now he was ready to move ahead. The search years earlier for a proper location for Swain Hall, after the original site had proved unsuitable, was a reminder that the university had no plans for development.[49] As a result, he turned to landscape architect John Nolen as plans for the construction of the engineering building began to take shape. Nolen recommended the building be sited between Memorial Hall and the Peabody Building. He also proposed the location of a flagpole, which he said should be placed in front of either South Building or the Alumni Building. Broader plans for development of the campus were still on Nolen's drawing board, but he assured the president they would be ready by the time of commencement in June 1918.[50]

With the wave of students expected at the end of the war, Graham told Nolen that the campus of the future would need to account for another recitation building, a men's dormitory, the student union, a campus chapel, expansion of the new infirmary, and an alumni club. State funds could pay for some of these, but he did not presume to ask the taxpayers to pay for the two most important buildings on his wish list. One was the hotel he had been talking about for two years or more. He was hopeful that a group of alumni would pursue plans under discussion to form a stock corporation and build something small and comfortable adjacent to the campus.

The other pressing need was a dormitory for women. Graham argued that the number of women on campus was less than a tenth of the number that would come if women had safe and comfortable lodgings. As it was, female students had to find a room in a private home if they were to stay even for one night in Chapel Hill. The only lavatories for women on the entire campus were in the Peabody Building. "No gift could be of wider and more far-reaching service," Graham said, than a women's dormitory.[51] He often reminded trustees and others that gifts from women, all of them named Mary, had contributed most to the physical development of the campus.

For Graham, educating women at Chapel Hill was a logical extension of the university's service to the state. He had long been far ahead of most men of his generation in his support of the advancement of women, which included

paying female teachers at the same rate as male teachers.[52] He was forthrightly in favor of women's suffrage, and he had encouraged wider participation of women on campus. The number enrolled in 1917–18 included only a handful of freshmen and sophomores, while most were in the professional schools and upper-level classes. It would be nearly another decade before there was a female on the faculty, but Graham was paving the way for even this revolution with his appointment of Clara Lingle as the university's advisor to women. A second dynamic woman, Ernestine Noa of Tennessee, began working for the university in September 1918 as a researcher with Branson in rural economics and sociology.

Harry W. Chase in the School of Education advised Graham early in 1917 that the day was approaching when Graham would have to reconcile the university's expansion into teacher education with a curriculum that duplicated in some respects the instruction at the normal school in Greensboro, which existed primarily to provide teachers for the public schools. The introduction of high schools to the public school system required a higher level of teacher training than was offered at most normal colleges. The university had undertaken that role as well as the training of school superintendents and principals, jobs most likely held by men. Women, too, wanted jobs in secondary schools, Chase said, and soon the university would need to admit women on the same basis as men in the education department. Similar overlap of the curriculum was occurring in the physical sciences and raising questions of duplication with the role of A&E in Raleigh, which was enjoying its new popular name, State College.[53] The competition was seldom made public, but it was intense nonetheless. In these early stirrings can be found the seeds for future institutional rivalries that would extend well beyond Graham's era.

Graham was bringing a new vision to the university's presidency. His predecessors had had challenges of their own, and they had prevailed. Battle and Winston had overcome stingy legislators and denominational opposition to establish the university as an institution worthy of support. Alderman had put it at the head of the educational system of the state, and Venable had focused his efforts on internal development with an emphasis on distinguished scholarship and research, especially in the sciences. Graham saw the university as an uplifting force in a new economy and a new world quite different from what his peers had known. Twentieth-century students needed education in the classics and science, but in the middle of the century's second decade it was business that was driving North Carolina and the nation. It was

a new dimension of study, and Graham hoped to put the university firmly in the midst of it.

His ideas had been forming for some time. In the fall of 1916, in a time of peace and relative isolation from the troubles abroad, Graham had responded to an inquiry from William S. Kies, an officer at National City Bank in New York who asked about the university's courses in business education. Graham said there was nothing available; the best he could offer was scientific support for business. E. C. Branson's Department of Rural Economics and Sociology had awakened some businessmen to conditions of industrial life, but the university offered no teaching of business science, as he called it, or preparation of men for business. It had neither the faculty nor the money for such courses.[54]

Graham chafed under the limitations imposed on the university by a short-sighted General Assembly, when the world was filled with such opportunities. When George Stephens asked him if the school could help Charlotte develop a new charter for city government, Graham turned him down, saying the university did not have the talent for such a task. He told Stephens, "We need to get one, two, or three first-class men to establish for us here the undisputed leadership in guiding modern municipalities into ways of efficient corporate development, and equipping young men for large business careers in these municipalities. We need a school of commerce that can interpret the sort of life that Charlotte at its best stands for."

Stephens's letter touched a nerve. Denying competent service to the city of Charlotte simply went against Graham's philosophy of service. He was constrained from doing more because of what he called "peanut fellows, who believed in the manifest destiny of 'middling through'" (this was just before the 1917 legislature's increase in support):

> The Southern college that used to finely imagine that it was training leaders, when it was merely getting men into professions and into Congress (though, of course, I know it always has trained real leaders), must broaden its notion of leadership, get a truer conception of modern society, and take the lead in that, rather than trot along at the tail end of the procession, without understanding that a great, new thing is happening in the South. I am in no attitude of making a speech to you, but it is a safe thing about great institutions like the church and the college, and even the State itself, that they get all littered up and incrusted with their

> clothes and traditions, and a dozen layers of veneer, until you cannot tell that there is any real life or present vision underneath all the conventions and fine traditions that the years have accumulated.[55]

Graham was inspired enough by the query from Kies to stay his course. In January 1917, the faculty approved a plan he had arranged with National City Bank to hire rising juniors for summer jobs that offered practical instruction in banking. Students would earn university credit for their work. At about this same time, he began recruiting Dudley DeWitt Carroll, a recent graduate of Columbia University in New York City. He was the man Graham wanted as an instructor in economics to work with Branson and economics professor Charles L. Raper. The three would become the foundation for what Graham believed would become a school of commerce.

Carroll remained in New York for the 1916–17 academic year, but by December 1917 he was writing Graham asking about the future. The president said wartime conditions made the future uncertain, "but I have no thought of retrenching in so far as I can have my way about what is to happen here during the next year or so."[56] The offer was still out for Carroll, and Graham hoped he would come south and be ready to teach in September 1918.

Carroll was one of two new men Graham hired for the coming academic year who would shape the university's future. Carroll would eventually develop the School of Commerce. Graham also hired Frederick Henry Koch, a recruit of Edwin Greenlaw to the English department, as the professor of dramatic literature, a title of Koch's own making. Koch was signed in late May and came at a salary of $2,500. At the University of North Dakota in Grand Forks he had created the Dakota Playmakers, which produced student-written and student-produced folk dramas built around regional experiences and culture. He had plans to do the same in North Carolina and would find willing students in two young writers then on campus, Thomas Clayton Wolfe and Paul Eliot Green. Both Koch and Carroll arrived in Chapel Hill during the summer after scrambling to find proper housing in the village. The opening of the school year would prove to be far different from anything they, or the president, had anticipated when they had accepted his offer of employment.

CHAPTER NINE

Casualties of War

A YEAR AFTER THE 1917 commencement was billed as a "patriotic rally," the ceremonies for 1918 were more subdued. The procession into Memorial Hall was accompanied by the university band playing George M. Cohan's "Over There," with army khaki and navy blue complementing the black robes of those in the academic parade, many of whom wore Red Cross and Liberty Bond buttons. Americans now were on the front lines in France, and casualty reports were beginning to arrive in homes over here. One of those telegrams bore the name of Graham's cousin David, who was killed the day after diplomas and Bibles were handed to the class of 1918 on June 5.

The Presbyterian minister Graham invited to deliver the baccalaureate sermon was from Canada, a country weary of war after four years. He told Graham when the invitation was extended that he supposed Americans would want to hear something about the war since American speakers making the rounds where he lived still were exuberantly patriotic. The Reverend Daniel J. Fraser, president of Presbyterian College in Montreal, observed, "We have passed through that stage and have reached the point of silent and grim determination to make any sacrifices that may yet be necessary."[1] In Chapel Hill, he talked about the need for the cultivation of "faith, hope and love: and in the words of St. Paul, 'Love is the greatest of them all.'"[2]

Once again, about a third of the graduates were absent from the ceremonies, having left Chapel Hill for training camps even as Americans who had seen early service abroad were returning to train their replacements. A new German offensive had just opened in France, and the war was expected to last at least into 1919, and perhaps longer. There was talk in Washington about

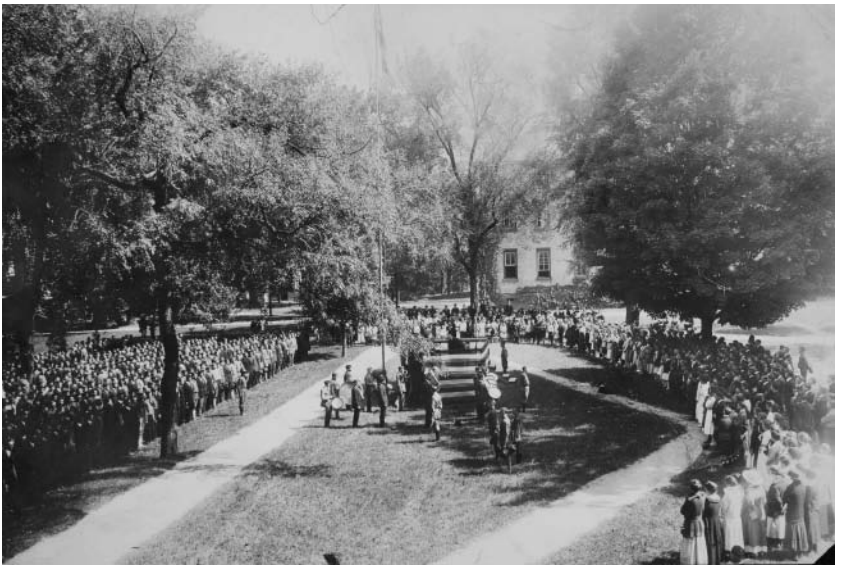
new arrangements for military training on college and university campuses to keep young men in school until they were needed. As Carolina had finally received its approval for a ROTC program, Graham was awaiting word on the changes that would bring. The next academic year would be different. He just did not know how much things would change.

The president's exhausting year culminated in the usual intensity of commencement, which this year included a twentieth reunion with eight of his schoolmates from the class of 1898. Honorary degrees were handed out to the governor, Senator Lee Overman, and Graham's former colleague in the university's English department Edwin Mims, who was now on the faculty at Vanderbilt. Also honored was another Graham confidant and companion, the Reverend W. D. Moss.

The commencement speaker was a step down, at least in title, from the cabinet-level dignitaries that Graham had usually entertained at the president's residence for the occasion. Frederic Clemson Howe was the commissioner of immigration at the port of New York. Nonetheless, he was a progressive thinker and published writer on the changes in modern society, including modern Germany. He spoke of what he saw as the nation's challenges after the war, such as how America would accommodate the new roles that industrial workers, women, businessmen, and others had found for themselves during the national emergency. "Will we go back to the old individualism of every man for himself and devil take the hindmost; or has America become a new kind of nation, interlaced in thousands of new ways with the government?" Howe asked.[3]

Graham had been considering the future of the American university under what he called "a new nationalism," and pages of text on his desk contained an address on that very topic that he planned to deliver the following week at the Johns Hopkins University commencement.[4] His weary body refused to cooperate, however, and he had to withdraw from the engagement at the last minute due to illness. He was back on his feet a few days later in time for a meeting in Washington, D.C., before he rode on to Galen Hall in Atlantic City for two weeks of late breakfasts, evening strolls on the boardwalk, excursions into New York City, and days of relaxation and escape on the Jersey shore.

What Graham found on his return to Chapel Hill changed all his plans for the fall. Waiting for him was a notice from War Secretary Baker that the university, along with hundreds of other institutions, was to come under the



Members of the university's Student Army Training Corps were inducted into military service on October 1, 1918, at the same time as students at 517 other colleges and universities. The campus was under military control or administration.

command of the Students' Army Training Corps (SATC). Military training would no longer be appended to the curriculum. Instead, the military would have complete and total control over the entire institution. In short, Graham would not be running the university when students returned to campus in September. His new wartime duty was as director of the SATC campuses in the Southeast.

During the previous year, the military draft had drained the life out of colleges and universities, and the loss in tuition revenue threatened the viability of some schools. The University of Virginia lost half of its enrollment.[5] Baker, acting under authority of the Selective Service Act of 1917, created the SATC as a way to utilize the physical plant of institutions for military training, instead of building new camps like those hacked out of farmland in the Carolinas. At the same time, the program would provide financial assistance to struggling institutions. The government would pay for the use of the facilities, and students who enrolled in the fall would enlist in the army, navy, or marine units and receive thirty dollars a month in pay, the same rate as draftees.

In midsummer, Graham began making preparations to turn the university over to Lieutenant Colonel Gustave W. S. Stevens. The army had plucked him out of retirement in New Orleans, his home for the past seven years, and sent him to Chapel Hill in June to run the ROTC program.[6] With the conversion to the SATC, he remained on and was joined by a staff of officers. "The University will be little short of a training camp itself in every particular," Graham told one of Carolina's soldiers, Elliott Cooper. "The changes made a pretty tough proposition to handle, especially when things were going so nicely along the old lines, but it's all in the game, and we hope not only to be ready for what happens, but to run out to meet it before it gets here."[7]

The SATC was not just for college men. For the first time, the students on the campus in Chapel Hill would include any man registered for the draft who was eighteen years of age or older, who had earned at least twelve credits in high school, and who was in good physical condition. That meant that not only was the curriculum for the coming academic year on the scrap heap, but so were the standard requirements for admission. The SATC did not care if an applicant knew Latin, Greek, or higher mathematics. The university would continue classes in German, French, the applied sciences, and English. At the same time, men would be enrolled in new courses related to the war as well as vocational classes to learn how to break down gasoline engines and operate radios. Some SATC courses at other campuses included instruction for farriers.

Not every school in the state qualified to participate in the SATC program. A college or university had to be able to enroll at least a hundred male students in the SATC. Even with the limited entrance requirements, the land-grant college for African Americans in Greensboro, the Agricultural and Technical College of North Carolina (later North Carolina A&T State University), did not meet the requirements necessary to become a collegiate unit of the SATC because at that time there were no high schools for African Americans in the state. Some counties had yet to open high schools for white students. Besides the university, the North Carolina schools to come under the SATC as collegiate units were Trinity, Elon, Lenoir, Wake Forest, and Davidson Colleges, as well as State College in Raleigh.

As a regional director, Graham was to coordinate the installation of the SATC at the institutions and serve as a liaison with the War Department. The rapidly changing conditions, and the suspicion that the SATC allowed some favored class of young men to escape the trials of war, brought criticism.

Dr. Aaron McDuffie Moore, an executive at the North Carolina Mutual and Provident Association, an insurance company formed by prominent African Americans in Durham, complained to Graham that the SATC discriminated against African Americans and poor whites: "I regard it as quite unfair to the unfortunate class to be so circumstanced that they cannot take advantage of the appropriation . . . when they are called upon to fight one common enemy side by side with those who are given this training."[8]

Graham offered to see what he could do, and by September a vocational training unit was approved for the A&T campus in Greensboro. Even before the SATC unit was organized, one hundred students and faculty from A&T were serving in various regiments in France, including the 369th Infantry (formerly the 15th New York National Guard Regiment), an all-black regiment detailed with French and Senegalese troops on the front.[9] Once the A&T program got under way, nearby Bennett College, a liberal arts Methodist school then admitting African American men and women, also wanted to be included in the SATC and sent a delegation to Washington on its own behalf.[10]

In late August, just as the SATC program was being organized, Congress was debating an extension of the draft to lower the age of conscription to eighteen. North Carolina's congressional delegation was opposed. It was an election year, and none other than the chief justice of the state supreme court, Walter Clark, joined in the protest. (He was seeking another term in the November election.) The chief justice said the new draft law threatened to strip North Carolina farms of young men providing sustenance to the nation and, in some cases, a livelihood to support widowed mothers and young siblings. Another opponent was Edwin A. Alderman at the University of Virginia. "Nothing but the direst necessity of national existence could justify such an action," Alderman said.[11]

Clark carried his opposition a step further and complained that the SATC was a way for the educated and well connected to avoid immediate conscription. Poor farm boys who had not received a high school education were excluded from what Clark considered an exemption for the privileged. "The government is conscripting two millions of young men from 18 to 21 to fight the Germans, and not to educate them," he declared.[12] The *Greensboro Daily News* noted that such sentiment played well in a state like North Carolina where 80 percent of voters lived on the farm.[13]

Clark's public trouncing of the SATC alarmed Graham, who thought it

was little more than political grandstanding. The judge was well known in the state and highly regarded as a fair jurist and a student of the law with a storied past as a boy soldier for the Confederacy. He became a drillmaster at fourteen, a lieutenant colonel at eighteen, and had been in fierce battles by the time he was seventeen. Graham made his case to Clark, saying young men would have to enlist before joining the SATC, so they were not dodging their obligation to the nation. Young men could then begin their training and be ready when called. The SATC also opened opportunities. "As matters stand now," Graham argued, "practically any young man, however poor, can go to college."[14] The chief justice was not persuaded. The SATC was as dangerous as the exemption offered owners of more than fifteen slaves had been when Clark answered the call to the colors fifty years before. "My people were slave owners, but in my own case I did not claim an exemption on that account nor that I might get an education," he explained. The SATC is "a most serious error for the industrial and working classes are more intelligent, more numerous and far better organized than ever before. They will not stand for it."[15]

Graham knew Clark was right, at least on one level. People were going to be angry if they thought some young men were sheltered in college while others of the same age were in the trenches. Graham asked Wake Forest College president William Louis Poteat to head off such notions among his fellow Baptists. The college was an SATC school, and Graham asked Poteat to join the discussion. "We need to re-iterate time and again the simple points involved here," he told Poteat, and then he turned to overhauling the curriculum for the coming year.[16] Graham was not one to let an issue fester into something larger, and his quick response to counter Clark's objections seemed to settle the matter.

The university had been scheduled to open on September 12. Had opening day not been postponed, it would have occurred on the same day that the 113th Field Artillery, composed mostly of North Carolina men, opened a million-round barrage at Saint-Mihiel, France. With registration moved back to September 24 and 25, Graham had time to attend a meeting at the Plattsburg training camp in New York, where more details on the SATC came available. Before he left for New York, Graham and Charles T. Woollen began sorting out the living arrangements on campus. All of the dormitory space would be given over to the military for housing SATC students. Swain Hall was to be called the Mess Hall. Rather than two or three men to a room, as before, some would have four or more living together. Men who were not

part of the SATC—about three hundred students were either exempt from military duty or were underage—would have to find rooms in the village, take their meals at private boardinghouses, and generally fend for themselves. They were allowed to join a non-SATC training company, which would be commanded by Captain J. Stuart Allen, who had returned for a second year.[17]

The curriculum, college life, the assignment of professors, and even the names of the classes were overhauled. The university now was to operate for twelve months a year, with four quarters of twelve weeks each. The designations of freshman, sophomore, junior, and senior were eliminated, with men organized by age. A twelve-week schedule was established for those aged twenty or older, a twenty-four-week schedule was presented to those who were nineteen, and the eighteen-year-olds would be on campus long enough to complete thirty-six weeks of SATC training, at which point they would be moved to boot camp and be ready to ship out within a year. Most of the men were headed to the army, but smaller contingents for a navy and marine program were part of the university's SATC enrollment of about seven hundred.

Course options were reduced. Unless excused because of prior college instruction, every SATC student was required to study the issues involved in the war and why America was involved. Military commanders had discovered that the draftees they were trying to shape into a fighting force simply did not understand what they were being asked to fight for. The war issues syllabus was organized in four sections: historical background, contemporary world politics, the war "as it is," and the "conditions for peace." Professors from the English, Latin, Greek, and history departments were pressed into teaching these courses, forsaking their own. Mathematics became "military math" to teach men how to aim the huge guns on the front. Thomas Felix Hickerson, a civil engineer, taught a course in topography. A course in sanitation and hygiene, designed to aid soldiers living under field conditions, also became part of the required study.[18]

Even before the SATC was imposed on the campus, the trustees had approved an accelerated course in engineering that graduates could finish in three years with a bachelor's degree. Students were deferred from the draft as long as they were enrolled. The study included the requisite scientific courses, as well as military training and courses in military French. Upon completion, graduates would enter active duty with the army's engineering corps, the signal corps, or the navy. Confined to one department, the new engineering schedule did not cause quite the disruption that the war issues courses did.

Instruction in Latin and Greek virtually disappeared, and courses in American history were given over to European history. Even the law school was affected. Men moved into military law courses, leaving the law school with a civilian class of eleven, more than half of them women, whose presence on campus had increased by at least 30 percent since the year before.[19]

M. C. S. Noble, dean of the School of Education, found himself with nothing to do, since all courses in education were suspended. In September, he stopped in to see Graham to tell him that since his schedule was free he wanted to visit public schools to urge boys and girls to remain in school as long as possible and prepare for college. Graham eagerly endorsed Noble's plan and turned to his desk to give him a list of things he wanted students to hear.[20]

There was plenty of unrest on campus as professors rewrote their course outlines to fit the new schedules. In the shuffling of office space some even found their office furniture, including personal items, appropriated for other uses. Every room was occupied. The military commander established his office in the Sigma Chi fraternity house at the edge of campus. A post exchange was set up in the University Inn. Dormitory buildings named South, Old East, Battle-Vance-Pettigrew, and such became Barracks 1 through 8. SATC students arose at the same hour to the sound of a bugle playing reveille, and about seven hundred men tightened folds on their beds, dressed and shaved, polished off some morning exercises, had breakfast, and were ready for their first classes at 8 a.m. The rest of the day was just as tightly regulated, with military drill and academic classes organized around a midday meal. Lights went out at 10 p.m., and military police patrolled the campus. SATC men were not allowed in the village or anywhere beyond the campus boundary without a pass from the commander. Village boys did a big business selling snacks and cigarettes to soldiers hanging round the stone walls on Franklin Street.[21]

When he was in Chapel Hill, Graham did not have to be on campus to see and hear that the university had a new master. Sitting on the wide porch at his residence at the edge of the campus, he heard the cadence calls of men marching in formation, the morning bugle, and the light tread of the military police as they circled the campus perimeter. He was close enough to stay in touch with faculty members, but powerless, save through persuasion, to make any adjustments to discomforting military regulations. More than likely, he had one or two faculty members living with him in the mansion, considering

the limited housing available in the village. His new hires, Dudley D. Carroll and Frederick H. Koch, found houses to rent only because their landlords were away serving their country.

While he was relieved of operating the university, Graham was pulled and pushed from one problem to another as he managed questions and difficulties that arose on SATC campuses from Virginia to Florida. Elon College president William A. Harper had been an irritant for Graham ever since he had piled on the university after Billy Rand's death. In the summer of 1918, he tested Graham again by stretching the rules to qualify his campus for the SATC's 100-man enrollment minimum. Then, once the school came into the program, and began drawing credit for government funds, Harper had the audacity to complain about government control. A Lieutenant Robert Wilson was in charge at Elon, and Harper wrote of his dissatisfaction with Wilson in an open letter that demonstrated Harper's lack of understanding of what the SATC was all about: "He seemed to think that we were a camp, that the college traditions counted for nothing, and we were constantly in conflict with him." Davidson College got along with its commander fairly well, but the *Davidsonian*, the campus newspaper, reminded the SATC commander that it was customary for Presbyterians to give thanks to the Lord before partaking of a meal, a practice discontinued under the SATC.[22]

On October 1, precisely at the hour of noon, the estimated 700 men who had enrolled in the university's SATC program formed around the campus flagpole and were inducted into military service. On that same day, at that same hour, another 142,000 men at 517 colleges across the land also took their oaths.[23] All sang the "Star-Spangled Banner" and heard messages read from President Wilson and the acting secretary of war, Benedict Cowell. Graham told the men in Chapel Hill, "The spirit of this campus, the spirit of our state and our country, the spirit of the world today, assure to us the continuing courage and complete devotion that will bring to a glorious fulfillment the noblest adventure that ever called to the aspiring spirit of youth."[24]

Under the new regime, a discipline settled on the campus like never before. Part of that was the result of the military order, with men finding their movements off campus restricted by the number of demerits they accumulated. There also was a different spirit with more serious students in the classroom. "Never had teaching been so easy," Henry Wagstaff later recalled. He was one of those lifted from the history department to teach the war issues courses.

"Students hung on their instructors' words. Instructors were conscious of a greater responsibility for the menu they offered. Nobody was careless or flippant any longer."[25]

Graham's duties carried him beyond the campus, but he did not forsake his university obligations. By early fall, the end of the war was closer than ever and he was thinking about the years ahead, ever anxious to proceed with his plans. One component of that advancement was the Mary Lily Kenan Flagler Bingham bequest. The settlement of the estate was tied up in litigation in Kentucky. Less than two weeks after the SATC induction, Graham headed to New York, where he hoped to see Mary Lily's brother, William R. Kenan Jr., who was one of the trustees of the estate, as well as her cousin Graham Kenan, the Wilmington lawyer. Since getting news that the estate had settled with Mary Lily's widower during the summer, Graham had been looking for some indication of when money from her estate would become available to the university. Graham was in New York on the fourteenth and fifteenth of October and was disappointed to learn that the university's share was tied up in legal arrangements regarding trusts established under the wills of Mary Lily and her late husband, Henry Flagler. Some of the assets also were in stocks in railroad companies that were under the control of the federal government. So far, there had not been enough cash available to pay inheritance taxes estimated to amount to as much as $15 million.[26]

Just before leaving Chapel Hill, Graham made arrangements to move his office to Raleigh, which provided easier access to the rail lines that carried him around the South on SATC business.[27] Graham was back in Chapel Hill on the seventeenth and was playing tennis the following day when a man arrived at the mansion driving a new Buick. Charles Tillett Jr. in Charlotte had arranged for delivery of the car to Graham. Graham sent it back to a dealership in Durham—presumably to be picked up later—after he discovered that the driver delivering the car had no way to return to the city.[28] A friend who stopped in to see Graham over the weekend found him looking tired, but with some medicine in hand. On Monday, the twenty-first, Graham was too ill to get out of bed. William MacNider, the campus medical officer, was called, and he told Graham that he was the university's latest victim in a flu pandemic that was ravaging the nation.

A strain of influenza called the Spanish flu had reached Chapel Hill in mid- to late September. By the first of October, the campus was under quarantine, and at midmonth more than 300 cases had been reported and 130

men were hospitalized in the campus infirmary and makeshift wards in the dormitories. Second-year medical students and others volunteered to help treat the sick and worked around the clock for three weeks under MacNider's direction. Three SATC students died from pneumonia and other complications. Two women who had volunteered as nurses also were victims.[29]

The pandemic would eventually take the lives of 675,000 Americans. Half of the American casualties during the war were due to the flu and its complications. This strain most often attacked those between the ages of twenty and forty. Graham had just turned forty-two. It struck without warning and could literally kill overnight. What may have been thought to be a seasonal cold developed into a deadly case of pneumonia that left sufferers gasping for air as blood and froth clogged their airways. It had first appeared in the spring in army camps in the Midwest, then disappeared, only to return in early fall with deadly consequences. In October, daily newspapers seemed to care about only two topics—the war abroad and the battle against a virus at home.[30]

Graham remained healthy through the worst of the situation in Chapel Hill, but the campus was under a quarantine for three weeks. Two days before Graham became ill he had written anxious parents of students on campus to report that the incidence of the flu was receding on the campus. Graham could easily have been exposed while in Chapel Hill or in his travels to Washington and New York. City dwellers, who lived and worked in enclosed spaces, fared much worse than those out in the country. By the time Graham reached New York, Boston was reporting more than 60 deaths a day, down from a high of 202 two weeks earlier.[31] He also had been in and out of Durham and Raleigh, two cities where the number of victims was on the rise in early October. Ten Durham residents had died on the Sunday that Graham was on his way to New York to meet with the Kenan interests. A week later, just as he returned, a health census of homes in Raleigh estimated that 3,000 people were sick there. Flu victims were found in one-third of the homes visited by health care workers. Nine people were reported dead in Raleigh the day before Graham fell ill, bringing the total number of fatalities there to 91. The state's top health official estimated there were 100,000 flu victims in the state. Local governments, such as the city council in Winston-Salem, banned group activities, closing churches, schools, and libraries, and even restricted funerals held indoors to immediate family only.[32]

The village and the campus waited for news about Graham's health. The university's SATC battalion commander, Captain Charles C. Helmer, or-

dered company commanders to curtail any activities near the residence. Helmer had succeeded Lieutenant Colonel Stevens in early October after getting the SATC program organized at A&T in Greensboro. MacNider stayed close and treated Graham. Graham survived the early attack of pneumonia, but he remained very weak as the week wore on. All were concerned. His sister, Mary, arrived in Chapel Hill on Friday and was distressed at his condition, despite earlier reports that he was improving. On Saturday, October 26, his heart began to fail, and Graham did not respond to the stimulants that MacNider administered. Edward Kidder Graham died that evening at 8:09.[33]

Readers of the Sunday newspapers were stunned by the news of his death. Graham was known as a vigorous and energetic man in his prime, and he had not been ill long enough for word of his condition to become widespread. One week he was traveling about the country, playing tennis, and performing his duties, and seven days later he was gone. The trustees, faculty, and students were left without the leader on whom they had counted to build a university that he had inspired them to dream about. In his next available *University News Letter*, E. C. Branson called him "this gentle, sweet spirit, this lover of his kind, this prophet, priest, and king among his fellows." Josephus Daniels called him the "most useful man in North Carolina and we could possibly spare any man in the state rather than him. We have nobody to fill his place." War Secretary Baker said his death was a loss to the country at large.[34]

Gone was the man that the gifted editorial writer Gerald White Johnson later described as a spirit so white-hot that he raised the alumni to "incandescence. Graham had everything. He was scholarly but not pedantic, he was strong but not rigid, he was gentle but not effeminate, and when he stood up before an audience he spoke with the tongue of men and of angels. His faculty idolized him, his under-graduates adored him, the alumni regarded him as Joshua who made the sun stand still."[35]

Graham's funeral was held on the Monday afternoon following his death. It was a simple graveside service, held in the crisp chill of outdoors, in keeping with health concerns related to gatherings in closed spaces. Captain Helmer and a military honor guard of forty men led the funeral procession from the mansion down the narrow ruts of Raleigh Road, across the wooded glen, and up a rise to the Chapel Hill cemetery and a gravesite beside Graham's wife, Susan. The Reverend Moss presided. Walking behind the honor guard were former presidents Venable and Battle, who had known him as a student.

Governor Bickett, who had recently had his own bout with the flu, walked with Graham's former professors, who later became colleagues. The procession included college heads from around the state and the South; university trustees; family members, including his cousin Frank; classmates; and friends in the village. Floral arrangements sent by institutions and friends, including the African American citizens of Chapel Hill, reflected the brilliant colors of fall and spilled out from the gravesite.[36]

A proper memorial service was not held until early December. By that time the war was over in Europe and the SATC program that Graham had defended and helped put in place was on its way out. Total demobilization of the military operations on the campus would be completed before Christmas. At midafternoon on December 8 every seat was filled inside Gerrard Hall, the place Graham had known as a young man and where he later turned daily chapel exercises into lessons in modern life, civic service, love of Alma Mater, and right living. No single spot better encapsulated his career, from eager student to president and considered one of the brightest of his time.

Horace Williams led in giving tribute:

> To me President Graham was a new type of man. He had fused in himself the antagonisms that divide men. In spite of you he would see the truth in your position and agree with you. He could not be induced to oppose truth. And he could not be drawn into the support of the wrong. The usual scheme of classification did not apply to him.
>
> . . . At the bar, in the school, in business, in the pulpit, in the trenches of heroic and immortal France the Chapel Hill boy was proudly conscious of the leadership of our President.
>
> Do you wonder that we loved him? Do you wonder that we this day pray that his spirit may live forever in this good place?[37]

R. D. W. Connor was Graham's confidant in Raleigh, his conduit to the trustees, his friend and host when he overnighted in Raleigh, where Connor was secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission. Speaking of how the state saw Graham, he reminded all whom Graham had taught that average, everyday citizens were the real constituents of the university, with its radiating power to teach and inform: "Its campus is the State, its mission, service to all the people. Through its classrooms and laboratories, its libraries and its publications, its student club studies and its public lectures, its summer school and correspondence courses, its institutes and conferences,

the University undertakes to place all its varied agencies of scholarship at the service of the State by applying universal truths and world standards to the State's peculiar problems of business, agriculture, commerce, education, health, and religion."[38]

C. Alphonso Smith had worked with Graham for seven years as a young professor before leaving to teach at the University of Virginia. They had remained in constant contact over the years, sharing long letters on a regular basis. Smith now headed the English department at the U.S. Naval Academy. In his remarks, read by historian J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton in Smith's absence, Smith said, "A stranger meeting Graham for the first time would be struck by the contrast between the flower-like frailty of his physique and the reasoned solidity of his convictions. He seemed to me never to have been immature in his thinking." Graham saw long before others a new Americanism that was not just a melting pot or a "mosaic of other nations with our varnish giving a specious unity to the whole." Instead, "Americanism is a spirit, a life, a transformation. It has its multiple parts, but multiplicity wakes to new life in unity. It has its fusions, but these do not give a lower level as their resultant; they lift the whole to a higher level because the fusion is not of matter with matter but of spirit with spirit."[39]

That had been the theme of the speech that Graham had been unable to deliver earlier in the year at the Johns Hopkins commencement. In it can be found the blueprint for his postwar ambitions for the university, and for American education. The university had become unified, just as the nation had come together to meet the national emergency. Graham believed the war would end soon and it was the duty of the academic community to be ready, not to pick up where it had left off, but to move beyond its old classical model suited mainly for preparing a professional class of preachers, lawyers, and educators. A new America was waiting with rumbling factories, booming financial markets, commerce of all description, and changes unimagined.

"As a university," Graham had written in his prepared text,

> it is a living unity, an organism at the heart of the living democratic state, interpreting its life, not by parts, nor by a summary of parts, but wholly—fusing the functions of brain and heart and hand under the power of the immortal spirit of democracy as it moves in present American life to the complete realization of what men really want. . . .
>
> . . . But far more significant will be the inspiration of all the compo-

> nent ideas and ideals of its spiritual life as the representative interpreter of a nation to which has passed the spiritual leadership of western civilization. It is a task with opportunities and obligations beyond those that have hitherto fallen to any nation, and therefore to any nation's characteristic institution. It calls for qualities of independence, courage, vision, and for faith in its own original genius, and for the warm, robust sympathy of life on the open road—"with thought like an edge of steel and desire like a flame." It is an effort to liberate the ideal as a fighting force in the common affairs of men; and in these terms the American university will give effective answer to the nation's fateful question: "What in the way of clear guidance have you to offer, or must we look to another?"[40]

In those words tailored for his own campus he had seen a new school of commerce, expansion in the arts with drama and music more a component of the curriculum, a broader community of men and women on a campus that offered a warmth of fellowship in a university commons or student union, a chapel for proper religious reflection, adequate housing for a growing student body of men and women swelled by ambition spawned in expanding secondary schools. For Graham, the university was not just for the state, it was of the state, and it failed in its duty if it did not reach into every mountain cove and rural hamlet with its resources. Graham had come into office with limited credentials and parochial experience, but his vision made all the rudimentary requirements for college leadership pale in comparison.

The outpouring of emotion over the loss of a teacher, even a college president, was astonishing. North Carolina had lost popular leaders like Governor Charles B. Aycock before their time, but nothing approached the tributes of those spoken and published following Graham's death. President Wilson sent a note of condolence to Graham's sister, Mary, saying he regarded Ed Graham as a "personal friend."[41] Graham might have been most impressed with the words of a letter published in the *Tar Heel* and written by his friend W. D. Moss, who observed: "You never got a setback from Dr. Graham. He always gave you the invitation out into the open territory. He could take your toy to pieces—which did look like a setback—but he helped you to put it together again in a better way."[42]

A remembrance published in the 1919 issue of *Yackety Yack*, the university's yearbook, is another example. It is entitled "The Beloved Captain" and was

written by Edwin Greenlaw, on whom Graham relied during his years as president. Greenlaw and others elevated Graham's life to virtually unattainable heights: "Here was a spirit richly human that yet gained its power in remote and secret places. . . . His life, looked at from this point of view, was not only an embodiment of the Christ-life; it was a proof of the immortality of that life. . . . We will do as he taught us. His spirit shall have a double immortality—an immortality in the life of the University that he loved so well, and that other immortality which is the substance of things not seen, the secret life whence he drew his strength."[43]

Some years later, one of Graham's colleagues measured the depth of the outpouring of feelings. "Currents of overwrought emotion swerved about his very name," Henry Wagstaff wrote.

> He became a Sir Galahad in search of the Holy Grail to a very large coterie of the state's leaders, of the alumni, of the trustees and the students of the University. It amounted to a cult with many who had been closest to him and had a close-up knowledge of his character, his views and his purposes. Compounded in considerable degree of the essence of emotion that reached high tide in the period immediately following his death, the conviction became permanent in the minds of many that E. K. Graham was not like other men, that he was a rare product of all that was finest in our aspirations for a freer and fuller intellectual life.[44]

The distinguished writer and judge Robert Watson Winston summed up Graham this way: "He possessed the kindliness of Battle, the force of Winston, the culture of Alderman, and the research of Venable. Under President Ed Kidder Graham the ancient, hurtful denominational fight waned and almost went out. The University campus became coterminous with the State's boundaries."[45]

There remained a university to manage. On October 31, the trustees drafted Marvin H. Stacy, Graham's dean of the College of Liberal Arts, to serve as chairman of the faculty and gave him full powers of the presidency. Stacy had been at Graham's side since Venable had taken a leave of absence five years earlier. Throughout the late summer and early fall of 1918, it was Stacy who had kept the university on balance while Graham traveled around the countryside tending to SATC business. He was the quiet lieutenant who tended to the details without having to be reminded of his chores. Stacy's selection was no surprise and promised a continuation of the Graham program, at least for the

Marvin Hendrix Stacy, a 1920 graduate of the university, served as dean of the College of Liberal Arts from 1914. In 1918, he became chair of the faculty and acting president. But his tenure was short-lived. He died from influenza and pneumonia in January 1919.

immediate future. Stacy chose Harry W. Chase as acting dean of the College of Liberal Arts, and the trustees endorsed his selection.

Like Graham, Stacy was a product of the university. His father was a low-steeple Methodist minister who served small rural churches in the cotton country southeast of Charlotte, in the foothills of the North Carolina mountains (where Stacy was born), and around the textile towns of the western piedmont. The family moved so often, as the Reverend Lucius Edney Stacy's preaching assignment led to one church and then another, that the

Stacys' twelve children were in and out of schools in several counties. That accounted for why Marvin was five years behind Ed Graham in entering the university although they were less than a year apart in age. The Stacy children got educated, and four sons ended up at the university. Three of them, with Marvin as the first, won the Mangum Medal for oratorical excellence.

A Phi Beta Kappa man and senior class president, Stacy stayed on after graduation in 1902 as an instructor in mathematics and was awarded a master's degree in 1904. He left for graduate study at Cornell University and returned to teach civil engineering, earning the rank of professor in 1910. He was once offered a college presidency, but Venable convinced him to remain in Chapel Hill. When Graham left the deanship to become acting president, he asked Stacy to take his place. The job became permanent when Graham was elected president in 1914. While Graham had shouldered part of the load during the turmoil surrounding the death of Billy Rand, Stacy was there as well, backing him up in managing the discipline of students and dealing with angry parents who believed their sons had been disciplined unfairly. His steady reassurance to doubting students who may have left the university had it not been for his counsel, his reputation for fairness in meting out discipline, and his constant uplift of men had earned him a reputation for care of the university that was as deep as Graham's.

He was of medium height and build, and had a deeply receded hairline and a warm, open face. He was a man of few words, but he spoke clearly and with gravitas. He was not one to be misunderstood. His colleagues were complimentary of his teaching skills, both in and out of the classroom. Most Sundays his classes at the Methodist church were filled with students and adults, from both the campus and the village. His home on North Street was a frequent destination for students who were seeking counsel or socializing. For an engineer/mathematician he was unusually gracious. Graham had called him an "ideal college dean."[46]

Stacy's challenge was daunting. Like everyone in Chapel Hill, he had to deal with his grief and feelings of loss. In his case, the emotions ran deeper. Gone was a dear friend, a workmate, his leader. The two had pulled in tandem, like a matched team of horses, in their past five years together. Now, the load was Stacy's alone. He likely had few worries about the routine. Stacy knew the operations of the campus probably better than Graham, who had left the day-to-day details in the hands of his dean and the business manager, Charles T. Woollen. Stacy had seen to the installation of the SATC program

and had smoothed out the rough spots between khaki and gown. Less than two weeks passed between the time he assumed his new duties and the end of the war. Suddenly, Stacy was faced with putting a university back in service to the state, not to the War Department in Washington.

The university family was just beginning to deal with the growing casualty list from abroad when the guns fell silent. Two sons of the university died within forty-eight hours of the end of fighting on November 11. The October issue of the *Alumni Review* carried the names of casualties on U.S. soil and abroad—twelve dead and eight wounded, missing, or captured. November's issue listed fourteen dead and nine wounded or captured, and the December edition had the names of seven dead and eight wounded. One of the dead, and the only faculty member lost to the war, was Joseph Henry Johnston, a twenty-nine-year-old first lieutenant and associate professor in the School of Education. He had volunteered with the first men at Fort Oglethorpe in May 1917. While Graham was not on active military duty, he was in government service and many considered him a casualty of the war and included in the number of losses of university men. Altogether, about 2,240 alumni, students, and faculty were in uniform at war's end.

With the fighting in Europe at an end, everything was at loose ends on campus. Classes, as well as other campus activities, became drudgery. Rumors flew about the place. Some heard that men would be released immediately, while others said the army would keep men for at least a year. The village remained off limits to SATC men, and Louis R. Wilson found two men standing at the stone wall on Franklin Street waiting for a town boy to bring them some candy and cigarettes from the drugstore. "For heaven's sake, doctor," one told Wilson, "can't you get us out of jail?"[47]

Demobilization was completed on December 10, and half of the SATC men left on the next train. It was no easy time for Stacy, whose attention was focused on the next few weeks. Registration for the next term, the winter quarter, was due to begin January 2. Courses and teaching assignments had to be sorted out, and Stacy would need to present his plans for the coming legislative session to the trustees in mid-January.

The consensus was that the SATC had been an operational failure under the bifurcated arrangement where instruction was the responsibility of the faculty, and management and discipline on campus resided with the military. Most agreed a university should not have two masters. "To graft on the free, responsible, self-governing life of this campus the military attitude with all

that it signifies was a task of no mean dimensions," Louis R. Wilson later recalled.[48] At the same time, faculty members were awakened to the weaknesses in their instruction. Those thrown into teaching the war issues courses, for example, discovered that their former instruction lacked depth and scope in matters on which they believed students should have been better informed. They learned, too, that the war had taught students how to work within a shorter term and that military discipline had improved their personal habits. All agreed the campus looked better without cigarette stumps littering the grounds and tobacco juice staining the floors. Even crowded dorm rooms could look neat and tidy. Military discipline had its advantages, yes, but the civilians were glad to see the soldiers leave.[49]

Registration for the winter quarter in January started surprisingly strong despite the loss of about half of the SATC students. Nearly eight hundred students were expected when classes resumed after the Christmas holidays. The real numbers fell short of that. Seven hundred fifty-nine were registered at the start of the term, the lowest number for more than a decade. It was hoped that men released from active duty after the first of the year would return to the campus when the spring quarter began in March. Indeed, some hoped the rolls would grow by 150 then as soldiers found their way back to Chapel Hill to resume their studies.

Stacy was not without a guide for the future of the university. He and Graham had worked and talked, and worked and talked some more, about where the university needed to go once the war was done. The rebuilding would require more than adjusting the infrastructure. Some also talked of the need for a spiritual rebirth. There were students who were returning to campus for the completion of their freshman year who knew nothing of the nonacademic side of campus life. The literary societies had planned to be active in the fall of 1918, but the complications had been too great. The sortation of the SATC by age had scrambled the grades and muddled the historical allegiances. Further, the influenza scare had prompted a cancellation of University Day. A modest football schedule had been arranged with games against the military camp teams at Wake Forest and Davidson Colleges.

Stacy had his plans in order when the executive committee gathered in the governor's office on January 14. The general thinking, among the faculty at least, was that Stacy was the man to succeed Graham as president and move the university back into the mainstream of academic life.[50] There had been no rush by the trustees to organize a search committee immediately after

Graham's death, although the topic would certainly be discussed at the full board meeting later in the month. Stacy completed his report, but he did not tarry in Raleigh. He excused himself, saying he was not feeling well, and headed back to his home in Chapel Hill. He died on the morning of January 21 from complications of influenza.

The university had lost two leaders in a little more than three months. Then, on February 4, former president Kemp Plummer Battle died in his sleep at Senlac, his home at the edge of the campus. He had celebrated his eighty-seventh birthday the previous December.

Battle had helped reopen the university in 1875, assumed the presidency in 1876, and then passed the care of the institution on to George Winston, then to Alderman and Venable, and finally to Graham. Battle and Graham had made a storybook pair; Graham and his lean, storklike frame beside the bewhiskered Battle, cane tapping on the floor, looking like a leprechaun. Battle had written a history of the university, much of which had been shaped by his own hand. Now at the time of his passing, the university was on the verge of a new era. The institution was robust, its faculty strong, and its portfolio of possibilities bulging with promise. Yet the university still labored to do its duty in buildings dating back to the years before the days of "Ole Pres," as Battle was known with affection. A new president who could use a unique convergence of timing and opportunity to rebuild and refit the campus for the days that lay ahead was not immediately in sight. Absent an obvious candidate for the job, as Graham had been for Venable, the trustees chose expediency and asked Harry W. Chase, the man in that new field of study called psychology, to serve as chairman of the faculty while a selection committee considered presidential nominees that would be submitted to the trustees in June.

CHAPTER TEN

Harry Woodburn Chase

WERE IT NOT FOR the exigent circumstances, the board of trustees would never so quickly have put the university in the hands of Harry Woodburn Chase, but members were rebounding from the devastating loss of both Ed Graham and Marvin Stacy, all within ninety days. For most of the trustees, Chase was a blank slate. Those who knew his background could not help but be impressed with his academic credentials, and the confidence he enjoyed from Graham and Stacy, but for goodness sakes, the man was a Yankee! Some suspected he might even be a Republican.

Chase had come to the university in the fall of 1910 to join the Department of Education. He was twenty-seven years old at the time, single, but soon to be married to an Iowa schoolteacher named Lucetta Crum, the daughter of a Universalist minister. The two had met in graduate school, where Lou, as he called her, had come after teaching in public schools for three years. President Venable had commissioned Nathan Walker to hire another member of the education department. Walker and James Y. Joyner, the state superintendent of public instruction, found Chase at a Boston meeting of the National Education Association. Their recommendation to hire him was on Venable's desk when he returned from a summer trip abroad. Chase was offered a full professorship at a salary of $2,250, close to the top pay for senior faculty.[1]

The South was new territory for Chase. The farthest he had traveled from his hometown of Groveland on the banks of the Merrimack River in northeastern Massachusetts was to upstate New Hampshire to attend Dartmouth College. A typical New England village, Groveland dated to the mid-seventeenth century and was the size of many North Carolina towns, with about seven hundred inhabitants. One of Groveland's prominent build-

ings was the Congregationalist church, where Chase probably took his first communion. Hanging in the church tower was a bell cast by Paul Revere in 1795.[2] Chase was born in Groveland on April 11, 1883, into a family of modest means. He had attended the town's one-room school through grade five before moving on to a grammar school. He graduated from a high school whose principal, a Dartmouth man, directed him to his alma mater.[3]

Chase was a self-help student at Dartmouth and took special honors in his junior and senior years as a Rufus Choate scholar. He was a speaker at his graduation in 1904, an honor that recognized his scholarship. He ranked fourth in his class and was admitted to Phi Beta Kappa. He stayed on as a first-year student in medical school but did not finish the year because of poor health.[4] Once restored, Chase took a job teaching high school mathematics and science and then returned to Dartmouth to complete his graduate work in the spring of 1908 with a master's thesis titled "Plato's Theory of Education." That fall he began working toward his doctorate at Clark University in Worcester, Massachusetts. His mentor was the noted psychologist and Clark's founding president, Granville Stanley Hall. On the strength of one letter, written a few weeks before classes were to begin, Hall gave Chase a fellowship that brought him into his immediate circle of students.[5] As Chase was finishing his work at Clark, Hall favored him with a special assignment: the translation of lectures by Sigmund Freud and Carl Jung that were delivered in German on the Clark campus during the duo's trip to the United States in 1909.

Chase's cum laude honors at Clark recognized the young man's work on a dissertation on psychoanalysis and the unconscious, a topic Hall grilled his promising student on for nearly an hour as Chase defended his work.[6] The two knew one another well. Chase had worked alongside Hall in his clinic for subnormal children, and that experience had inspired Chase's interest in the new study of intelligence and the educational process. When Chase joined the Department of Education at Chapel Hill, he was the first Ph.D. in the department and the only one with a scientific background. His colleagues had only practical experience; department chair M. C. S. Noble was not even a college graduate. In the coming years, Chase would offer the university's first work in modern psychology and carry his inquiries into how children learned out into the newly organized public schools of the state, where he administered some of the early intelligence tests on the Binet-Simon scales, a technique developed by another of Hall's students.[7] He was an active leader in

the North Carolina Teachers' Assembly and over the years was frequently invited to deliver the principal address at high school commencements. When the university extension program began, he wrote the first issue of the *Bulletin* that was distributed to readers. At one point, just as Graham was assuming command of the campus, he flirted with a job offer at the University of Texas, which had lured away one of Graham's best friends to the campus in Austin. Chase decided to stay put and cast his lot with Carolina.[8]

Chase was lean and tall like Graham, but without the latter's storklike frame and sharp features. He had heavy-lidded, large, and expressive eyes. His high forehead rose from dark eyebrows that contrasted with his prematurely gray hair. Though six years younger than Graham, he looked older. Like Graham, he presented an appearance of grace, charm, and calm. His friend Gerald Johnson would later describe him as looking like a "saint done by a Thirteenth Century sculptor—long, narrow and immensely pious. His prematurely silvery hair gives him the effect of a halo, and his soft voice seems admirably adapted to preaching to the birds."[9] All in all, he was a blend of the best of men that Venable and Graham had brought to the campus in the previous two decades. He was a man of science, with impeccable credentials and numerous citations for his research, yet he had an easy manner that made him a welcome addition to Graham's new engagement of the university with the schoolhouses and communities of the state.

As Chase was thrust into the role of acting president—his official title was chairman of the faculty, an appointment made by Stacy upon Graham's death—the state and the nation were as unsettled as at any time in recent memory. The shooting had stopped in Europe, but thousands of men remained in occupied territory, with President Wilson himself in France negotiating his plans for the League of Nations. The war abroad had not really ended. It had just stopped and moved to a new phase with fighting continuing in Russia. It would be summer before most of the North Carolinians in the expeditionary force were back in the states and hailed as heroes with a parade down Raleigh's Fayetteville Street. Released from duties, soldiers were given a bronze lapel pin, sixty dollars, and train fare home.

National unity had stoked the war effort, but the aftermath was turning into a retreat to isolationism and restrictions on immigration of both persons and thought. American businessmen were eager to maintain the rush of orders spawned by the war, despite the growing stockpiles of unsold goods

that would soon lead to factory layoffs and recession. The year would become the most strikebound that the nation had ever known. Factory owners were learning a new word—"Bolsheviki"—that troubled the textile-mill men from Chase's New England all the way south into the Piedmont Crescent of the Carolinas. An executive at a furniture factory wrote Chase to ask if the North Carolina Clubs could do a study on mob control.[10]

North Carolina's legislators had opened their biennial session by the time Stacy died in 1919. Even before Stacy was gone, many of those meeting in Raleigh were nervous about the recent surge in influenza cases. One member proposed that all should go home until the first of April; opponents argued that there probably was not any place safer than the smoky chambers in the State Capitol.[11] A liberal senator from Greensboro, Alfred Moore Scales III, introduced a bill to give women the vote in party primary elections. Lieutenant Governor Oliver Max Gardner sent it to a special committee he had organized to deal with suffrage bills. There also was growing uneasiness with the state law requiring capital punishment for burglary, arson, and the wrecking of trains. The death penalty was considered by the majority as suitable for murder and "the unnamable offense against womanhood," and Republicans and Democrats lobbied for changes that would limit the offenses for which it was imposed.[12] The session was going to be a lively one that the governor, Thomas W. Bickett, made all the more interesting when he handed legislators one of the biggest challenges in years. He wanted an overhaul of the way the state appraised and taxed real property, like homes, farms, and, especially, the growing number of textile mills and cigarette factories, most of which were listed at a fraction of their real value.

And that was just the beginning for Bickett. He also asked legislators to pass a statewide compulsory school attendance law as well as one prohibiting children from working during school hours, and he wanted money for roads and to pay for the six-month school term recently approved by voters. He suggested that the revenue could come from taxes on cigarettes, soft drinks, patent medicines, and auto licenses. "If a man feels that he is not able to pay this additional amount on his automobile in order to keep the children of the State out of ignorance," the governor said, "then let him walk and improve his health." He also had a few words to say about cleaning up outhouses, and he proposed a fistful of constitutional amendments, most of which dealt with tax reform. The governor asked for, and got, authority to begin the first

statewide road-building program that would link each county to its neighbors rather than squander efforts on local roads that failed to serve through travelers.[13]

Bickett had given aid and comfort to the university in his first legislative session before the war with the bond issue approved in 1917 assuring Chapel Hill of $500,000 in new construction money. This time he was more interested in funding the extended term for the public schools and getting a pay raise for teachers, most of whom averaged less than fifty dollars a month in salary. The governor's ambitious program did not seem to bother Chase and the board of trustees, whose good friends were running both houses of the General Assembly. The university men appeared confident that the institution would be provided for.

Chase was going to need a hefty boost in the legislative appropriation to make up for lost time and a yawning deficit. Ed Graham had never dwelled on the details in the university's budget and did not seem to mind unbalanced accounts that could be explained away to legislators in Raleigh. Once again, the school was in the hole, in the amount of about $47,000. Some of the deficit was the result of unanticipated costs in outfitting the new engineering building, and then there were expenses drawn against the Kenan legacy. Professors had gotten their salary boosts, but the estate had yet to pay the university a dime. Securing money was at the top of Chase's to-do list. The university also had suffered a loss of tuition owing to a decline in enrollment during the war. It was waiting to recover more than $25,000 from the federal government in unpaid SATC expenses. The trustees authorized Chase to ask the legislature for $215,000, up from $165,000 two years before. It was a hefty increase, but Chase argued it was needed to raise faculty salaries in a competitive market, cover the deficit, and continue on the path laid out by Graham.[14]

If Graham had worked himself to death, ignoring his health during the pandemic, the same may be said of Stacy. He and Chase had worked day and night through the Christmas holiday to restore the university from SATC service as well as to prepare the program Stacy presented to the trustees in mid-January. The SATC had scrambled virtually every tradition and habit on the campus, and there had been just a matter of days between demobilization in December and the opening of the next term in the first week of January. In that time, the proper titles were restored to the campus buildings, the class schedule was relieved of time for calisthenics and inspections, and professors sidelined to teach SATC courses were returned to their usual fare of instruc-

tion. Campus organizations like the literary societies and social fraternities were also trying to recover.

Fortunately, Chase had been part of the academic team that Graham had organized to install the SATC, so unwinding the program was not the daunting chore it would have been for the uninitiated. Chase's earlier service outside the classroom was of use as well. He had been a working member of those developing the university's extension program, an assignment that put him in touch with men in every department. He was a known quantity within the faculty and was familiar with Graham's plans for the future. That made him the most likely candidate to succeed Stacy while the trustees looked for a president. There had been no indication Chase yearned for a role in administration, but when Stacy named him acting dean of the College of Liberal Arts, his number two, he had taken to the assignment without complaint. When the trustees made him chairman of the faculty on January 28, 1919, they gave him all the powers of the president. At Chase's first meeting with the faculty on February 7, the plans that he and Stacy had compiled together were as familiar as the morning mail.

The university's program for 1919 was a tribute to Graham. Most of the new initiatives were his. These included the creation of a school of commerce and business, new faculty positions for a director of music and a health officer, the appointment of a publications editor, and expanded provisions for women, even a women's dormitory. The program called for expansion of the law school to a three-year course of instruction, a new classroom building, a building for geology, and enlargement of the chemistry laboratories. The new space for the sciences would free up room for the growing administrative offices of the university that were squeezed into space on the first floor of the Alumni Building.

Though Graham was gone, his spirit remained alive, and it proved to be an uplifting force for the university's program in Raleigh. The university community, in Chapel Hill and throughout the state, seemed to be in a constant state of mourning and remembering. First, there had been the memorial service for Graham in December. Then, in the months that followed, services were held for Stacy and Kemp P. Battle. Of the three, Graham's passing was felt the most deeply because people saw his death as a brilliant life cut short. Almost immediately there had been talk of a campus memorial to the lost leader who was moving the university into a new era. Louis R. Wilson, Graham's colleague, confidant, and soul mate in extension, took the lead as a

group gathered to discuss what should be done in his behalf. Meeting in the governor's office in mid-December, a joint committee of university trustees and faculty endorsed a plan to raise $150,000 in private money to build the student activities building that had been Graham's dream. The site chosen was the location of Person Hall. One of the oldest buildings on campus, and decidedly modest, Person was to be sacrificed in the name of symmetry with the larger buildings that had been built upon the green. A recent graduate just released from military duty was given the job of raising the money. He was Albert McKinley Coates from the class of 1918. Before leaving for army camp, Coates had been Graham's secretary and was a devoted disciple.[15] Horace Williams had read Coates's praise of Graham at the memorial service.

No remembrance of a university leader was the equal to what was being talked about for Graham. There was a monument to the first president, Joseph Caldwell. It was a simple marble obelisk that stood north of South Building, about midway to Franklin Street. Caldwell was to have been honored with a building, but the money could not be raised. No such talk arose after the death of the inimitable Kemp Battle, a president revered in his own day as much as Graham. While Battle did not get a building, he did get a forest named in his honor by order of the trustees. In fact, the ambitions for the new Graham building surpassed every building on the campus, but no one suggested anything modest. Within the first month of 1919, Coates announced pledges of $20,000 from students, with $14,500 in promises collected in just one night. The goal of $150,000 seemed imminently reachable, the *Alumni Review* reported. After all, the alumni at the University of Iowa had set out to raise more than twice that amount to build a memorial to its young men lost in the war.[16]

Chase was happy for Wilson and his committee to take on the campaign for the Graham memorial. He had his hands full, and not just with the legislature. Two weeks before Stacy's death, a late-night fire destroyed three fraternity houses located on the western edge of the campus. The three were among about ten structures—other fraternity houses and private boardinghouses—that stood between Columbia Street and the Carnegie Library, which suffered scorched woodwork from the flames that brought down the lodges of Sigma Nu, Sigma Alpha Epsilon, and Pi Kappa Phi. The campus could hardly stand to lose any existing buildings. Even with enrollment reduced to about 800, down from the prewar highs of nearly 1,050, housing for students and faculty remained in short supply. Before he died, Stacy secured

approval from the trustees executive committee to use up to $50,000 to build ten rental houses for faculty members. The money for these cottages, and a boost in faculty pay, was part of the overall package that went to the General Assembly for approval.[17]

One lasting imprint of the SATC was a change in the university's organization of the school year. For years it had operated with just two full terms, plus a summer session. The government-imposed schedule had forced professors to reexamine the content of their courses as they revised their instruction to fit into twelve weeks of instruction. The change awakened some to faults in their course outlines, as well as to the ability of students to work harder when placed under greater discipline. Guided by Chase, the faculty adopted a three-quarter system at its February 1919 meeting. Under the new schedule, students who returned in January could complete two-thirds of a year's work in six months' time.[18] It was a compromise from a full four-quarter schedule promoted by former president Venable that opponents like Louis Wilson and J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton feared would have pushed classes into June, interfering with the work schedule on farms.[19]

Chase's challenges were unique, compared only at a distance to what Battle had faced in 1875 when he was helping reopen the university. Chase was not as handicapped as Battle, who struggled for every dollar, but he was a man charged with a monumental task, with limited authority and temporary powers. He scrambled to accommodate a world that seemed to present a different challenge with each day as he worked to restore the student body, keep the university running, tend to the plans for development, and hire new faculty, as well as respond to personal challenges. He was waiting to hear how the university's appropriation request had fared in Raleigh when he received word that his mother-in-law had been killed in an automobile accident. He and his wife left immediately for Washington, D.C.[20]

At their winter meeting, the trustees had finally organized a search committee. Durham lawyer Victor Bryant and Charlotte's George Stephens had worked closely with Graham, as had William Nash Everett, a merchant dealing in farm supplies in Rockingham. The other members were Charles Whedbee, a popular lawyer from Greenville in eastern North Carolina, and Dr. Richard H. Lewis of Raleigh. Lewis was the chair, and his appointment anchored the committee to the past. Kemp Battle was his former father-in-law, and Lewis had been board secretary during Venable's final months as president. Some suspected this latter link gave Venable and his allies an inside

track on the committee's work. One of the committee's first stops was on the campus. In mid-February, the members heard from students and faculty members about the kind of man they wanted as president.[21]

If Chase's correspondence files are any indication of the demands on his time, he was primarily preoccupied with personnel matters. His task was not made any easier by the slack attention that the president's office had paid to maintaining records. Chase never did find a prewar letter that offered a teaching job to Thorndike Saville, a Dartmouth graduate and Harvard-trained engineer. Chase learned of the details when Saville wrote to say he was ready to report in the fall but believed the $1,800 salary Graham had proposed was too low. Chase convinced Saville that working in the South had its own peculiar rewards. Saville took the job as it had been offered.[22]

Chase was confronted by faculty members who confided to him that Graham had dodged their earlier requests for a raise with the intimation that they would be rewarded after the war. Fortunately, the legislature did approve the entire $215,000 that Chase requested, plus $20,000 more to go toward the deficit. When the raises went into effect in September 1919, overall pay for university employees was up about 25 percent from when Graham took over in 1914. That did not solve every problem. E. C. Branson was being courted by Edwin A. Alderman at the University of Virginia to re-create his virtual rural sociology machine—research, publications, county clubs, staff librarian, speeches and all—on the campus in Charlottesville. Branson was already at the top of the scale for full professors; Chase kept him in North Carolina by making him a Kenan professor with $1,000 more in pay. R. D. W. Connor, the secretary of the board of trustees, concurred with Chase's decision. He lobbied Branson to remain in Chapel Hill and asked him to inform President Alderman that "the University of North Carolina is no longer a training school of professors for the University of Virginia."[23]

Once the legislature's work was done in early March, Chase had jobs to fill. He was enthusiastic about this phase of his work and what appeared to him to be the beginning of a dynamic period for the university. Despite the limitations of his current position, Chase sounded like a newly elected president taking charge of his new responsibilities, not a lame duck whose time in office could end with the next meeting of the board of trustees. "The entire disposition of the State toward this institution is now so favorable that it is destined to a period of rapid growth and expansion," he wrote one potential

faculty member, "which I think is going to be even greater in the next five years than it has been in the years just passed."[24]

He completed the negotiations begun by Graham to hire Paul John Weaver of Saint Louis as the university's first director of music at the rank of full professor and pay of $2,750 a year. Chase had to apologize that the campus did not have a good organ, or even an adequate performance hall, although he told Weaver he would find a fine new instrument in the new Presbyterian church built with money from Wilmington's James Sprunt. The appeal to Weaver was the opportunity to explore new ground and develop talented musicians out in the provinces, just like Frederick Koch was doing in the dramatic arts. "We are beginning to feel the push and the necessity for developing the whole art side of our life," Chase told Weaver. He directed Weaver to leave room in his schedule to get out into the state and explore the possibilities for music education in the schools, much as Koch was doing with drama. "You have a great opportunity here," he said.[25]

Chase set out to find a replacement for Clara Lingle, Graham's advisor to women, after she notified Chase she would not be back for the fall. Chase sent a few letters of inquiry to possible successors, but the job eventually went to Inez Koonce Stacy, his former colleague's widow. She would later become the university's first dean of women, when the title was created in 1942, and remain in her job until 1946. In taking the position as advisor to women, Inez Stacy gained some financial security and income to add to what she earned from renting rooms to faculty members like Paul Weaver, who stayed in the Stacy home until he could find a house and move his family south. The widow's predicament was an example of the vulnerability of faculty members' families when the sole breadwinner dropped dead.

The trustees shared a similar concern for the welfare of Graham's son, Sonny, who now was an orphan at the age of eight. The president left an estate of $90.05, after the terms of his will were met.[26] At his death, the trustees voted to pay Graham's full salary of $6,000—a salary increase he had refused to take when he was alive—through the end of the academic year, but that money would not last long. At the board's meeting in June, the trustees appointed Chase and Noble from the faculty and trustees R. D. W. Connor, Josephus Daniels, and W. N. Everett to serve as guardians for the boy until he reached the age of twenty-one.[27] The group subsequently entrusted Sonny to Graham's sister-in-law Elizabeth, who along with her sister Mildred had

been living in the president's residence since the death of their sister. She was to receive an initial stipend of $1,500 a year.[28] Elizabeth died within two years, and Sonny was raised by Mildred and her husband, Louis Graves. The two were married after Chase enticed Graves back to the university to teach journalism in 1921. In the end, the young Graham grew up in the Graveses' home, just across the street from Bulrushes. His father's house was rented to faculty members for many years, and it remained standing into the twenty-first century still bearing the scars of a 1923 fire that gutted the upper story and destroyed many of Graham's personal papers stored there.[29]

Reassembling the university faculty was undertaken one by one. There were men still in France that Chase wanted back on the campus. One was Lenoir Chambers, a working newspaperman and Graham-inspired journalist, whom Chase asked to teach a journalism course and manage the university's news service. Chase negotiated his hiring through Chambers's father while Chambers was on a ship in the middle of the Atlantic.[30] The former football coach, the Plattsburg-trained Thomas J. Campbell, was just out of uniform in late April when he stopped by to see Charles T. Woollen. He left with a contract to be on campus in the fall for the reconstruction of the team. Chase wrote Senator Lee Overman and asked him to use his influence to secure the early release from military service of Godfrey Hajek. He had been the baker at Swain Hall before his induction. The commandant at Camp Jackson just outside of Columbia, South Carolina, had written Chase to say Hajek was indispensable. With Overman's help, the man soon was headed to Chapel Hill hoping for a $25-a-month raise in pay.[31]

Chase was also writing Edgar Wallace Knight in hopes of bringing him to the School of Education. He was a North Carolina native who taught education at Trinity College for four years before becoming superintendent of Wake County schools in 1917. Knight was serving as superintendent when he left for war duty. Chase recruited him to lead the School of Education's emphasis on rural schools. Nathan Walker had done fine missionary work in nurturing the development of high schools, aided by financial support from the Rockefeller foundations, and Knight was needed to expand the training of teachers who faced some of the toughest challenges in small schools where students were often absent for as much as a fourth of the school year, despite truancy laws requiring attendance.[32] Many North Carolina schools were in remote areas and inaccessible during hard weather. That was especially true in the mountains. Some of these one-room schools were not that different from

those Knight had seen in his childhood in northeastern North Carolina, where his father was a tobacco farmer. Knight, too, balked at the salary offered, and, once again, Chase traded on intangibles. He told Knight that the opportunity to work with a man like E. C. Branson was worth the sacrifice. Knight agreed to come to Chapel Hill when he finished his military duties.[33]

Chase's most urgent need was someone to organize and lead the new School of Commerce. He tapped into his connections in the Northeast and solicited names from a friend at Wharton, the nation's first school of business, which had been established in 1881 at the University of Pennsylvania. Similar petitions went to contacts at Amherst College, the College of the City of New York, New York University's School of Commerce, and Dartmouth's Tuck School of Business, which had opened in 1900 as the first institution to offer a graduate program in management. During his search, Chase learned North Carolina was not the only school developing this specialty of study and that the demand for deans and faculty was pushing salaries to more than twice what North Carolina was paying even its Kenan professors. With competition keen, Chase knew that when he found the right man he would need to act quickly. As soon as the legislature approved the budget, he got permission from key trustees, including Victor Bryant, to hire a dean or director—Chase was not fixed on a title—once he found the man he wanted.[34]

Chase's leading candidate was Chester Arthur Phillips, an economist on the Dartmouth faculty who taught banking and finance in the Tuck School. Phillips had the academic qualifications, which would be enhanced in less than a year by the publication of his book *Bank Credit*, a thorough study of banking that became one of the standard texts in the business school curriculum. Also attractive to Chase was Phillips's experience teaching in an established business school. Chase's carrot to Phillips was the chance to build something new, and even different from what he might have known at Dartmouth. He told Phillips he would have two economists on the faculty and an option to draw on talent from the law school for courses on business law, and he informed him that the university was adding a professor of Spanish so that the School of Commerce would be better able to stay abreast of South American developments. He envisioned the school with courses in economics, rural economics, and sociology as well as business organization and management, accounting, commerce, and marketing.

Channeling Graham's vision for the school, Chase outlined a broad, "liberal" curriculum that would produce "the type of business man who is not

merely concerned with making money, but who is willing to play his part in building up his community generally." This was not merely a faculty position, Chase told Phillips, but "an opportunity to play an active part in shaping the industrial development of a rapidly growing state, and, in fact, the whole section."[35]

Phillips was interested, and Chase brought him to the campus for a visit, telling him he probably would not want to return home after he had seen Chapel Hill in the spring. Phillips made a good impression, even winning over economist Charles L. Raper, who had chided Chase for starting his search without input from his own faculty.[36] In the end, Phillips decided to remain at Dartmouth, at least for the time being. Two years later, he left to become the first dean of the Henry B. Tippie College of Business at the University of Iowa. He served as dean there until his retirement in 1950.[37]

Fortunately for Chase, the campus community was just as focused on its own challenges as students and faculty adjusted to new schedules and the revival of old traditions. Freshmen were now freshmen, not classed by age, and were just learning the folkways of the university. There were warm reunions in March as a new term began with the continued enrollment of returning veterans. Among those wearing a coat and tie, instead of khaki, was James Graham Ramsay, from the class of 1917, who had been decorated with the French Croix de Guerre. He was beginning his studies in the medical school. Classes there were full, as were those in the law school. Frederick Koch was finally doing what he had been hired to do. He had arrived in the fall, and his plans for a program of folk dramas had been put on hold by the upheaval in the curriculum. By the spring, however, his student playwrights were ready with their first efforts. Among the dramas presented in March was Thomas Wolfe's *The Return of Buck Gavin*.[38]

The only disturbance that reached Chase's office was complaints about drinking at the spring dances, which had resumed after the hiatus. A. H. Patterson, whom Chase had tapped as acting dean of students (a new title), gave Chase a report that put most of the blame on alumni who had come "to have a high old time." Even so, the partiers had been mostly contained by students and faculty who enforced the rules. Patterson said there was not much he could do about the "newer and more reckless dances."[39] The university could prohibit booze, but who was to say what was a proper dance? Chase would hear more about the popular new dances—"what they call the 'cheek-to-

cheek' dance or the 'shimmy' dance'"—from a trustee who was offended by what he saw at the dances around commencement.[40]

Commencement for 1919 was scheduled for later than ever before because of the change in the schedule of the terms. It would be the middle of June before Josephus Daniels introduced Franklin Knight Lane, President Wilson's secretary of the interior, as the commencement speaker. At the top of the agenda for the trustees during commencement week was the election of a president. The search committee completed its work in mid-May, and its nominees were Frank LeRond McVey, who was the president of the University of Kentucky; Robert Judson Aley, the president of the University of Maine; and Chase.[41]

It is not clear when Chase's name was put on the list, but he certainly was as strong a candidate as McVey and Aley. Chase apparently had favorably impressed the search committee, two of whose members also served on the trustees visiting committee. The visiting committee had made extended visits to the campus in recent weeks, making a survey of the place and talking with Chase in preparation for their annual report. McVey also had impressed the search committee, however, and good reports were in hand from individuals who had worked with him in Lexington, Kentucky, and before that at the University of North Dakota.[42]

There were other candidates emerging from among the membership of the board of trustees. Some were talking about newspaper editor Josephus Daniels. The war was over, and his service in President Wilson's cabinet would end soon. Governor Bickett had been suggested, but he stopped any such talk early on, saying he was neither trained nor prepared to take on the job.[43] Other trustees favored Archibald Henderson, Graham's classmate. Perhaps the leading candidate among trustees was R. D. W. Connor, the secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission, which was responsible for curating the state's archives and preserving its history.

Connor was from Wilson and came from a prominent eastern North Carolina family. He had graduated from the university in 1899, one year after Graham, but he had never pursued any advanced degrees. He taught in Winston-Salem and led schools in Oxford and Wilmington before taking charge of the historical commission, turning it into one of the most respected state historical agencies in the nation. He was a trustee and throughout Graham's administration had served as the board's secretary, which put him in regular

contact with Graham, who was his friend and confidant. Before his death, Graham had talked to Connor about bringing him to the campus as a Kenan professor in history. Connor was mentioned as a possible successor in newspaper reports shortly after Graham's death, and his candidacy remained strong throughout the spring, although he did nothing to promote it. The venerable James Sprunt of Wilmington, a friend of university presidents since the days of Battle, endorsed Connor, but it was the work of Secretary of State John Bryan Grimes that appeared to have been responsible for the majority of trustees who lined up behind Connor. Grimes wanted a North Carolina man "now living in the state and, from inheritance, training and living contact, . . . unconsciously dominated by the fine spirit of her people." Many of Connor's supporters also saw him as a kindred spirit with Graham and believed his election would continue the Graham era.[44]

Chase had to know he was a long shot, especially when his candidacy was compared to those of born-and-bred Tar Heels like Connor and Daniels. He was a New Englander, and there were influential members of the faculty who believed the university was infected with too many outsiders. One of them was the university's star in the history department, J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton. He was still smarting over the fight to change the calendar of the school year, which he attributed to influence from faculty members trained in the North. Hamilton later confided to Connor that the university had "a dmaned [*sic*] sight too many of them [Yankees]. But how can that be helped when there are no Southerners to be had who are trained? Graham and I often talked about that matter and he felt pretty strongly that something ought to be done to remedy the growing evil, but confessed he was powerless."[45]

The May issue of the *Alumni Review* provided a gentle reminder to the trustees that the university needed a man who could be an inspiring leader through his "training, achievement, ability, and character" and that parochialism and political connections should be set aside.[46] The trustee vote was just a week away when Chase slipped into the mail a lengthy letter, one that he had obviously labored over for some time, and one that he may have believed would convince trustees they should pick someone other than a man willing to disagree with an influential one of their number at this very pregnant hour.

The Kenan professorships had become a political football, both among the faculty and within the board of trustees. Prominent faculty members who had been passed over in the original selection were now going directly to trustees to make their case. Charles Raper, already unhappy with Chase over

the hunt for a dean or director of the School of Commerce, contacted Connor and said he believed Connor's name would be put forward as a candidate for president. If he did not get the job, he said, then he hoped the trustees would reward Connor with Kenan money.[47] Raper's lobbying surely upset Chase, but it was an effort by one of the trustees—none other than Mary Lily Kenan Flagler Bingham's cousin Graham Kenan—that brought Chase to the table with pen in hand.

Kenan was not happy that his favorite professor, Horace Williams, had not been among those picked when Graham presided over the selection of Kenan professorships in 1918. He was not the only one of the professor's "boys" who believed Williams had been dismissed unfairly in the Kenan selections. In his letter to Kenan, Chase responded to Kenan's plan to have the trustees recognize Williams, regardless of the faculty's opinion in the matter. Chase believed such intrusion in faculty affairs would have dire consequences for whoever was elected president.

"Your proposed action violates one of the fundamental principles of University administration everywhere, in that it proposes to put into the hands of the Trustees a matter which is universally reserved for the administrative officers of the institution," Chase wrote. If there had been an injustice done in the first round, Chase argued, then Ed Graham, one of Williams's most ardent fans, would have done something about it. Furthermore, Chase said, he did not believe Williams would accept action by the trustees. Williams would see, "as every member of the Faculty would see, that it is wrong in principle."

In an effort to satisfy Kenan, Chase offered to give Williams a one-year paid sabbatical under a provision of the Kenan program for leaves of absence. Free of instructional duties, Williams would have time to complete a book on logic that he had been wrestling with for some time. This move would be popular with the faculty, Chase said, and be seen as a reward for Williams's service to the university.[48] Kenan apparently was satisfied and dropped the matter. The trustees did appoint a committee to work with Chase on providing for future Kenan selections.

Instead of jeopardizing Chase's standing with the trustees, his defense of academic prerogatives impressed men who were considering other candidates for the presidency. The episode was not lost on Chase. When the trustees gathered a year later for the 1920 commencement, Williams was named to a Kenan professorship in recognition of "his outstanding merit as teacher" at the same time Louis R. Wilson and William C. Coker were elevated to

Kenan rank. Graham Kenan never saw his old friend honored. He died unexpectedly in New York in February 1920.[49]

Chase was elected president when the trustees met in the chamber of the house of representatives on the second floor of the State Capitol on June 16, but the outcome of the vote turned more on a ruling by the attorney general than it did virtually anything else. In advance of the meeting, Attorney General James S. Manning had been asked to rule on a 1909 law that prohibited any board of directors or trustees of a state institution from electing one of its own to any position under the electing board's control. The request put Manning in a tough spot. His brother-in-law Francis Venable, the former president, was said to be working quietly against Connor. If that was the case, then Venable had not yet recovered from his "defeat" at the hands of younger trustees who had eagerly taken advantage of his absence from the country five years earlier and lined up votes to replace him upon his return. The one-paragraph law, passed just as the legislative session was closing in 1909, was sandwiched in with laws providing schoolbooks for indigents and for the racial segregation of prisons and jails. It had no particular history, but there was no ambiguity about it, and the law left the attorney general with but one response. Clearly, a university trustee could not become president of the university. Manning so ruled, noting that he had reached his decision "reluctant[ly]."[50]

Reporters were shut out of the house chamber during the deliberation by the trustees. They got no closer than the foot of the stairs in the rotunda. There, as board members ambled in and out, the reporters gathered snippets of information and traded rumors between themselves. The narrative at the start of the proceedings, pieced together by the *Greensboro Daily News*, had Connor in the lead with a clear majority of the votes before Manning delivered his ruling. Facing that decision, there was a movement to postpone selection of the president for a year, which would give Connor time to resign and qualify. It failed for lack of propriety. Voters would never stand for it, trustees argued in opposition.

The nominations then opened with the search committee's report, compiled in a lengthy document that took so long to read that the trustees had to break for lunch before opening the floor for discussion. McVey from Kentucky was the committee favorite. Bennehan Cameron, an able legislator with long connections within the Farmers Union, urged trustees to vote for Archibald Henderson, one of the nominees from the floor. He said he had

heard from a man with whom he traded horses that McVey would not do. He read a letter critical of McVey to back up his claim. "Ain't that a hell of a note," one trustee is said to have exclaimed, "that after this voluminous report by the most painstaking committee a big man should be beaten by a damned mule trader?" The house rang with laughter and Cameron sat down.[51]

Victor Bryant was among those favoring Ivey Foreman Lewis, a university graduate and active alumnus who was teaching biology at the University of Virginia. Later, Bryant recounted that the opposition to Lewis among the Chapel Hill faculty was bitter because many believed he would be too much under the influence of Venable. Lewis was a man of science like the former president. This factionalism within the faculty bothered Bryant, who later advised Louis Wilson that "it would be well for thoughtful members to have regard to this and to see that brakes are applied to the bitterness existing there in the breasts of some." Bryant confessed a renewed admiration for Ed Graham as he took the measure of the pitfalls of faculty politics: "Surely no one but a great man and a great diplomat could have handled the situation so well."[52]

Chase's standing rose as each argument for the others was exhausted. "The faculty sentiment for him was strong," the *Greensboro Daily News* reported. "It may be said that the North Carolina idea was not potent. The trustees seemed to resent the suggestion that only a North Carolinian should be chosen." Chase led in the first ballot with twenty-six votes to McVey's seventeen, the same number as went to the Reverend Howard Edward Rondthaler, a contemporary of Graham's and president of the Moravians' Salem College in Winston-Salem. He also had been nominated from the floor. With no majority, the trustees moved to a second round, where Chase secured a majority of those present with forty-one votes, while the Tar Heel loyalists shifted their votes to Rondthaler, who trailed with twenty-two votes. And so Harry W. Chase of Groveland, Massachusetts, became the tenth man elected president of the University of North Carolina.[53] It did not go without notice that his name was put in nomination by John Washington Graham, a Hillsboro lawyer who had been a major in the Fifty-Sixth North Carolina Infantry Regiment and was twice brought down by Yankee bullets in the Civil War.[54]

A few days after his election, and after all the dignitaries, alumni, and students with their diplomas and university-issued Bibles had departed Chapel Hill, Chase received a note from Robert W. Winston. "We are a peculiar people, my dear Doctor," Winston wrote, "and now that the tiller is in your hands

do not fail to understand so-called southern prejudice and provincialism. At the bottom, they rest on necessity, if not wisdom."[55]

Chase also heard from James A. Gray Jr., a trustee who had worked closely with Graham. "I felt I was voting for one that would steer the University along a safe and wise course," he told Chase, "and not meaning to flatter you, I beg to say now that the more I see of your administration the more I am convinced of the correctness of not only my vote, but those of the other Trustees. You may be interested in knowing what one of the Trustees said, who heard your answer to Keenan [*sic*] on Tuesday afternoon. He said, if he had known what 'stuff' you had in you, he would have voted for you instead of someone else."[56]

CHAPTER ELEVEN

The Test

TWO DAYS OF DRIZZLING rain accompanied the preparations for the inauguration of President Harry W. Chase. Finally, the weather turned as the morning of April 28, 1920, broke clear and the wind out of the west quickened. By midday, as the procession of dignitaries in formal dress headed out from the Alumni Building, the dirt paths were drying and the spring skies were glorious. The occasion had the feeling of a new day, even a new era free of the worries of war and the economic lethargy that had hovered over the past decades.

A contingent of the university's new Reserve Officers' Training Corps led the long column across the campus. The SATC was gone, and in its place was a volunteer program for officer training. They preceded eleven divisions of marchers consisting of students, faculty, alumni, and visitors from more than a hundred institutions, including the day's keynoters from lordly Harvard and prestigious Princeton. The long line passed the Davie Poplar, then moved on to the Old Well and South Building, shrouded in ivy, before turning west on Cameron Avenue.[1]

The honor guard halted at the entrance to Memorial Hall, and the ranks parted to allow the inaugural party to pass between the marchers in their academic colors and tasseled mortarboards. The hall was filled to capacity, and more, as the tall, lean, and silver-haired new president took his oath of office from Chief Justice Walter Clark. He then raised the Bible to his lips for a kiss. This son of New England, a psychologist with highest academic honors, was the first nonnative president of the university since the elections of Presidents Joseph Caldwell and Robert Hett Chapman, Princeton-trained Presbyterian ministers from New Jersey, who were elected to office a century before. The

After university trustees cast a second ballot, Harry W. Chase emerged with a majority of votes and was elected the tenth president of the University of North Carolina on June 16, 1919.

regional prejudice that had surfaced in Chase's election had faded as the university closed ranks behind Edward Kidder Graham's successor.

The uplifting spirits of the university's late leaders—Graham, Stacy, and Battle—inspired the crowd that had come to see Chase take his oath. Graham's vision of a people's university and Battle's hopefulness for a better day were interwoven into Chase's inaugural address with a promise of moving the university yet another step higher. Graham had dedicated the university to the upbuilding of the state as an enthusiastic and generous partner in growth and progress that would carry its work to all corners of the commonwealth.

Chase's goal reached beyond the state's boundaries as he asked his audience to consider the university as *the* university of the South, one that would be recognized among its peers across the land with the same admiration as the universities of the Midwest for a program befitting a real university, from its undergraduate college to its graduate and professional schools.

Chase closed the door on the dreary years of the South, the ones he said began at Appomattox and ended on the fields of France. With all the enthusiasm of a native son, he said, "The new South is no longer a vision; with almost startling swiftness it is here." He used data collected by the Department of Rural Economics and Sociology to illustrate the region's growth in agricultural production, industrial employment, and new wealth demonstrated by the outpouring of investment in Liberty Bonds and savings accounts. He then turned this data to the aid of the university, noting that "the challenge of the South to the Southern State University today is that she show herself worthy of leadership in this great constructive enterprise, this the world's latest attempt to evolve a new and higher civilization."

Underlying his entire address was the conviction that the university, largely one in name alone for most of its years, was now ready to justify that title and become a full-fledged member of the community of great institutions equal to those that sent their leaders to welcome him into office. The university was no longer a preparatory school for men on their way to the professions, but an integral part of the commercial, industrial, and educational development that lay ahead and that would produce a different kind of service-minded graduate. "The production of such trained men," Chase declared, "is a responsibility which the University gladly assumes, as she assumes that of fitting men for the ever more complicated problems which confront Southern business and industry as a whole."[2]

The day had begun with a buffet luncheon and ended with a reception at Bynum Gymnasium that followed an evening banquet at Swain Hall, where Josephus Daniels presided as he had so many times before. Among those on hand to extend greetings from their institutions was John Spencer Bassett, down from Smith College. He was the man Daniels had tried to run off from Trinity College some twenty years before in a historic battle over academic freedom. U.S. senator George Higgins Moses of New Hampshire represented Chase's alma mater, Dartmouth. One disappointing note was the absence of G. Stanley Hall of Clark University. Chase had invited his mentor to deliver one of the three principal addresses, but Hall was unable to attend. Special

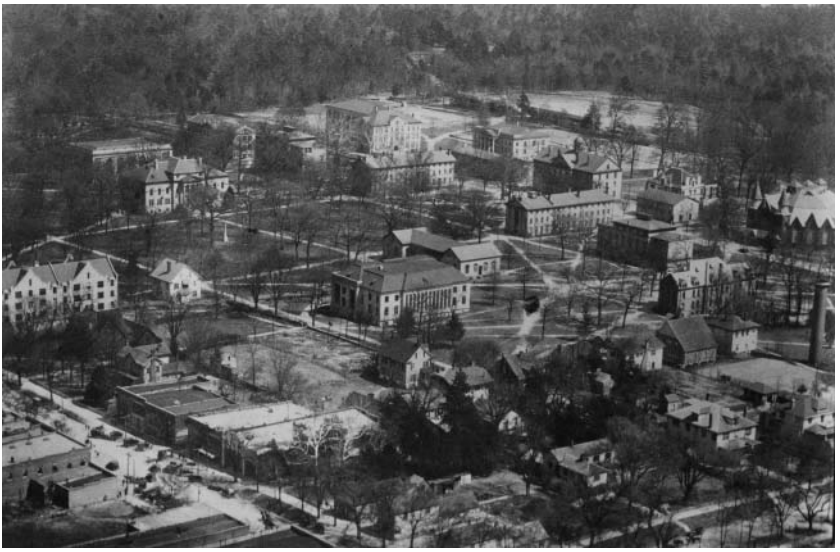
trains carried the crowd away in the night, since Chapel Hill still did not have a hotel of sufficient size or service to bed so many visitors.

Chase's vision for the university came as no surprise to the trustees or faculty who had been watching and listening to the new president throughout the academic year. In his report to the trustees published in December 1919, four months earlier, he had spoken of his belief in the future of the region. "My own conviction constantly deepens that the next great creative chapter in the history of the nation is to be written here in the South," he had said. And with that chapter would come

> an institution which typifies, and serves, and guides, this new civilization—an institution shot through with the spirit of service, broad and quick in its sympathies, practical in its training for the practical things of that life which in its astounding complexity confronts the new generation, insistent always that whatever is done shall be well done, stressing without cease the values that inhere in a liberal education so that its sons may know how to live as well as how to earn a living, resolutely keeping in the foreground those spiritual values by which alone a State can endure. My dream for the University of North Carolina is that she be nothing less than this.[3]

Chase had inherited a campus in transition. He was faced with the new demands of an institution that had outgrown its old clothes as it prepared to meet the postwar crush of students. The university was like a senior trying to fit into freshmen's garb, his ankles showing in trousers too short, his coat sleeves pulled high above the cuffs, and a collar tight enough to strangulate. There was no longer space enough to feed the entire student body, give them beds, or even provide classrooms in which to teach them. Thirteen hundred fifty students had enrolled at the start of the academic year in which Chase was inaugurated, five hundred more than had enrolled the previous winter and spring. The law school enrollment had more than doubled, the medical school was full, over two dozen students were in the Graduate School, and there were more first-year pharmacy students than ever before. It would be Chase's task for the next decade to build the right-sized university to meet the state's needs.

At the time of Chase's election, E. C. Branson advised him to get as far away from the campus as he could. "Go away and forget us all for a brief season," he said. Chase did just that and in August headed north "to the land of



Aerial view of campus about 1919, with Franklin Street in the foreground.

cod-fish and baked beans" with his wife, Lucetta, and six-year-old daughter, Beth, for a visit with his family.[4] Before leaving Chapel Hill, he arranged for the rental of his home on East Rosemary Street, moved his family into the President's House on Franklin Street, and used part of his new $6,000 salary to buy a car—a small one, he reported to R. D. W. Connor.[5]

The salary was a nice boost in pay for Chase, but the amount was not much greater than that paid Edwin Greenlaw, a Kenan professor whose salary had recently been raised to $5,000 to counter an offer from the University of Iowa. Even for the average professor with Chase's time in grade, a full professor could make $3,000 for nine months of work. Chase was now obliged to be at his desk all year long. The family's new home was the large, two-story official residence that sat at the edge of the campus. A straight, gravel-packed walk led to wide wooden steps and a spacious porch on the north side that was shaded from the harsh sun of summer. The entrance hall was flooded by outside light and opened into a large furnished living room with plenty of space for Lucetta Chase's piano, and a dining room backed up by a generous kitchen. (Lucetta was an accomplished violinist as well.) Beyond the stairs to the second floor were four bedrooms and a study. It was a house built for entertaining and the accommodation of out-of-town guests, who could find

no more hospitable or comfortable rooms, even in Durham or Raleigh. The Chases employed three African American servants to cook the meals, clean the house, answer the door, and occasionally drive Chase to his appointments out of town.[6]

After his trip to Massachusetts, Chase returned to Chapel Hill with a full agenda for the 1919–20 year. The law school needed new blood, and Chase had spent much of the summer trying to convince superior court judge Walter P. Stacy, the late Marvin Stacy's brother, to join the faculty, offering to let him set his own salary. Stacy declined. Chase still did not have a man to head the new School of Commerce, where economist Dudley DeWitt Carroll, who had arrived just the year before, was serving as acting dean. With 125 students enrolled at the start of the new term, the school was the fastest-growing enterprise on the campus. Chase also was looking for his own replacement as a professor of psychology. He asked G. Stanley Hall for the name of a candidate from Clark, saying he was not interested in a wizard in the laboratory, but "above all, a man who is a human being as well as a scholar, who is adaptable and who gets on with people." One of Hall's prospects was a woman, but Chase did not ask for her name. The new president subscribed to the growing sentiment to expand opportunities for female students, including a residence hall for women, but he was not ready to take on the battle of adding the first woman to the ranks of the faculty.[7]

He had made other important changes in the administration. Over the summer, Chase had convinced Frank Graham to return to Chapel Hill, as soon as he was released by the marines, to serve as dean of students, a new position. Graham also was to teach history. As dean, he would be responsible for disciplinary matters and aiding in the restoration of student government and campus life after the disruptions of the SATC experience. Meanwhile, the new dean of the College of Liberal Arts, George Howe, a professor of Latin since 1903, would concentrate on academic affairs. Graham was anxious about his qualifications for the job; he agreed to give it a try for a year.[8] Chase filled two new positions before classes resumed. One was for a campus health officer, which relieved the medical school faculty of clinical duties, and he hired a professor of physical education, whose job was to stimulate the student body into keeping fit. The number of draftees rejected because of their poor physical condition had alarmed the nation, and Chase hoped to do something about it.

The most pressing matter facing Chase was an overcrowded campus and

Back from service in the Marines during World War I, Frank Porter Graham assumed the new position of dean of students in 1919. He also was appointed an instructor in history. Photograph by Blank & Stoller, New York.

overburdened faculty. When he spoke to the students on opening day, October 2, 1919, seated before him were almost four hundred freshmen. The incoming class had been enlarged to meet demand, and the university was able to accommodate the higher number only because the upper ranks had been thinned by men whose studies had been interrupted by the war. Many men from the earlier classes had either chosen not to return or been unable to resume their studies. Among the new students were nine men missing either an arm or a leg. The newest campus organization was a club of eighty men, faculty and students, who were veterans of the American Expeditionary Force sent to France. The entire football squad had served on active duty.[9]

Chase welcomed the men crammed into Memorial Hall with a reminder that the world was a more complicated place: "Since the end of the war you have been living in a world which has not found itself, in a world which is as confused as the world of the last generation was orderly. Your world—the world you are getting your education in, the world you will soon have to

face—is in an intellectual and moral ferment. Ideas and ideals are in flux, and your minds are open to the good and evil in it all."

"The war was one vast object-lesson in the awful potency for destruction of the triumphs of human genius," he said. Just as modern civilization is grand, so is it dark. "Bolshevism and industrial unrest, and moral confusion, and red radicalism, and city slums, are just as truly creations of modern civilization as are the achievements of science, or good roads, or public schools." The old philosophy that held that problems would solve themselves would not do in the future. "The march of events will be too swift, the situation too critical, for drifting and temporizing." Before the school year was half done, U.S. attorney general A. Mitchell Palmer would use extraordinary powers of the wartime Espionage and Sedition Acts (even though the war was over) to sweep up thousands of suspected radicals and deport aliens as America suffered through the so-called Red Scare.

The closest Chase came to the kind of emotional references to Alma Mater that Ed Graham frequently used in framing his remarks was to put students on notice of the force of public opinion: "Let every man among you strive to realize this: That whatever he does, wherever he goes, in his keeping is the good name, the honor, of Carolina. Remember that individual freedom means individual responsibility; that you have no right to accept the one and defy the other."[10]

Chase left the dramatic references to a young's man embarkation on college life to the late president's cousin Frank, who told the young men that it was their responsibility to help heal a world torn by war.[11] The old cheerleader also probably mentioned the first football game of the season, which was to be held two days later at Rutgers University in New Jersey. The highlight of the season would be Thanksgiving Day and the contest with Virginia. For the first time, the game was to be held in Chapel Hill, and more than eight thousand would swarm about Emerson Field. Play with A&E also was to resume in Raleigh during the running of the North Carolina State Fair in mid-October. The two teams had not met one another on the football field for fourteen years.

Conditions on campus were barely tolerable. Three to four men, instead of two, were living in dormitory rooms that measured twelve, fourteen, or sixteen feet square. With limited floor space, the residents lashed the feet of one bed onto the uprights at the head and foot of another and created a rickety stack that sometimes rose levels high. Sanitation was a concern. A visiting

committee of trustees found in the spring of 1920 that New West, home to forty-eight residents, had no toilet. A sanitary report compiled by the campus health officer as classes resumed in the fall of 1920 informed Chase that the University Inn, a former hotel used for student housing, was a safety hazard and had already experienced two fires. He also reported that there were only twenty-three shower heads available for thirteen hundred students. Visitors to the campus had best come after breakfast, bring their own lunch, and leave before dinner. The dining hall could not accommodate any more diners, who already were eating in shifts.[12]

The university population now outnumbered that of the village, where upward of six hundred students were forced to find room and board. As a result, the landlords were enjoying income from high rents created by the demand from both students and faculty. The school's new physical education director finally found a house to rent, but that winter the water lines in the house froze because he was unavailable to stoke the fire throughout the day.[13] Two new dormitories were due to be built with money from the 1917 allocation of bond money, but the plans for them were tied up at the centralized State Building Commission in Raleigh. When Chase did get the architect's drawings that fall, he discovered the rooms were designed around complicated and impractical folding beds that "we felt college boys would make short work of."[14]

Chase was impatient with the office of the state architect. The part-time position had been created to coordinate the construction of the buildings authorized before the war. It was now a bottleneck. In the fall of 1919, a trustee committee gave Chase approval to construct temporary dormitories, if he could find a spot that would not interfere with future expansion. What he proposed were steel-framed, one-story buildings that could house forty students each. They would cost $16,000 apiece, but only $1,500 if wood was substituted for the steel. Later they could be used for storage, Chase said. Before a single shovel of dirt was turned, that idea was scotched by state senator George Allen Holderness, a trustee who believed the effort would harm the university's case with the General Assembly. The makeshift dorms would highlight the dire conditions on campus, but Holderness worried legislators might believe the temporary structures had solved the problem.[15]

A plan to build ten faculty houses on Raleigh Road south of Franklin Street also suffered. Chase arranged for trustee approval, but when it came time to start work he discovered that the university was unable to build the

eight-room houses at a cost that could be amortized by reasonable rents. The plans were reconfigured for ten six-room houses at a lower cost on a new street called Park Place that was at the edge of Battle Park and out of sight from the central campus.[16] The houses were called Aladdin houses and cost $6,500 each. The university imported carpenters from Durham, and the houses were ready for occupancy in September 1920. The neighborhood later became known as "Baby Hollow" owing to the number of children born to the faculty tenants.[17]

During the months leading up to his inauguration in April 1920, Chase was learning the juggling act called the presidency. On one day he was a land developer, builder, and architectural critic. On the next he was negotiating with current and future faculty members. For those on campus, he was trying to find ways to better compensate men considering lucrative job offers elsewhere. At the same time he was scouring academic halls far afield trying to build the faculty that he saw as necessary for a bona fide university. Chase was tired of the university supplying talent to top schools around the country, as faculty members left to accept better-paid positions. He now was going to find a top scholar of his own. On his list of prospects was Howard Washington Odum, a former colleague at Clark who was dean of the School of Liberal Arts at Emory University in Georgia. The two were about the same age, were disciples of G. Stanley Hall, and had both fallen in love and married fellow graduate students from Clark. Their wedding dates were just two days apart. They had remained in touch over the years, and in the summer of 1919 Odum had invited Chase down to tell his classes at Emory about Carolina's program in rural sociology. When Chase returned to Chapel Hill, he wrote Odum to say that he hoped to soon have a proposition to bring him north.[18] Hiring Odum would be one of the distinguishing marks of his presidency.

Odum was a son of the Old South, born in Georgia and educated at Emory (when it was still a small Methodist college) and the University of Mississippi, where he earned a master's degree in the classics, but, working with Thomas Pearce Bailey, an early specialist in race relations, Odum's interest expanded into social sciences. Bailey, a protégé of G. Stanley Hall, found him a fellowship to study at Clark, where he received a doctorate in psychology before moving on to Columbia University for a second degree under sociologist Franklin Henry Giddings. Odum taught at the University of Georgia before leaving for Emory to become dean—and possibly president—as he helped relocate its campus to Atlanta. Chase's visit there in the summer came

at a time when Odum was anxious about his future at Emory, where he hoped to establish a center for the social sciences. Odum's ambition, and his angst over internal Emory politics, made him eager to know more about Chase's plans for a school of public welfare at Chapel Hill.[19]

The new school had traveled under various names since E. C. Branson had first proposed it to Ed Graham in 1916. At that time, Branson wanted a school of social science that would blend the academic disciplines of history, political science, economics, and the new field called sociology. It was a natural outgrowth of Branson's first two years of work on the campus as he compiled a social, political, and economic picture of the state. Branson believed Graham never gave his proposal the consideration it deserved, and he worried aloud to Durham's John Sprunt Hill that the same might be true of Chase. Apparently, Chase had not confided to Branson that he not only liked the idea, but he had identified Odum as the man he wanted to develop it. Chase and Odum had talked about it in Atlanta, along with Chase's vision for the university that he would later present in his inaugural address.

Branson also worried over the name of his proposed school. Anything flying under the flag of "social science" was suspect, he told Hill. A school of social science might not sit well with a public suffering postwar jitters over trouble created by a variety of political activists, some of them called Bolsheviks, some called communists, and others called socialists: "After five years of patient, faithful work here I find every once in a while to my utter consternation that 'social,' 'sociology,' and 'social science' are fatally linked in the North Carolina mind with 'socialism.'" Branson proposed, and Hill endorsed, a new name: the School of Public Welfare. Branson took his conversation with Hill one step further and suggested to the Durham banker, who had been generous in his support of the *University News Letter* and other campus initiatives, including the creation of the library's North Carolina Collection, that he consider a gift of $500,000 to the university to endow the school that would carry the Hill name.[20]

Branson's exchange with Hill coincided with a large gathering on the campus in mid-September 1919 that was an outgrowth of the most progressive legislation the state had ever seen. Much of it was the result of work by Governor Thomas W. Bickett and the North Carolina Conference for Social Service. The combined efforts had led to new laws in 1917 and 1919 aimed at easing the burdens of rural life, expanding educational opportunities, road building, and devoting more resources to public welfare in the areas of child

labor, health, six-month school terms, and institutional care for the poor and disabled. Two weeks before the academic year was to begin in the fall of 1919, three hundred representatives from seventy-six of the state's one hundred counties met on the campus for a meeting of the State and County Council. Sitting down together were school board members, county commissioners, school superintendents, county health officers, welfare officers, and juvenile court judges and probation officers. In his welcoming address, the governor said, "These new laws of ours have put in the field an army of new workers, most of whom know little of what the others are doing." The meeting was designed to share ideas and cross-pollinate the various departments. As the governor said, "In the words of one of our own North Carolinians, 'I 'lows a little mixin' will larn us all.'" Previous governors had championed education, but Bickett had taken up the full range of public welfare. He was well ahead of his time when he told the group, "In the next decade the most vital equation in any factory in North Carolina will be the human equation." Businesses that understand that fact, he said, would be the ones that survive.[21]

The university's stake in this change in state policy was the demand for trained men and women to fill newly created jobs in the schools, the courts, and the welfare departments recently mandated by the General Assembly for every county. It was just the sort of argument that Chase needed to support his plans to hire Odum to fill a new chair of sociology from which he could begin the organization of a school of public welfare. Hill wanted someone like R. D. W. Connor or even outgoing governor Bickett to take on the job. The new school would need men with the proper credentials and stature but also someone "imbued with the North Carolina spirit," Hill told Branson.[22] Chase received permission for the new position, which he said would lead to the creation of the school, when the trustees met in late January 1920. A month later, Chase made his case to hire Odum at top pay of $5,000 with Kenan rank. Odum had the "unusual combination of scholar and executive," he advised Connor, "and [is] a man who is plain, unpretentious and lovable. It is my belief he is one of the ablest young men of the younger generation in the South today."[23]

Odum accepted Chase's offer without hesitation, even though he was under consideration for the presidency at Emory and at Randolph-Macon College in Virginia. "I subscribe not only to your vision of North Carolina as a university of the south," he had earlier informed Chase, "but also the conviction that it can be done. I subscribe my energies to help you make it

so."[24] He attended Chase's inauguration as Emory's representative and passed along a compliment that Princeton president John Grier Hibben had given on his way to catch the train. Hibben told Odum that he was impressed with Chase's speech and that the young president had "a rare opportunity to make a record" for himself.[25]

Odum was determined not to arrive in Chapel Hill empty-handed, as nothing more than the head of a one-man department of sociology. He knew something of the world of the new philanthropic foundations and began making the rounds seeking support for the new school even before he left Emory. He was not shy in his ambition. He told Chase he hoped to find a foundation willing to endow the future of the school, if the university could provide a building to put it in. He did not get such a generous offer, but the American Red Cross, where he had contacts from his war work, agreed to pay the salaries of summer faculty for a training institute for social workers, teachers, nurses, ministers, probation officers, and executives from the Red Cross, YMCA, and YWCA to be held on the campus in the summer of 1920. The arrangements put Chase in a bit of a bind. One of the instructors was to be a woman. The president told Odum she was welcome to assist, but he could not put her in charge of a course.[26]

The president's greatest burden remained the crowded campus. The university was not the only institution turning down entrance applications because of a lack of space. The high schools of North Carolina were producing four times the number of graduates that they had before America entered the war, and the Baptists, the Presbyterians, and the Methodists all were struggling to accommodate young people wanting a college education.[27] The denominations were mounting regional, multimillion-dollar campaigns to expand their institutions—Davidson, Wake Forest, and Trinity Colleges would benefit—while the university had to wait for the legislature and bureaucratic delays that had already cost the campus one dorm. When construction finally began on what would become the Steele Dormitory, construction costs had risen so much—along with the price of food, clothing, and virtually everything else—that there was only enough money for one building instead of two.[28]

As the start of the 1920–21 academic year approached, the competition for available seats in the classroom was greater than ever. Chase had made the trustees aware of the university's emergency more than once. He had raised the most recent alarm in June, at commencement, when he declared that the

university had reached its limit in all directions. In addition to impossible demands for room and board, laboratory classes were so full that they operated three shifts a day, and classrooms were in such steady use that the rooms did not get a good airing before the next crowd of unwashed students arrived. Two thousand of the 17,500 white teachers employed in public schools were so poorly trained that they could not qualify for the lowest-grade certificates, yet the director of the summer school had to turn away 500 teachers seeking to improve their situation. Chase said a doubling of the university's capacity was imperative.[29]

The disturbing report from the president was accompanied by an equally worrisome report from the trustees visiting committee, which called conditions in campus dormitories unsafe, unsanitary, and "a disgrace to our great state." Some wanted a special session of the legislature to deal with the crisis. "Our visit to the dormitories revealed a congested condition that we did not know existed at any state institution," the report said, citing the lack of a toilet in New West. "Our beloved alma mater is facing a crisis and the question to be answered is this: Shall we adopt a policy of rigid restriction and close our doors to the many and admit only the few? Shall we say that our vision of a great democratic University, the head of the public school system, the friend of all, and open to all worthy comers—that this is all wrong? Or shall we say that our vision is right and must be adhered to? And the legislature must be asked for the full amount that the work of the University and the greatness of our State demand."[30] Chase was instructed to prepare a full inventory of the needs to meet an eventual enrollment of three thousand. He was still working on that list with business manager Charles T. Woollen when, a few days before the 1920–21 academic year was about to begin, he got an urgent memo from Louis R. Wilson.

If there was a line that was supposed to separate the academician from the public advocate, Wilson had stepped over it years before. By 1920, he had been the voice of the *Alumni Review* for seven years. He was its editor, and he set the tone for the *Review*'s aggressive campaign for campus improvements. The magazine's writers had long advocated increasing faculty pay, erecting more buildings, and expanding the university's reach through extension (the program Wilson ran in addition to his other duties as librarian), as well as the general improvement of the campus. E. C. Branson kept Wilson amply supplied with nuggets of data that appeared regularly in the *Review* and in Chase's remarks. One of the latest was a comparison: North Carolina had

fifty-four cents per inhabitant invested in support of university properties, while fifty dollars per inhabitant was invested in automobiles.[31]

Wilson was particularly disturbed about the implications for the university that might flow from an item in the *Greensboro Daily News* published in late September. It was titled "The Thing We Lack," and it was probably the work of Earl Godbey, whom Wilson considered the most insightful editorial writer in the state. The editorial filled an entire column and took up where Branson's numbers left off. With a state government whose operating cost in 1919 had amounted to only $2.54 per head, the second lowest in the land, North Carolinians should not be strutting proud of their conservatism, but be aware that outsiders, "not blinded by vanity, use a less flattering term. They call it 'backwardness.'" According to the editorial, "The government of North Carolina is next to the cheapest in the United States because it is next to the most worthless in the United States."

The paper said the state's failure to meet its obligations in a modern world was not a partisan matter, nor were weak-kneed politicians solely to blame. The press deserved criticism, as did educators and ministers or any class of people whose influence extended over the minds of people. What the state lacked was real leadership "to carry the state forward. We must develop it. It is not merely to be wished that we may develop it, or to be hoped that we may develop it; we must develop it, for 'where there is no vision the people perish.'"[32]

Wilson suffered the sting of the editorial for a few days—it seemed to ignore all his years of preaching—and then he wrote a prodding memorandum to Chase. He told the president that his deepest concern was that if the views of the *Greensboro Daily News* became common gospel, then the university would be in deeper trouble than it already was. Wilson said that in his twenty years at the university, he had seen legislators so out of touch with the Venable administration that they ignored the needs of the campus, while the opposite had been true under Graham. What the university needed now, he declared, was a new campaign to ignite the imagination and energy in favor of higher education, just as had been done for public schools years earlier under Charles D. McIver, Charles B. Aycock, and Edwin A. Alderman. "Today, I believe the imagination of the state could be fired in similar fashion for higher education, and it seems to me the responsibility of this institution to assume leadership in that field," he wrote. The only other choice was for Chase to raise an endowment of $5 million to $10 million from private sources, which was a

doubtful proposition.33 The alumni still were only two-thirds of their way to meeting their goal of $150,000 to build the Graham memorial building.[34]

Chase answered Wilson's call to action. On the same day he received the memo, at 2:30 p.m., gathered in the president's office in the Alumni Building were Wilson; Lenoir Chambers, an editor at the *Alumni Review*; Frank Graham's successor as dean of students, Francis Bradshaw; alumni secretary Edgar Ralph Rankin; William Stanley Bernard, a faculty member and alumni president of his class; business manager Woollen; and Graham, who had forsaken administration for classroom work only. The discussion of a course of action continued through the afternoon with much of the talk focused on mobilizing the alumni into giving the money required to support the university. After all, the university had survived for more than a century with private gifts, while state support had been only late in coming.[35]

The necessity of raising private money, rather than relying on tax dollars, was reinforced by word from R. D. W. Connor in Raleigh, as experienced a reader of political reality as any at hand. He advised that there was not enough time to mount an effective campaign for legislative support before the General Assembly convened in January. Chase and Woollen, who had already begun their work on a proposed budget, agreed. There were other political considerations, too. Was it proper for university officials like Chase, Wilson, and Woollen, whose jobs were dependent on the goodwill of trustees and the legislature, to be at the front of an alumni uprising and public campaign when they knew the new State Budget Commission was preparing a conservative budget? An end run around the political establishment was not considered a wise move, especially for a new president who was not that well known in Raleigh.

The group broke for the day, discouraged at not having reached a consensus. Graham later recalled that as he walked across the campus with Rankin and Chambers he wondered aloud about using the alumni to mount the public campaign: "I remember thinking why don't we—not against the administration's attitude, but in reinforcement—why don't the alumni get busy in doing something, not just in way of giving money but in organizing the public. Let the alumni be the spearhead of a great people's movement."

Chase was finishing his dinner when Graham bounded up the front steps of the president's residence and announced himself. He proposed to Chase that a telegram be sent that night to a hundred or so alumni inviting them to an emergency meeting in Chapel Hill. "He was still doubtful about it," Gra-

ham remembered, but Rankin was already in his office preparing the mailing list. Chase finally agreed to put his name to the wire. Rankin and Graham had enough money between them to pay for telegrams to fifty leading alumni, who were asked to be in Chapel Hill on October 2, just a week away.[36]

The *Greensboro Daily News* did not end its consideration of operating state government on a shoestring. Another editorial followed, and it made mention of the overcrowding at Chapel Hill. This time, Chase responded with a letter to the editor in which he said conditions on campus were worse than had been reported. The editorial was a perfect opportunity for the president, who wrote in his official capacity to present the dilemma facing the university. The issue was no longer only a matter of the discomfort of overcrowding on the state campuses or those of the denominational colleges; the question now was how many young people were going to be denied an education, he said. "Surely we cannot plant within the hearts of these boys and girls the passion for a higher education and then deny them the very opportunity they crave." The issue was most critical for the university. The institution was required to take any student adequately prepared and fit for study, but it had reached the point where it could no longer discharge its legal responsibility. Providing a seat in the classroom at a college was the logical next step in implementing the state's decision to build and support public high schools.[37]

The telegrams sent by Graham and Rankin brought forty-three men to the campus for a meeting that was scheduled ten days before the University Day observances, the annual birthday celebration held on the campus. Those who showed up for an evening meal at the Coop, an off-campus boardinghouse, included men from classes dating to the 1890s, as well as younger men still on fire with the spirit of Ed Graham. The meeting did not adjourn until after midnight.

Chase outlined the conditions on the campus, while senior Tyre Taylor added his personal experience of living in a crowded dorm room and rushing through meals so the next man could have his chair at the table. Frank Graham turned the session into a revival meeting, interweaving the words of the Gospels with contemporary conditions: "Youth in North Carolina is stimulated to higher education and then has the door shut in his face by the state which pointed him the way. Says the state to her sons in sacred paraphrase, 'I go to prepare a place for you and if it were not true I would have told you.' We do not prepare the place and we dare not tell them."

The men at the Coop could become the nucleus of a grassroots campaign

for higher education, Graham declared. "If we but strike out boldly, we shall find the people in heroic mood for a Crusade more Christ-like than that which impelled its thousands across Europe to death in the Holy Land. The Son of Man cares more for crowded dormitories than for an empty sepulchre. Suffer the youth of North Carolina to come unto the colleges and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of tomorrow."[38]

The meeting at the Coop was an important turning point in the university's history. Out of it would grow a grassroots movement that would lead to an unprecedented increase in state appropriations that would change the very look of the campus and allow Harry Chase to make good on his plans for creating a real university. No one gave the organizers much of a chance of moving the tight-fisted budget writers out of their entrenched position of maintaining the status quo. Yet, within the next several weeks, Chase would see the trustees executive committee emboldened to move from an early decision to ask for just enough to feed, house, and teach a student body of about fifteen hundred to a request three times the original amount to build a campus that could educate as many as three thousand students. The committee's action would not have happened without the events that followed that pep rally in an off-campus eating hall.

The movement began to take shape on University Day, the traditional occasion of speeches and ceremony on the campus and meetings of alumni clubs around the state and elsewhere, including New York and Atlanta. Chase had planned the 1920 program around the receipt of a life-size portrait of William Richardson Davie, one of the university's founders. He had been on hand to lay the cornerstone for the first building, Old East.

The portrait dated to 1800 and had survived the Civil War buried with other family treasures at the Davie estate in South Carolina. It had passed on to his granddaughter who had died earlier in the year. Louis Wilson was disappointed that Chase's program seemed so routine, but then the president surprised any who questioned his political instincts when he connected the vision of an eighteenth-century leader to the needs of a twentieth-century campus. Davie and others had not waited for the right time, or the best time, to found the university and lay the cornerstone of Old East, Chase said. They acted on a vision of what was best for the new state of North Carolina. "This University of the State," Chase proclaimed, "this University that is the realization of what Davie hoped and dreamed, asks but that she be set free to do adequately her task. If higher education is really worth while, if the University

of North Carolina is worth while, the issue must be squarely met, as Davie would have met it. It must be met in the spirit that sets above every other consideration the fulfilment of a just and righteous principle."[39]

Bracketing the gathering at Chapel Hill were meetings of alumni clubs in nearly two dozen communities throughout the state. Men gathered around dining tables at hotels, public schools, and boardinghouses where they sang "Hark the Sound" and heard from those who had been at the Coop. Some meetings had speakers from the campus as Wilson, William Bernard, Francis Bradshaw, M. C. S. Noble, and Archibald Henderson went on the road. Frank Graham was in Greensboro on the evening of the eleventh and on the twelfth managed to speak to alumni in Hillsboro. The following week he headed to Durham, where forty alumni were gathered at the Malbourne Hotel. "We are fighting no foe but ignorance, with no weapon but the facts," Graham said in Durham, "and for nothing less than the youth of North Carolina."[40]

Resolutions were passed and telegrams in support of the university were sent to Chapel Hill, but the alumni in Greensboro responded with something more than words. By the time Graham had left town on the eleventh, the alumni had organized the Association for the Promotion of Higher Education in North Carolina and asked Alfred M. Scales III of Greensboro to lead a campaign. Few men in North Carolina were as well known. He had been raised by his namesake, who was a former governor, member of Congress, and Civil War general. Alf Scales, as he was called, was tied in with Greensboro businesses and had created the city's leading residential development, a subdivision of large homes surrounding a golf course called Irving Park. Scales's connections also ran deep in the social welfare movement, then at its peak in the state, and in Raleigh, where he had served in the state senate.

Greensboro boosters had more at stake than just the reputation of the university. The North Carolina College for Women (NCCW) sat at the western edge of Greensboro, and local pride ran deep for "Old Normal," where legions of public school teachers had been educated since its founding thirty years earlier. When the university alumni met on the night of the eleventh to hear Graham, NCCW's president, Julius I. Foust, was in the audience. Like Chase, he was struggling to accommodate a growing student body. A hundred applications for admission had been denied for the 1920–21 academic year because of lack of space.

There was a second state institution in Greensboro, although no one bothered in the early stages of the campaign to include North Carolina A&T Col-

lege. The school occupied a huge tract of land on the city's eastern border, and crowded conditions there were every bit as desperate for the 400-plus African American men being schooled in farming and the trades. North Carolina had invested in high schools for its white citizens, but in 1920 there was not a single public high school for African Americans, and the state's neglect of education for African Americans extended to A&T. The college's current state appropriation was $20,000 a year, and while money was being considered to pay for new buildings at the normal schools that trained African American teachers in Elizabeth City and Fayetteville, none was proposed for A&T. The embarrassing level of support was later linked to a quiet movement by Greensboro real estate interests to grab the campus land for development and move the campus farther away from the center of the city.[41]

Everyone was anxious about the timing of the effort. Chase and Foust had approval of their budget requests from their trustees for amounts they considered less than ideal but at least enough to sustain the status quo. In the case of the university, the trustees executive committee had approved a doubling of the maintenance budget—the money necessary to meet current operating demand—and a request for $1.5 million to fund new dormitories and classroom buildings. The amount for capital improvements still was not enough to prepare for an eventual enrollment of three thousand students. Even so, the request carried certain political implications, and Chase told R. D. W. Connor that he did not want the amount made public until after the fall general election.[42]

After a comfortable eight years under a Democratic president, North Carolina Democrats were anxious about their prospects for 1920. Hundreds of patronage jobs hung in the balance as Republicans were enjoying a revival. The Republican presidential candidate, Warren G. Harding, appeared confident of success as he spoke on occasion from the front porch of his home in Marion, Ohio. The spirit stirring among the Republicans inspired the party in the South, where a concerted effort was afoot to elect John Johnston Parker as governor in North Carolina. Parker was a university graduate—one of Horace Williams's favorite students—and he was beating up on the Democrats for their stingy support of state institutions. He was downright progressive and borrowed some of E. C. Branson's figures to support his program. "A state that can pay $169,000,000 in federal income tax is rich enough to lift the veil of ignorance from the minds of its children," he declared. Parker wanted rural schools to be equal to those in the cities and believed that women teach-

ers should be paid the same as their male counterparts. He was also reminding women, who were able to vote for the first time, that his opponent, Democrat Cameron Morrison, had campaigned against extending suffrage. Morrison gave a nod to his party's platform plank supporting suffrage, but he did not discourage others in the party who were making it difficult for women to register and vote.[43] The last thing the university needed was to raise an issue of more state spending that sounded like it came from one of Parker's campaign brochures.

Morrison was safely elected governor by the time Alf Scales and the Association for the Promotion of Education in North Carolina held a kick-off banquet in Greensboro in November. The group's name had changed; the word "higher" had been dropped. The tent was extended to include concern for the future of *all* of the state's educational and benevolent institutions. This meant NCCW, A&E in Raleigh, and the East Carolina Teachers Training School in Greenville (later East Carolina University) along with A&T in Greensboro and the normal schools for African Americans, schools for the deaf and blind, the state tuberculosis hospital, three mental hospitals, reformatories for girls and boys, and the training schools at Cullowhee and Boone, which were remote mountain institutions for the education of teachers. Clearly, broadening the base made good political sense and relieved the university of appearing greedy at the expense of others. The financial tab to set all the institutions right—about $20 million—was not mentioned on the night of November 12, when Governor Bickett was the featured speaker at a dinner for hundreds of civic boosters on the NCCW campus in Greensboro.

The dining tables had been set for five hundred at what would normally have been the annual meeting of the Greensboro Chamber of Commerce. Scales turned the occasion into a rally for the new association with invited guests from all of the state's commercial groups. Also on hand were Wake Forest College president William Louis Poteat and Howard Rondthaler, the president of Salem College in Winston-Salem. Their presence gave the meeting an ecumenical cover from critics in the denominational press. Two days after the meeting, an editorial in *Charity and Children*, a publication of the Baptist Children's Home, once again scorched the university for not getting more financial support from its alumni. "The alumni of our State school are only generous with other people's money," the editorial read.44 The argument ignored the university's history of survival thanks to the generosity of private donors.

Governor Bickett lived up to his billing. He was one of the best stump speakers of his day with a talent for phrase making. Just a few weeks earlier, he had held forth for two hours at a Democratic Party rally in Sampson County, the home of the state's best-known Republican, Marion Butler. He had defended his administration with its program of property revaluation and an overhaul of the state's tax system. It would allow North Carolina to grow, he said, and relieve conditions where tenant farmers paid more taxes on their sows and chickens than landowners did on their real estate. Sounding a bit like John Parker, he said North Carolina had the money it needed to improve education and public welfare and should be ashamed of its low ranking among the states. He compared North Carolina to a man with the fairest wife and most beautiful children who bragged about how little he did to provide for them. Such a man, Bickett reportedly suggested, "ought to be killed with a cheap pistol, buried without coffin with only gully dirt as paste and covering for his bones, and a yaller hound's howl for a funeral sermon."[45]

At the banquet in Greensboro, Bickett called for the creation of high schools in every county and said North Carolina needed to do more for African Americans. He told those gathered that "every consideration of Christianity, of justice, and self-protection requires us to do more for the negro than we have ever done before," according to the *Greensboro Daily News*, which put its account of the meeting in a prominent spot on the front page. The governor said he had heard the policy of the upcoming General Assembly was to be retrenchment. "This is no time for retrenchment in North Carolina. The command rings clear from the skies that North Carolina 'go forward.'"[46]

By the time the meeting closed, Scales had raised $4,500 in $500 gifts from those on hand. He got money from Durham's John Sprunt Hill and Mrs. R. J. Reynolds of Winston-Salem. Henry Smith Richardson—his father's Vicks VapoRub had become a national sensation during the flu epidemic—wrote a check, as did an individual who asked to remain anonymous. Another $1,500 was raised at a campaign meeting in Charlotte two weeks later. The money went toward a goal of $25,000 that Scales said would be spent on advertising in the state's newspapers. Happy with this news, newspaper publishers became enthusiastic supporters of the association's goals that had already received endorsement from their editors.

Chase and the other institutional heads remained out of the fray. They had schools to manage and budgets to present to the State Budget Commission, which was preparing recommendations for the 1921 General Assembly. The

groundswell of public sentiment for state institutions was changing minds. It was sparked by the Chapel Hill meeting at the Coop, grew with spirits revived at alumni gatherings, and culminated with the Greensboro banquet. A week before the Greensboro banquet, on November 5, the governor and the trustees executive committee reversed an earlier decision that Chase only present the university's needs for the next two years.[47] They authorized him to give the commission a plan for all of the buildings that would be needed to accommodate the anticipated growth in the next six years. The early draft of Chase's plan projecting the university's needs, first estimated at just under $5 million, subsequently grew to an even bolder request for $5.6 million after he included an auditorium to seat three thousand people, furnishings, and improvements of the campus grounds.

Only Ed Graham could have conceived of something as grand as what Chase gave the State Budget Commission when he presented the university's request near the end of November. Indeed, Chase would later say that the plan "was in a sense a continuation and enlargement of a program begun during the presidency of Edward Kidder Graham."[48] The university's list included new dormitories to house approximately 1,275 men, a building for the law school, and three classroom buildings for the School of Commerce and various departments in the College of Liberal Arts. A new gymnasium was on the list. It continued with additions to the medical and chemistry buildings, an expanded infirmary, a building for women students, fifteen to eighteen houses for university faculty and staff, a building for the geology department and another for the pharmacy school, and renovations to aging structures, some of which were more than a hundred years old.[49]

R. D. W. Connor's reading of the political mood of the Democrats was accurate. The State Budget Commission included Rufus Alexander Doughton, a former lieutenant governor and Alleghany County legislator who was known as the "Grand Old Man," and Rufus Sidney McCoin from the state house; George A. Holderness and James A. Gray Jr. from the state senate; and the governor. These five were responsible for giving the legislature a recommendation for spending for the next two years, which was a step above the political logrolling that had characterized the appropriations process in prior years. It was not an altogether unfriendly crowd. Bickett, Holderness, and Gray were mindful of the needs of the university. According to W. T. Bost of the *Greensboro Daily News*, nobody was "opposing the institutions in their needs. The haunting fear seems to be that the people will not take kindly to

such big proposals." As a result, the requests had been whittled down to the point where they were unrecognizable. Twenty million dollars—the total of all the institutional requests—was just too extravagant, Bost wrote. "The electorate won't stand for it, nearly everybody says. The commission seems to sense the popular indisposition to put up more for the state institutions, and that is the trouble."[50]

Gray wrote Chase to urge him and the trustees to support the commission's work and "discourage the campaign of propaganda which appears to be underway in the state." He told the president he did not plan to attend a special meeting of the trustees called for December 30 in the state house chamber, where Chase was to present the expanded budget request. The meeting had been timed to occur before the release of the Budget Commission's report in mid-January. Crossing Gray carried political consequences, but Chase stood his ground and told Gray that he would not stand idle "at an extremely critical period in [the university's] history." In his reply to Gray he reminded him that the trustees had directed him to prepare the university for three thousand students, and he could do no less before the trustees "and with their consent to the legislature."[51]

Chase drew his strength from advice from Connor, who told him and Julian Foust at NCCW that he had

> long ago come to the conclusion that we have got to go over the heads of the Legislators to the FATHERS AND MOTHERS of the boys and girls who are or will be affected by the situation in our colleges. When Doughton, [Harry P.] Grier & company hear from them they will sit up and take notice. I believe the time has come for us to fight—to take the offensive and carry this fight to the people and find out if they are really serious in their assertions of interest in education. We have allowed the educational and financial viewpoint of Alleghany County to dominate the State long enough. The State is bigger than Alleghany County.[52]

The campaign's newspaper advertisements began appearing immediately after Christmas, when newspapers were eager to sell space no longer claimed by merchants pushing their holiday offerings. The first full-page ad appeared in thirty-four newspapers and focused on the number of students who had been unable to gain admission in all of the state's colleges. There were 9,500 students enrolled in private and public institutions, but another 2,308 had been denied admission due to lack of space. The detailed accounting by

school was offered in rebuttal to those who had challenged an earlier report about overcrowding.

"North Carolina Stands Today Educationally Bankrupt," read the headline at the top of pages that appeared in papers from the coast to the mountains. "Can Red-Blooded North Carolinians Remain Inactive in the Face of Such a Crisis and Still Boast Patriotism?" it continued. It was too late for the 30 percent of the state's white men deemed too illiterate to serve in the military, "but what of their children? Do we owe nothing to them, for the sake of the past?" It was stern stuff with just the kind of language that Senator Gray wanted to avoid. On the following day, the *Greensboro Daily News* reported that the campaign was seeking $5 million for the university—the largest single amount devoted to an institution.[53]

Chase was emboldened by news in late November that the university was to receive up to $50,000 from the General Education Board (GEB). This grant was part of $50 million that John D. Rockefeller had set aside to improve faculty compensation and encourage young teachers interested in higher education.[54] Chase told the GEB's Wallace Buttrick the "gift has come in just the right time and in just the right way not only to strengthen tremendously the morale of the faculty, but to be of real assistance to use in our campaign for permanent relief."[55] The university was only one of two tax-supported schools to receive GEB help, and the check was confirmation of what Chase had been saying about the university's ranking among its peers. The GEB grant allowed Chase to award raises of 25 percent, retroactive to the first of July. For Chase to keep salaries at that level, he would need to have a boost of at least that much in the maintenance budget before the legislature.

The prospects for any great leap forward looked dim. North Carolina's textile mills and furniture factories were still suffering from a lack of customers for their manufactured goods. Looms were quiet from Gastonia to Rocky Mount. Those plants that were resuming operation were paying less in wages than they had before the war. Instead of taking back all workers furloughed in the recession, plants were requiring workers who returned to be on the job for sixty hours a week, five hours more per week than before. Furniture plants in High Point had been closed for weeks. Cotton and tobacco prices were so low that farmers were looking for storage to hold their yields for a better day. People were still talking about the high cost of living that had seen the price of butter and eggs double. Just before Christmas, Wall Street was at its lowest point in four years.[56]

It seemed like everyone in Raleigh was talking about "living within our means," yet as soon as Frank Graham finished grading the final examinations for his students in history he caught a train out of Chapel Hill and headed to Greensboro to huddle with Alf Scales. From there he planned to attend alumni meetings from Lenoir to Kinston, a sweep of towns covering half the state. "[The trip] has for its object nothing less than taking the educational gospel straight to the people," Graham told Scales. He prepared for it as if he were about to take a squad of marines over the top in France.[57]

Chase was still taking the measure of the man who on January 12, 1921, would succeed Governor Bickett. The outgoing governor was a Wake Forest College graduate who had turned champion of higher education for all. Governor-elect Cameron Morrison was a lawyer from Charlotte who had not been the favorite of the university crowd earlier in the year when he had defeated Lieutenant Governor O. Max Gardner in a bitter primary election that was rife with skullduggery. R. D. W. Connor had dug into the state archives and thumbed through dusty newspapers in an attempt to prove Morrison had once been a Republican, like his father. Gardner had asked for the research, saying it would clinch his nomination. Gardner had not counted on a campaign that reminded voters he had supported woman's suffrage, which extended the vote to African American women just as it did to white women. Democrats also were not sure what impact the extension of woman's suffrage might have on the restrictions placed on African American men under the 1900 constitutional amendment.[58]

The president was starting his courtship with Morrison from scratch. With Bickett, he at least had someone with the memory of a football game or two between in-state rivals, and Bickett did have a law degree from the university. Morrison had never enrolled in college, and he got his law license in 1892 after reading law for a year with a practitioner in Greensboro. He came from humble birth and was modestly educated. Fifty thousand campaign posters touted his slogan: "From the Plowhandle to the Mansion." Morrison was a teetotaler and preferred to chew his tobacco rather than smoke it. Further, he believed a man without religion was no man at all. He harbored disdain for reformers, and his alliance with Senator Furnifold McLendel Simmons, conservative to the core, was a matter of concern for the friends of the university. A few weeks after Morrison was elected, Chase invited him to visit the campus to "see at first hand the conditions that exist here." There is no indication that Morrison ever made the trip.[59]

Chase and others discovered on inauguration day that perhaps their fears were misplaced. The governor gave a rousing endorsement for improvements in higher education. He put the priorities of the citizens campaign—money for state institutions—ahead of his own massive road-building program. He spoke of providing for the "grand army" of young men and women leaving the state's high schools. "It will be a badge of shame and degradation," he said, "if the higher institutions of learning are not promptly made adequate for the demands which the success of our effort to educate all the people have so rapidly made upon these institutions."[60] There is a good chance that the governor's closest advisor, a Charlotte lawyer named Heriot Clarkson, had something to do with Morrison's support for the colleges. Clarkson's son Francis was one of the people organizing civic organizations on behalf of the campaign.

As train whistles screamed, bands played, and guns roared at Morrison's inauguration, the State Budget Commission released its report. The final document was as severe as Chase and others had been told to expect. The commission recommended only $5 million for capital improvements at state institutions, not the $20 million the commission said had been requested. The university's bid for $5.6 million to pay for new buildings and the upfitting of old ones was pared to $1 million. That was only $350,000 more than what the commission had approved in pensions for Confederate soldiers and their widows. A few days later, the house appropriations committee passed resolutions declaring that the state should live within its means.[61]

Chase attended the inauguration, then motored back to Chapel Hill in his new automobile. From his office in the Alumni Building, North Carolina must have looked like two separate universes. In Raleigh, there appeared to be no hope for the vision of an enlarged and expanded campus. The governor had had his say, but it appeared that the old men chairing the legislative money committees were not listening. Meanwhile, out in the provinces, he was hearing a different story. Beginning in the days after Christmas, North Carolinians had been turning out to hear speakers talk about the great need of the state's institutions. The movement continued through January, and there was no one busier than Frank Graham. It is quite likely that if Chase had not lured him back to the campus, the citizens campaign would never have begun, nor would it have been executed with such enthusiasm. Nonetheless, Chase worried about backlash in the General Assembly, according to Graham, who later recalled, "At one time Chase suggested we settle for less.

When he found out that we couldn't call these people off and we couldn't lower the objectives he was fine enough to stand for the whole thing."

Graham brought unbounded enthusiasm and tireless energy to the effort. His name was a constant reminder of his beloved cousin, and his speeches in behalf of the university were laced with biblical references and images of greatness that lay just ahead. When classes began in early January, Graham put his students on notice that he would not always be available. On some days, he rushed from class to catch a ride to some city to meet another speaking engagement. "I had a little meeting [with my students]," Graham recalled. "I said some times I can not meet you. But, I have to have an understanding that you will do more work when I am not here. We didn't say conceal it, but we didn't boot it abroad. Those boys ran my class in order to let teacher be away some time. There wasn't a week I didn't meet with them. But when we'd meet, I'd then run and grab the bus."[62]

The campaign organizers wanted Graham stationed in Raleigh, but he dismissed that idea. Rather, he said, he needed to carry the campaign to civic clubs in the cities and to farmers and rural folk gathered around the back of flatbed trucks commissioned as speaking platforms. Forty years later he still remembered farmers and mill workers arriving in Model Ts and horse-drawn wagons at the courthouse in Wentworth, where a former student and future governor, Luther Hartwell Hodges, had organized one of the largest rallies of the campaign. Graham coordinated contacts with the North Carolina Federation of Women's Clubs (which had its own Raleigh office), chambers of commerce, the State Association of Parent-Teacher Associations, the Junior Order of United American Mechanics, the Scottish Rite Masons, Rotary clubs, Lions clubs, Kiwanis clubs, and alumni groups across the state.

In a letter to alumni that went out in early February, Graham was identified as the chairman of the campaign's central committee. It was a title he vigorously resisted. Yet somehow everything seemed to flow through his hands despite his frantic travel schedule. The alumni letter asked friends of the university to bury the capitol with their letters, and Graham directed the postal assault on Doughton, McCoin, the governor, and committee chairs. "Letter writing is the thing," Graham said, "They are listening in Raleigh for news from the folks at home. Every letter is a high explosive shell. Every story is a ton of bricks for new dormitories for the boys and girls 'crowded in and crowded out' of the colleges of North Carolina. Shell the woods and let the bricks fly for youth and the commonwealth."[63]

It had been many years since a legislative session had equaled the one in 1921. A new governor always had a few programs to launch, and there was plenty of housekeeping to be done in state government. The first session of the 1920s, however, was something different. Occupying much of the attention was the governor's road program. Morrison wanted a statewide network of paved highways to replace the patchwork of dirt roads that were difficult to manage in good weather and impossible otherwise. If Morrison had driven an automobile from Charlotte to Raleigh for his inauguration, rather than travel by train, it would have taken him seven or eight hours to cover the 180 miles. His plan was popular with the 140,000 car owners in the state—up from a little more than 11,000 before the war—but paved roads had to be paid for. Morrison began talking about 3,000 miles of hard-surfaced roads financed with the sale of $75 million in bonds, a figure beyond the comprehension of many in Raleigh. For Morrison it was large enough to convince the Republican minority, a sizable block of forty members, that there might be some left over to pave roads in their districts, too.[64]

Crowding in on the maneuvering over the governor's road program was the North Carolina Federation of Women's Clubs and its agenda of social legislation. The women wanted a reform school for African American boys, which had the governor's endorsement, and the Australian ballot, which got nowhere. It was their campaign to censor the content of motion pictures that would tie up the session until the closing day. Legislators debated divorce laws proposed by the first woman seated in the General Assembly. She was Representative Lillian Exum Clement from Asheville, and her bill would allow a wife to shed her husband after he had deserted the family for five years instead of ten. With their fields frozen in winter, hundreds of farmers swarmed around the State Capitol in mid-February to protest high land valuations. They even outnumbered the crowd of lobbyists hanging on the rail in the rotunda after the state's cotton mill men came seeking relief from James B. Duke's Southern Power Company. The company had trashed existing contracts for power rates and substituted higher charges in their place. The mill men wanted legislation to hold the rate increases at bay. And then there was the program of higher education and state institutions.

Members of the General Assembly were paid, albeit nominally, for sixty days of work. The session was nearing its end in the last week in February when all of the work of Scales, Graham, the institution presidents, and civic boosters from across the state came to a head. Graham had been in and out

of Raleigh, where he worked to keep the governor's attention on the bill for $20 million in bonds for state institutions. Morrison wavered from time to time, Graham later recalled, when some of the insiders tried to convince him that such a measure would sink the Democratic Party. Doughton warned the governor that Republican legislators would double-cross him at the next election.[65]

Graham and Scales had done their homework, however, and gathered endorsements from every conceivable corner, including from Republicans. They had the public support of former U.S. senator Marion Butler and Lincolnton's Charles Andrew Jonas, who had served in both the state house and the state senate. They were counting on Republicans joining with a sizable contingent of Democrats unwilling to accept the status quo. The *Greensboro Daily News*'s W. T. Bost counted about three dozen "insurgents." Indeed, the two chambers had a younger look. Fifty of the 170 members were not over the age of thirty-five. The *Biblical Recorder* opined that too many legislators were "inexperienced and . . . disposed to be ultra-progressive." (When the roll was called, however, the young legislators were no more likely to be of one opinion than their older colleagues.)[66]

"They are talking great construction in roads and schools. The youngsters like that, but the oldsters tell the youngsters that it all means ruin to the party," Bost wrote. "Every damradical who is asking to build state highways and to extend institutions is a dangerous man, the youngsters are told; but the trouble with these juvenile insurgents is that they think roads and schools are both good and it is impossible to turn these hotbloods against either or both just because the Republicans seem to favor more of them than do the old guarders."[67]

Two days after the governor's road bill was guaranteed passage in the house in mid-February, the chambers of commerce began promoting special trains hired to carry hundreds of supporters of the education bonds to Raleigh. Pullmans and day coaches formed up in Greensboro, where the locals had embraced all of their institutions, including A&T. At an earlier legislative hearing on appropriations, prominent white businessmen endorsed the school's training program for African Americans and along with A&T president James Benson Dudley urged legislators to reinstate the meager $20,000 for annual operations. Berry O'Kelly, a wealthy African American from Wake County, told the committee, "You white folks says these things about us negroes, and then forgits us."[68]

The appearance of supporters for the education bonds was choreographed with visitors filling the house chamber for a joint meeting of the appropriations committee and two hours of "artistic begging." Near the top of the bill was Mrs. Charles C. Hook, the president of the North Carolina Federation of Women's Clubs. She had a son studying at Chapel Hill who lived in a dorm room with beds stacked high. "We women are tired of being ashamed of North Carolina," she said. "We don't expect the luxuries or even the comforts of great wealth there, but gentlemen, we do expect it to be decent and it is a disgrace there now. I have been in those rooms and have seen them." She closed with a recollection of Ed Graham that drew two full minutes of applause.

She was followed by a Wilmington man who said he did not fear using bonds sales to finance state operations. It was cheaper than illiteracy, he said. An Asheville Republican endorsed the bonds, and even complimented President Wilson, which left the assembly sitting in stunned silence. Speakers followed from Elizabeth City, from Charlotte, from Greensboro, and from Rocky Mount. Stahle Linn of Salisbury commended the Rockefeller foundations for their money but said the state should do its share as well. At the conclusion, Scales declared, "This is the case for the children and the helpless of North Carolina."[69]

The campaign had been flawless. The state had never seen such an uprising of average citizens who had come together so quickly behind a common cause. Earlier rallies around education had been directed from the top down, with a political figure in the lead. This time, the people were ahead of their political leaders, who eventually came on board. The effort that had brought out people to rallies at the courthouses, had filled meeting rooms of civic clubs, and had drawn attention to real needs in state institutions was not quite enough, however. A few days after the crowds filled the state house chamber, a bill authorizing the $20 million in bonds came to the floor of the senate, as a substitute for the Budget Commission's recommendation of one-fourth that amount. It was debated for more than three hours, until past midnight, as the legislature rolled to its conclusion. In the end, there was not enough momentum. The bill failed by one vote.

Supporters had leverage to bring it back for reconsideration, but a few days before the session closed for the year, the university's supporters negotiated a settlement. They would end their fight for $20 million if the State Budget Commission's recommendation for a two-year appropriation were increased

to $5.6 million for all state institutions and another $1 million were added to meet the pressing needs at Chapel Hill, NCCW, A&E, and the mental hospital at Morganton.[70] All in all, the university's operating budget was twice what it had been and Chase would have nearly $1.5 million to spend on new buildings, which was about all that he could manage at that time. One of the persuading arguments against the larger number was resistance to spending a future legislature's money. The campaign's leaders were placated by a gentlemen's agreement that more money would be forthcoming two years later if legislators found that the money had been well spent.[71]

The effort was ultimately hailed as a success. The institutions had not received all they had asked for, but the campaign had turned a standpat legislature into something quite different. Altogether, the appropriation for education amounted to more than $10 million, when the boost for capital construction was included. "Editorial rooms, particularly of the sectarian press, will bristle with denunciations over the body's extravagance," wrote W. T. Bost. "The big appropriations for 'secular' education will inevitably frighten good people who see their state headed in the direction of Germany. The liberal allowances to the elementary schools and the generous treatment of negro institutions will hardly compose genuinely alarmed religionists. They have seen their beloved state run the gamut." The General Assembly "organized the machinery for spending more money than North Carolina has disbursed for roads, schools, and other institutions, all told, since the Revolutionary War."[72]

Sitting at his desk in Chapel Hill, where he had remained throughout the frantic organizing, letter writing, and speech making of the past two months, Chase had to be pleased. At the outset, Frank Graham had worried about the president's commitment, and even heard complaints that he was a "wet blanket" when called upon to speak on one occasion in Greensboro. Louis Wilson had been surprised at the reticence of Chase and Julian Foust to go beyond the political norms and challenge the political powers in Raleigh, and one observer later wrote of Chase that "there was little or nothing of a crusader in his spirit."[73] Yet nothing in Chase's files suggests any wavering in his commitment or his enthusiasm for the effort. The more likely answer to the criticism is that Chase had been thrust into a public arena where all of his earlier reference points as an academic were useless. He was learning that a president was not just an educator. Rather, he was a promoter, a businessman, and a money raiser, and in the case of a state institution, a politician. While

Ed Graham had been a natural in speaking to all manner of audiences, Chase was not.

No single person or organization claimed credit for the university's relative good fortune. In a recap of the campaign published in the *Alumni Review*, Graham spread the names of hundreds of workers throughout his account. He refused to claim any special credit and even referred to the campaign coordinator (his role) in the third person.[74] Chase was equally humble, and eager to move on. He now had money to begin what would become the twentieth-century campus of the university as it spread into the sloping forest glade beyond South Building. On the first day of this new era, Chase wrote a prospective faculty member of the university's good fortune: "I believe that the future of the university is perfectly safe, and that we can go ahead through a period of rapid expansion."[75]

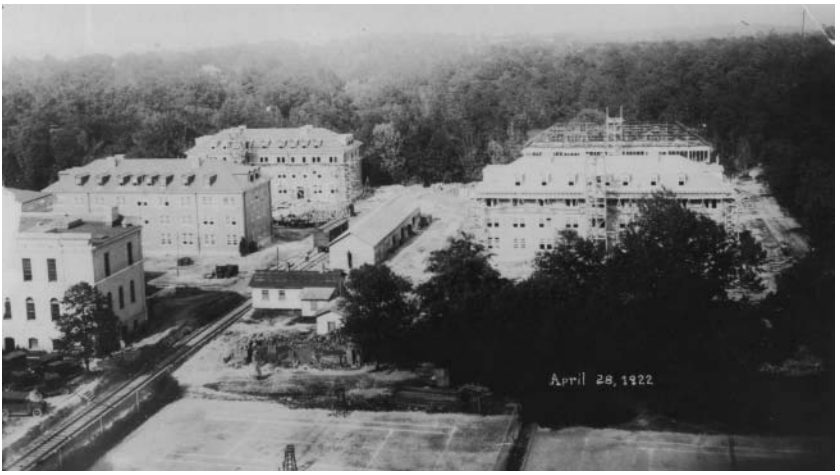
CHAPTER TWELVE

Building a University

FROM HIS OFFICE IN the Alumni Building, President Harry W. Chase could take a walk outside and look in any direction for a lesson in architecture. To the west, at the edge of Franklin Street, were the Tudor gables of the Battle-Vance-Pettigrew Dormitory. Directly to the north was a deteriorating brick and frame structure that was generously called the University Inn. To the south were antebellum structures in unadorned Federal styles (Old East, Old West, and South Building). The Alumni Building itself, an architect's nod to the Boston Public Library, was opposite the solid-looking Carnegie Library with its mansard roof. Nearby was the compact one-story brick Person Hall. Despite Person's noble history as the campus chapel for forty years, some now called it an eyesore. Such was the product of the university's one-at-a-time building program of the past hundred-plus years.[1]

Once the 1921 General Assembly had finished its work, browbeaten into a generous appropriation by a citizens uprising on behalf of state institutions, Chase had before him an unprecedented opportunity to move forward with building an entirely new campus and not simply fill in blank spaces as his predecessors had done when opportunities arose. In the coming months, Chase's desk would be piled with the blueprints of three classroom buildings, four dormitories, eight faculty houses, improvements to campus infrastructure, and renovations to Memorial Hall. His academic chores would be complemented by the vagaries of building crews and even the extraordinary construction of a short-line railroad to deliver building materials to the construction site on the university's new South Campus.

Trustee J. Bryan Grimes had been arguing for expanding the campus into the undeveloped southern acreage since before the war. Botanist William C.



Dormitories under construction in 1922.

Coker, the faculty member most involved in improving buildings and grounds, explored the property and recruited landscape architect John Nolen for plans that were first presented to Ed Graham. The property south of South Building was the most logical area in which to grow the campus. There was ample space—more than five hundred acres—on which to erect new structures and create a pleasing parklike environment without disrupting the familiar pattern of the existing campus. Accordingly, southern expansion began in 1919 when the trustees authorized planning for future development of the campus. The first building would be the Steele Dormitory. It opened in 1921, and its red-brick Georgian style served as the guide for future buildings in the quadrangle now known as Polk Place.

Building Steele had been a headache for Chase. The state office in Raleigh that managed building design and construction had introduced delays in construction that cost the university real money during a time of rising prices. Now the university was free from such aggravating oversight. The State Building Commission had been abolished in the closing hours of the 1921 General Assembly. Chase now only had to answer to members of the trustees building committee, who shared Chase's urgency to make good on their promises to the legislature.

There was no time to waste; Chase had two years to spend the $1.5 million given to the university or lose any hope of more funding. Within six weeks of the legislature's adjournment in March 1921, the trustees building committee

had selected Thomas Clark Atwood of Durham to supervise the project for the university. A few weeks later, they selected T. C. Thompson and Brothers, a Charlotte construction company, as the contractor for the $1.1 million building program. There were complaints over the university's selection of one company to handle the entire project. It had not been tried before in North Carolina, but the building committee was convinced that awarding separate contracts for each new building would create confusion on campus and produce delays.[2] With one firm responsible for all of the work, from erecting faculty houses to building four-story dormitories, the teams of carpenters, masons, plumbers, and electricians could be more efficiently shifted from one work site to another.[3] Thompson's first task was to build housing for the initial two hundred workers, one dormitory for whites and another for African Americans, and then recruit men for the jobs.

Atwood moved his office into the Alumni Building just steps away from Chase and Chase's closest assistant in the enterprise, business manager Charles T. Woollen. It would be Woollen's job to audit the bills and keep everyone paid. Both men relied on Atwood's reputation as an engineer and his record of managing massive projects. His portfolio included the massive Yale Bowl in New Haven, and he had been one of the men in charge of construction of a sprawling wartime embarkation camp at Camp Merritt, New Jersey. When the university hired him, he was chief engineer for the Durham Hosiery Mills. Atwood's team included architect Hardman Philips Alan Montgomery of New York, draftsmen, a waterworks engineer, inspectors, and clerks. A year later, New York architect Arthur Cleveland Nash replaced Montgomery on the team. Nash and Atwood would remain the university's building team for the ensuing twenty years and reshape the campus.[4]

The staging of the work depended on two important factors—finding enough laborers and getting materials to the work sites. Chapel Hill's remote location proved a challenge for the massive undertaking that lay ahead. Not only was there not enough local labor, but there was no efficient way to get the mountain of heavy building materials—steel beams, bricks, lumber—to the campus. With the nearest railhead in Carrboro, carrying building materials by truck or wagon the last mile or so to the campus was considered expensive and impractical. The answer was a $73,000 rail spur that was built by convict labor along a route from Carrboro that swung south of Franklin Street and crossed Pittsboro Street about two hundred yards south of the stone columns of the university's west entrance. The line terminated on the

east side of campus near Raleigh Road at the building site for the new dormitories. After these buildings were completed, the rails were removed to a new terminus near the center of the proposed campus mall.[5] The Chapel Hill Limited, as it was called, made daily trips through the neighborhood, along a route that ran close to houses whose owners complained to Chase that construction on the line cracked plaster in their homes or that cinders and smoke from the passing train made life unbearable.[6] Some in town had hopes that once the Limited had finished its service as a supply train the track would be taken over by Southern Railway, which would open a station in Chapel Hill.[7]

Atwood started with the lighter work. Eight houses for faculty members came first. While plans were being drawn for the four dormitories to rise on the student athletic fields just east of the campus near Raleigh Road, which was then little more than a rutted alley, workers also turned to the renovations of Memorial Hall. The overhaul included improving the acoustics by laying sound-absorbing cork on the wooden floors and padding the high, vaulted ceiling with one-inch-thick hair felt covered with burlap. Electric lighting was added, and when the building reopened in the fall it would have heat, making it suitable for use year-round.[8]

Most of the building sites were already designated in a plan produced by an Atlanta firm specializing in development of educational institutions.[9] It called for a mall extending from South Building to be flanked with buildings sited in stair-step fashion, one slightly taller that the one just above, along the east and west sides. The mall would end at an anchor building near the bottom of the hill. At the midpoint, quadrangles created by classroom buildings would extend east and west to create a Maltese cross design. The first of these was on the east side and would become the sites for Saunders and Murphey Halls, with Manning Hall, the new home for the law school, closing its eastern end. South Building would be gutted and rebuilt to become the central administration building, freeing the Alumni Building for instructional use. The new classroom buildings would have space for faculty offices, and Howard Odum was already preparing to occupy an entire floor of Saunders.[10] While most of this plan, designed in consultation with the New York firm of McKim, Mead, and White, was adopted, some portions were not. For example, Carnegie Library was to be demolished and replaced with a larger building. Instead, it was converted to other use. The planners also envisioned pergolas and vine-draped colonnades linking the buildings. Chase never found money for these enhancements.

For Chase, the entire project had "something of the romance of pioneering" about it.[11] He was creating a new campus for the university while bringing order to an old one. Instead of buildings with different functions sitting side by side—a dormitory across from a classroom building, for example—the design created zones for buildings of similar purpose, a proposition promoted by John Manning Booker, a member of the English department who had joined William Coker on the faculty building committee. The mall buildings would be exclusively for instruction, while the dormitories and noninstructional facilities, such as athletic fields and the gymnasium, were positioned on the perimeter. Eventually, the anchor spot at the south end of the new mall was reserved for a new library. When word reached former president Francis Venable of plans to repurpose the library built with Andrew Carnegie's money, he complained that this violated the university's agreement with the philanthropist. "My words mean more to me than a piece of paper," Venable wrote Louis Wilson. "Not one cent would he give to any other kind of building."[12]

Chase was nervous as the work began. The state's economy remained weak, with farm prices depressed and factory wages low. Conditions in the eastern part of the state, totally dependent on farming, were said to be as dire as at any time in the past fifty years. Farmers had plenty of corn from their fields, fish from their streams, and ham from their hogs with which to sustain their families, but money was in short supply and the year's harvest (of cotton and tobacco mostly) did not promise to bring significant relief. Chase was mindful of hard times when he discouraged the trustees visiting committee from raising his salary to $8,500 a year, but they did it anyway at their June 1921 meeting. His pay looked almost princely to farmers, merchants, and bankers suffering from past-due accounts.[13]

Reports of an upended economy and smoldering resentment over the legislature's generosity for road building and state institutions reached Chase, and he worried about the consequences of a special legislative session being requested by cities and towns that were struggling with restrictive tax arrangements passed by the General Assembly. He asked several trustees to sample sentiment in their communities and let him know what they heard. He was relieved when Governor Morrison and the council of state set the special session for December. By that time construction at the university and a host of other institutions, not to mention the governor's own road program, would be too far along to be disturbed.[14]

In late July, Chase wrote Morrison to recommend what the president called a "state building conference" in Chapel Hill for some time in the fall. In his letter, Chase said, "It seems to me that the State, at present, so far as public opinion is concerned, is neither clear as to its own situation financially, socially, educationally, in health, welfare, and so on, nor is there any common agreement among thinking people as to a constructive programme which will bring the State over its present depression into more assured prosperity."[15]

Chase was finding it difficult to establish a connection with Morrison, and his letter shows a naïveté about the habits of politicians like him. The governor was not about to host a platform for people to express their dissatisfactions. For Chase, Morrison remained an unknown, unlike his predecessor Thomas W. Bickett, with whom Chase seemed to bond immediately. In fact, Chase was considering asking Bickett to replace law school dean Lucius McGehee, who was talking about retirement.[16] There is no indication Morrison ever responded to Chase's idea for a conference on the state's state of mind, and he did not attend Howard Odum's conference of state and local officials in September.[17] Governor Morrison also was absent from the annual University Day ceremonies, where Chase used the occasion to demonstrate construction progress with the laying of a cornerstone for the first of the four dormitories.

The opening of the 1921–22 academic year got off to a stumbling start. Four months of hot, dry weather in Chapel Hill had reduced the university's main water supply, Strowd's Creek, to "a mere branch." It was a telling example of the university's weak infrastructure. Hydrangeas, lilies, and evergreens in the arboretum were dead, and even old trees with deep roots were showing stress. The grass on the athletic field was brown. On the advice of the local health authorities, Chase asked students to delay arriving on campus before October 4, when a temporary six-inch line extending to Morgan's Creek was due to be ready for use.[18]

The burden of making good on the appropriations won from the legislature was much on the president's mind as the campus came to life. When students finally gathered in the first week in October for opening day, the renovations of Memorial Hall were a tangible demonstration of what the university had been given. Chase spoke to the students of their responsibility to use wisely the resources found on the campus and not to squander the freedom from home and family attachments that many of them were enjoying for the first time. Then, a few days later, speaking at University Day, Chase gave

notice to an audience of alumni and students: "To the faith which the State has shown in this, her University, deeds, not words, are the only real response. But I would say just this: It is our firm determination that, God helping us, we shall be worthy of this trust."[19]

More than sixteen hundred students were enrolled for the fall term, and that number increased by about another hundred in January 1922 with the start of the winter term. Rising enrollment was now a fact of life as the state's high schools began graduating more and more students who were seeking a college education. Clearly, if the trend continued, and there was no evidence it would not, the university would have to grow with it or risk once again turning away students. In the spring of 1922, John Booker presented an outline for expansion of the physical plant offering locations for sixteen more buildings—in addition to the seven larger ones provided for under the 1921 appropriation—that would be needed if the university was to serve the three thousand students that Chase had been asked to plan for in 1920. By Booker's estimate, the sixteen additional buildings would be needed within a few years.20 If they all were erected, the result would be a campus footprint two to three times its present size. Another measure of the growth during the previous thirty-six years was the increase in faculty members. After Chase announced in 1922 the names of twenty-eight new faculty members, the *Alumni Review* reported that that number was three times, plus one, the size of the entire faculty in 1886.[21]

Familiar features of the once small, cozy campus were passing away, and the new highway to Durham meant more cars, and people, in Chapel Hill. New regulations and traffic ordinances were enacted, but not before Chase consoled a father whose daughter was struck and killed by a car on a rainy night.[22] A few months later, three students returning to Chapel Hill from Raleigh were killed when their car collided with a train at a rail crossing near East Durham.[23] (Chase himself had once received a summons for speeding in Durham County. He protested, demanded evidence of his offense, and was allowed to pay court costs of $3.25. "I am sure it was not your intention to exceed the speed limit," Justice of the Peace P. C. Graham wrote the president.)[24]

More people on the streets of the town and on the campus created concerns about public health and essential services. The university continued to produce electricity for a service grid extending across the campus and into the town of Chapel Hill. The campus generators could not meet demand,

and purchases of additional power from the Southern Power Company rose by 50 percent from 1921 to 1922.[25] New health regulations were imposed in January 1922 on dairies, restaurants, and boardinghouses in order to prevent outbreaks of food-borne illness. Off-campus eateries had responded to the demand from the campus and were feeding so many students that the trustees postponed some of the improvements at Swain Hall. The money saved was used to outfit the new classroom buildings.[26] Charles Woollen also was eager to finish construction of a new laundry, which was part of the construction program. He hoped the sanitary conditions would reduce the incidence of bedbugs and other pests that he said were carried onto the campus from the hand laundries in the village.[27]

Unfortunately, with all the renewed interest in building a modern campus, the university was no closer to having the memorial to Ed Graham. The initial campaign had produced pledges from alumni of about $120,000. But only half of those had been paid. Even if the balance of the pledges was good for cash, and the assumption was that it was not, due to the depressed economy, the total was $30,000 short of the amount needed. Trustee W. N. Everett, a Rockingham businessman, warned Chase against allowing construction to begin without all the money in hand. "Conditions have changed so much in the State since these subscriptions have been made. I think they will do well to realize one half of the amount," he wrote. Everett believed the building would sit unfinished for years and become a blight on the campus.[28]

Even at this late date, no one seemed to know where to put the building. A spot on Cameron Avenue near the dining hall was suggested. John Nolen had proposed a student center as the southern anchor of the new mall. Finally, in the early spring of 1922, the trustees decided on the site of the University Inn. The main section of the inn had burned to the ground on November 30, 1921, displacing forty-two students who were living there.[29] Chase and the trustees decided against seeking compensation from the legislature for the dilapidated building. "I reported it to the executive committee of the trustees the other day as a loss," Chase wrote to a colleague, "and they objected to the use of the word 'loss.'"[30]

Putting Graham Memorial at the edge of campus, on a site set back from Franklin Street with appropriate landscaping, suited Chase. He was eager to improve the appearance of what amounted to the university's front lawn. There was talk among the trustees about acquiring as much of the Franklin Street frontage as possible, and the university negotiated the purchase of

land owned by the Chapel Hill Methodists that encroached on the campus interior. These parcels were near the proposed site of a $150,000 church and education building planned for Franklin Street.[31] There seemed little Chase could do about the incongruous Battle-Vance-Pettigrew Dormitory. He confided to one trustee that "perhaps some day some kind friend will give us money enough to tear down this set of buildings."[32] No one was tearing down buildings, even lowly Person Hall, and Chase had become one of the leading conservators of South Building, even in its weakened condition. He was mindful of an earlier warning that "who ever undertook to tear it down would become an out-cast from the Alumni."[33]

Chase and the university also were pleased that after years of talk there was some real movement among the alumni toward the construction of a first-class hotel. John Sprunt Hill had acquired the Graves property across from the university's west entrance, and in 1922 he offered to donate it along with $10,000 if other alumni would contribute to the cost of construction. He challenged a thousand to fifteen hundred alumni to put up $100 each for a "commercial" quality hotel whose profits would go to the university. The Durham banker may have been encouraged to move ahead after Chase alerted him that a Chapel Hill businessman wanted to build a smaller hotel on Franklin Street. Chase thought those plans inadequate. "I do not see how it would materially relieve our problem," he told Hill, "as there would be no particular incentive for people to come here and stay for considerable periods, or for the tourist trade which will arise with the road going through here."[34] Hill never found the financial investors he hoped for, so he went ahead on his own.

All in all, by the end of 1922 Chase's concentrated efforts had finally given substance to his ambition of building a bona fide university. A better grade of students was enrolling after the university joined with other members of the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools to require more units of high school work from entering freshmen. Even though that meant 45 applicants failed to qualify for admission for the 1922 fall term, there were 427 more first-year students on campus than in the fall two years earlier. The law school curriculum had been upgraded to three years of study for a degree, along with new requirements for admission. The days of entering the law school with nothing more than a high school diploma were numbered. The trustees had approved the creation of a school of engineering by combining the Departments of Civil Engineering and Electrical Engineering. Chase also

had reorganized the university administration, giving deans more authority to manage departmental affairs without bringing internal matters to the general faculty. And finally, in late 1922, five years of legal challenges over the Mary Lily Kenan Flagler Bingham gift were concluded and the university's claim to an annual income from the estate of $75,000 was cleared by the courts.

"The history of the last two years thus indicates," Chase reported to the trustees in December 1922, "a sure and steady growth toward the realization of the conception which the University has set for itself: that of the really great State University, in all the full and rich sense which this term is coming to have in the life of modern democratic America." His claim was confirmed by the university's admission to the Association of American Universities, a group of the leading institutions in the nation. Accepted into membership in 1922, the recognition was an important honor. The university joined great private institutions like Yale, Harvard, Columbia, and Johns Hopkins. The University of Virginia had been one of the association's founders, but Chapel Hill was the first university in the South to be voted into membership.[35]

Chase was struggling in the fall of 1922, as he prepared the budget he planned to present to the General Assembly when it convened in January 1923. He confided to W. N. Everett that even with all the money spent on construction the university was losing ground, except in what it had done to relieve cramped housing for students. "I do not believe that any of us have yet begun to realize what a big and difficult job it is to make this place over into a real university. I confess that I have been very depressed by the magnitude of the things it seemed to me essential to do these next two years."[36]

Old and New East, Old and New West, and South Building required repairs immediately, and new buildings were needed to house the Department of Chemistry, which had run out of laboratory space, and the Department of Geology, which also was crowded into inadequate quarters. He wanted a women's dormitory and more facilities for recreation and athletics. Increased enrollment—up from a total of 1,547 during the 1920–21 academic year to 1,901 in the fall of 1922—meant the university must hire more faculty members. In the same period, summer enrollment for credit work had increased from 437 to 682.[37] He advised Everett that seven new teachers were needed immediately to meet the demand for Spanish and French instruction. "You can see something of what the complexity of this thing is going to be," he told him.[38] Particularly vexing for Chase was how to accommodate all of these

demands with the instructions given by the trustees executive committee in June to expand medical education at the university, an expensive undertaking that Chase feared might overwhelm his other requests.

The university had begun training doctors in 1879, but the program ceased in 1885. The university reopened the medical school in 1890 with a one-year curriculum, which expanded to two years in 1896. The university's remote location inhibited any meaningful clinical study, so President Venable had opened a satellite department in Raleigh in 1902 under a separate dean. The University of North Carolina Medical Department at Raleigh was education on the cheap and provided the means for students to complete their medical studies without having to transfer elsewhere for their final two years of training. The faculty was composed of local physicians who combined their instructional duties with their regular practices and collected a modest tuition from students for their trouble. It was not Johns Hopkins, but at least students in Raleigh could learn alongside experienced doctors as they treated patients at the city's Rex and St. Agnes Hospitals, the state's Dorothea Dix Hospital, and the Raleigh Dispensary.[39] In Chapel Hill, the only clinical exposure was with ailing students and townspeople who found their way to the campus infirmary.

President Venable closed the Raleigh department in 1910 just ahead of the release of a report on medical education being prepared by Abraham Flexner for the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. The Flexner Report, as it would come to be called, upended medical education in the United States by documenting deficiencies at a host of medical schools, particularly those with part-time faculty and limited facilities like the university's Raleigh department. Venable returned all medical education to Chapel Hill and saved the university's accreditation by the American Medical Association, which was deeply concerned by the shortcomings Flexner included in his report. Flexner's report and the threat to the university's medical school were of such moment that Venable overcame his reluctance to appeal directly to the legislature for money. He secured an unprecedented commitment of $50,000 a year for four years to pay for new buildings. Venable's top priority was the building for medical education that opened in 1912 and cost $50,000 to build and equip, consuming all of the first year's allotment. The building was named for the university's first president, Joseph Caldwell.[40]

For Chase, medical education at the university was yet another academic discipline that demanded adequate financial support if it were to succeed.

Medical school dean Isaac H. Manning had serious doubts about the future of the university's two-year program, whose graduates had to compete for slots in schools out of state in order to complete four years of training. It was not until after World War I, when people learned that doctors examining men for military duty had found so many unfit, that any general sympathy began to build for better health care. North Carolina was woefully short of both doctors and hospital beds, according to a report prepared by Manning, Chase, and Dr. Richard H. Lewis of Raleigh and submitted to the trustees executive committee on June 1, 1922.[41] With only 1 bed for every 761 residents, North Carolina ranked forty-fifth in the nation by that measure. As for physicians, the state had 1 doctor for every 1,600 citizens; the national average was 720 per physician. Manning argued that expansion of the medical school to four years would help the state retain the doctors it educated. And a teaching hospital on the campus in Chapel Hill would not only allow the medical school to offer four years of training, it would also continue the university's service to the state.[42] Twelve days later, the full board of trustees approved a request to the General Assembly to build a 200-bed teaching hospital in Chapel Hill as a memorial to men who had lost their lives in World War I.[43]

The discussion in Chapel Hill was being watched closely a dozen miles away on the campus of Trinity College. Trinity's president, William P. Few, had great ambitions for his institution, and establishing a medical school was one of them. Within walking distance of his campus was Watts Hospital, the only hospital in the state recently given an unconditional Class A rating by the American College of Surgeons.[44] Few and George Washington Watts, a Durham millionaire and benefactor of the hospital, had begun talking about a medical school at Trinity before World War I. They continued their conversations right up to Watts's death in March 1921. Watts's passing delayed Few's plans, but he was hopeful the dead man's former business partners, the brothers Benjamin Newton and James B. Duke, would take his place.

In mid-December 1922, Chase was sidelined by a bout of the flu that kept him in bed while the State Budget Commission was at work reducing the university's requested appropriations for the next two years. The medical school—which he had not included in his proposal—was much on his mind as he pondered the politics and the practicality of expansion. For the past four months he had been working with a committee authorized at the June trustee meeting to consider the location of the teaching hospital. Governor Morrison, the ex officio chair of the trustees, had delayed ap-

pointing the study committee for two months. When he finally made his appointments, Chase and Manning found out why. The governor had disapproved of the trustees' decision to ask for money to put the teaching hospital in Chapel Hill, preferring instead that it be located in his hometown of Charlotte.[45]

Charlotte physicians had operated a medical school in conjunction with Davidson College before it, too, was closed as a result of the deficiencies reported by Flexner. Now, Charlotte's doctors saw an opportunity to restore the school, so the city offered its Presbyterian Hospital, plus some financial aid, to sweeten the deal. Manning, however, was not impressed with what he found at Presbyterian, which had been opened in the buildings of a former Lutheran women's school, Elizabeth College. Later, he wrote, "It was not a modern hospital in any sense of the word and could never be converted into one and to my mind was undesirable, if not unfit for a teaching hospital."[46] Manning believed the committee should stick to the instructions of the trustees and not hold out any hope for another location, as Chase had done in order to get the governor to appoint the committee.

All in all, Chase was in a tough spot. He favored a four-year medical school with a teaching hospital at Chapel Hill, as did the dean and a majority of trustees. He wrote W. N. Everett that an off-campus medical school was a bad idea and despite doubts expressed by Flexner about Chapel Hill's remote location he believed that the medical school and the hospital belonged there. "If the University of Iowa [located in the town of Iowa City] can do it, we can do it."[47] His position left him at odds with the governor and his friends from Charlotte, but the most troubling dimension of the entire affair was the timing. Word from Raleigh was not encouraging, and Chase knew that if the legislature authorized the medical school expansion in its next session, this one appropriation could consume every dollar that he believed was needed for other projects. Moreover, the high expense—$750,000 for a hospital and $250,000 in annual operating expenses—would require large appropriations for years to come and there was no guarantee of ongoing support.

All of the authorities consulted by the committee—the American Medical Association, the Rockefeller-sponsored General Education Board (GEB), and the dean of Johns Hopkins—were clear that all four years should be on one campus, not divided between cities. "To comply with this universal advice," Isaac Manning later wrote, "the two-year school at the University would have to move to Charlotte (which was never contemplated [by the trustees])

or the idea of reopening the Charlotte Medical School would have to be abandoned."[48]

Yet, despite overwhelming evidence against a divided campus, the Charlotte members voted on December 16, at a Saturday meeting in the president's residence, for the medical school to expand with the last two years of training to take place on a campus in Charlotte. At the same time, Chase, Manning, and William MacNider from the medical faculty voted for the expansion to take place in Chapel Hill. Chase believed he had committee member W. N. Everett's vote in favor of Chapel Hill to produce a majority. Chase authorized a minority report from the Charlotte interests that would accompany his report to the full board of trustees at its meeting in just four days in Raleigh.[49]

When Trinity's Few learned of the trustees' action in June, he saw his chance for a medical school slipping away. Some of his intelligence on the university's plans may have come from John Sprunt Hill, who was regularly in Chase's office as a member of the trustees building committee. Hill was George Watts's son-in-law and had succeeded him as president of Watts Hospital, which remained part of Few's plan for Trinity. At least one member of Chase's committee, MacNider, had argued for expanding the campus to Durham and making use of Watts Hospital. That alarmed Few, who warned Benjamin Duke in early December that "with one of its most important departments in Durham and a hard-surface road making Chapel Hill almost a suburb of Durham the time might come when we might have to struggle for educational leadership in our own town."[50]

Few hurried to New York to meet with Duke and to refresh his relations with the GEB. He had begun talking with Flexner as early as 1916 about making Durham "a hospital, medical, and public health center."[51] Few called Chase immediately on his return to present an astonishing proposal. Rather than each institution competing to operate a four-year medical school, Few proposed one run jointly by the university and Trinity. Students would spend the first two years in Chapel Hill and then complete their studies with two years in Durham. Few's offer emboldened MacNider, who withdrew his vote for Chapel Hill. Chase was already inclined by MacNider's interest to consider Durham. He believed that the relative proximity of the two campuses mitigated the objections to a divided campus. The president called the governor on Tuesday, December 19, to tell him about Few's visit, and that evening Few was at the governor's mansion to meet with all but two members of the trustees' medical school site committee.[52]

Few's plan was bold and big. He proposed that the state and Trinity each put up $1 million to build the school. Trinity would also provide an endowment of $3 million for maintenance and support if the state would guarantee income from a comparable endowment, or provide an annual appropriation of about $150,000. Manning later recalled that Chase was "highly pleased" with the offer, and after Few left the meeting, the governor exclaimed, "Boys, they have got us! This is the most magnanimous thing that has ever been done in North Carolina."[53] It was nearly midnight when the meeting ended, but Morrison aroused reporters for the Raleigh and Greensboro papers and gave them the story, along with his own endorsement of Few's plan. The headline in the morning edition of the *News and Observer* read, "New Medical School Proposal Changes University's Plans." The paper also reported that Few told the committee that if the plan was not satisfactory to the state, then Trinity would go ahead on its own with money from the Dukes and Rockefeller.[54]

The news stories the next morning caught Few off guard, and he spent the next couple of days apologizing to the Dukes and to the GEB for bringing them into a public debate. He said he had not been indiscreet by bandying about their names, so it was probably Governor Morrison who revealed the sources of Trinity's money, since Few had left the mansion by the time the reporters arrived. Nonetheless, Few reported to Ben Duke that the governor and Chase were "enthusiastic about [the proposal], and every other thoughtful man I talked with. The *News and Observer* may oppose it, and there will probably be a good deal of splashing of the waters; but it looks now as if the plan might be approved all along the line."[55]

The trustees who gathered for a noon meeting in the governor's office were dumbfounded. Those in the know had been prepped to expect Chase to make his report, but then ask for postponement of any requests for at least two years. There was tacit approval of this strategy among the trustees and at the State Budget Commission. Instead, Few's bombshell left the trustees uncertain about what to do next. Finally, the wily old politician from the mountains, former lieutenant governor Rufus A. Doughton, caught the sense of the meeting and after more than two hours of discussion asked for a committee to study the proposal and report back in a month. When John J. Parker, Morrison's opponent for governor, offered a motion that the executive committee should do that work, Morrison took offense and accused Parker of insulting him in his own office. Morrison did not like the inference that he mishandled the appointment of the last committee. The governor calmed

down, and Parker dropped his request.[56] This time, however, the governor provided for broader statewide representation, adding Doughton from Alleghany County and Franklin P. Hobgood from Granville County.

Aside from the enormous sums of money involved in the proposal—the *Greensboro Daily News* called it "a roll that would choke a regiment of horses"[57]—the other astonishing feature was Few's misreading of opposition within the ranks of the religious denominations. This was particularly strange for someone of Few's standing among the state's churchmen. Almost thirty years earlier, the Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians had tried to dismantle the university and reduce it to nothing more than a graduate school. More recently, Few had led a movement among leaders of the denominational schools to eliminate all state-subsidized scholarships awarded at the university. (At the time, students who pledged to teach for two years in North Carolina schools were enrolled without charge.) Few argued that scholarship support should go directly to the students, who would be allowed to enroll wherever they pleased.[58] Yet he wrote the *News and Observer*'s Ben Dixon MacNeill to gently correct an error in the reporter's initial story about the proposed medical school (the Durham campus would not be on Trinity's campus but on the grounds of Watts Hospital), and he closed by saying that for those "against the proposed plan I think it will be hard to invoke the doctrine of separation of church and state unless it be by extreme believers in that doctrine."[59]

It was this very issue that would doom Few's plan. The opposition was fierce and immediate. The Right Reverend Joseph Blount Cheshire Jr., bishop of North Carolina's Episcopalians, said that "we are not in any way interested in it." William A. Harper, president of Elon College, a unit of the Christian Church (later part of the United Church of Christ), said Trinity should build its own school and let the state contribute in some fashion, if the people approved. The Methodists were silent this time around, and the president of Davidson College, William Joseph Martin Jr., was reserved in his response. He said a medical school was sorely needed, and he preferred it to be in Charlotte. He said, "It is a splendid offer and I applaud President Few and his associates," but he did not offer any firm endorsement.

The Baptists were adamant in their opposition. Charles Edward Maddry, the secretary of the Baptist State Convention of North Carolina, called the proposal "an unholy and worldly alliance." He was incensed that a churchman would even consider such a plan, and equally upset that American Tobacco

Company millions were involved. He said it was not the first time American Tobacco had "tried to invade the sacred precincts of the State, and it is all the more subtle and insidious now because they come in the name of a great Christian college, under the guise of a great social and civic need and backed by the prestige of a great religious denomination." Maddry said he was speaking for 325,000 white Baptists, and "when the matter comes before the Legislature the man from the forks of the creek will demand a hearing and his demand is going to be heeded!"[60]

For a successful politician, the governor seemed to have a tin ear as well. Two days after the proposal went to the trustees, Morrison used a speech before a Raleigh civic club to publicly endorse what he called "the Trinity medical plan." He said those who were dismissing the proposal out of hand, on the belief that it violated separation of church and state, were letting "idolatry to a lot of definitions and governmental formulas" get in the way of a "great boon to the state." He said "ghost hunting, goblin finding elements in North Carolina" were in the way of progress on issues like the medical school and his plans to get the state of North Carolina in the commercial shipping business.[61]

The governor had tried to mollify the Baptists, and he called in two leading figures from the church—Richard T. Vann and Livingston Johnson—to talk things over. Perhaps seeking some political cover, Morrison invited Davidson and Wake Forest Colleges to participate in the new ecumenical medical school. He later even included little Elon College, which prompted one of the Baptist critics to ask if he had invited participation from the Roman Catholics. If not, why not? asked Vann. "Under our flag, that Church and the Jews, or even the Mohammedans, have exactly the same rights as any of the rest of us."[62]

Livingston Johnson, the editor of the *Biblical Recorder*, the voice of the Baptist State Convention, went with Vann to see the governor. His last issue of the year had already gone to press when the proposal for the joint medical school broke into the open, but he was not going to wait until the first week of January to have a say, if not to his readers, at least to Few. On Christmas morning he sat down at his typewriter. Working in an empty office, with no typist to clean up his text, the editor apologized for the numerous strikeovers and penciled edits that ended up on the pages of his letter to President Few. Despite the untidy lines, Johnson's message was clear. Baptists would oppose the joint school with all their might. He reminded Few that for nearly thirty

years the Methodists and Baptists had stood together on the separation of church and state.[63]

Johnson told Few that attempts to mollify those opposed to the union by the establishment of an independent board appointed by the governor, with the presidents of Carolina and Trinity serving as ex officio members, had not gone far enough. The only way those who believed as he did would be satisfied was if Trinity renounced any claim whatsoever to the medical school. That was not realistic, Johnson said, considering the money involved, so it was in Trinity's best interest to build the school on its own.

Johnson's first opportunity to speak to his readers came with his January 3 edition, and he carried the argument to the limit. This was a unique situation, Johnson wrote, but what if it went a step further and the union became "support of a great university for higher academic training? This is not only possible, but also altogether probable. Then what? A Germanized America." The kaiser had controlled churches and schools, he wrote. "It is pretty generally agreed that it was by the instruction given in the schools of Germany, and from German state-controlled pulpits, that the world was wrecked."[64] A week later, in a subsequent editorial, Johnson wrote that he was relieved to see there were thousands of university men "who are not willing to sacrifice the important principle involved even for the sake of having as child of the unholy and un-American union, a great hybrid, known as The North Carolina Medical College."[65] By the time this second salvo was in print, the North Carolina Medical College was all but dead.

Chase remained out of the public debate, in part because he ended up in the campus infirmary recovering from his bout with the flu. Before Morrison's hearty endorsement of the plan in the civic club speech, he did issue a statement advising caution as the state ventured into unknown territory. The plan was fraught with political as well as practical difficulties. Even if the Baptists dropped their opposition, Chase was not convinced that a medical school with campuses in two towns, no matter how close, would win the approval of accrediting authorities, or the General Education Board. He remained openly pleased with the proposal, but he went no further than to say it deserved to be studied, no matter the obvious objections.[66]

When he was able to travel, Chase went with Few to New York to meet with Abraham Flexner and the GEB. When the presidents presented the option of a school supported by both institutions, and run by an independent board, Flexner said the university would have to relinquish control of its two-

year school. This left Chase cold. Recapping his visit for Richard Lewis, a former secretary of the trustees, Chase wrote that he believed the idea for a joint school likely originated with Flexner and the GEB. He added that if the state was to provide funding and a base program with a solid reputation, it "means [Trinity] stands to win in every particular." He told Lewis he hoped the trustees would not make a decision when they met late in January.[67]

Chase also unburdened himself to Eugene Clyde Brooks, the state superintendent of public instruction. He did not see any support for funding and expansion of medical education in the legislature. The entire affair was troubling, he said. "I do not think that I have ever dealt with such a slippery proposition, and I believe a matter like this, without precedent in the history of higher education, and involving as it does the whole future of medical education in North Carolina, should be considered with more care and thought than we have yet been able to give it."[68]

Chase was back to his original position by the time the governor and the committee met to prepare a report for the board of trustees. The university should concentrate on its current requests and postpone consideration of the medical school. The joint venture had too many pitfalls. The state was caught between joint management of Trinity and the university, which had its flaws, and an independent school, which Chase told the governor, "I am convinced more and more strongly is educationally unwise and unsound." An independent school put the university's medical school in jeopardy, he said. Whoever had the hospital would eventually want all four years of instruction. "To announce suddenly that the school as such will be discontinued, and that the University of North Carolina as an institution is abandoning the field of medical education, is a proposal which I am convinced would come as a considerable shock to a large number of the medical profession as well as the alumni and trustees of the institution." Finally, the cost was beyond what the legislature would support.[69]

The joint venture was dead and was not even up for discussion when the trustees met in late January 1923. Instead, Chase presented a report from the original study committee that recommended the university expand medical education to four years with the first two years of instruction in Chapel Hill and the last two on a campus in Durham near Watts Hospital. The president lost the support of Dean Manning, who refused to endorse the change from the committee's original vote to have all four years remain in Chapel Hill. Regardless of location, Chase wanted the issue deferred for two years.

Only minutes before the trustees were to respond to the report, a group from Charlotte appeared and asked to be heard. They argued for expansion, even if it did not mean a campus in their town. Josephus Daniels and others were so aroused by their patriotism that they moved that the trustees reopen the site-selection process. Two weeks later, the trustees heard from delegations from Raleigh, Charlotte, Greensboro, and Durham. They all came with local enticements. The Durham plan presented by John Sprunt Hill included some elements of the joint venture. Watts Hospital was available, he said.[70] No decision was made on a site, but the trustees voted to ask the legislature for $350,000 as a start on the establishment of a four-year medical college.[71] The legislature promptly ignored the request.

It would be thirty years before the university would have a four-year medical school and a teaching hospital on the campus. Once again, the sorry physical condition of men called to military service, this time in the World War II draft, would provoke a statewide campaign to improve medical care by building more hospitals and training more doctors. The university got its four-year school and a hospital in the early 1950s.

Few was more successful. By intruding into the debate over state-sponsored medical education, he had stopped expansion of the university's medical program. He was no worse for the experience and seemed to think that if the university did expand, the new campus would be in Charlotte, not Durham. He sent word to James B. Duke that he had "succeeded in sewing up the Medical School for the present so that the road will be kept open for us, if you will excuse this mixed figure of speech."[72] Was this his purpose from the outset? There was some suspicion. Dean Manning was not convinced that the Rockefeller money was nearly as sound a bet as Few had led people to believe it was. However, whatever motive actuated Dr. Few, "his proposal succeeded in contributing to the confusion and ultimate failure of the plan," Manning later wrote.[73]

Even before the legislature's decision, Few reopened discussions with Flexner and the Dukes about medical education at Trinity. The school's prospects changed dramatically a year later when the Duke Endowment was created. A large share of James B. Duke's millions went to Trinity College, which changed its name to Duke University in honor of his father, Washington Duke. One of Few's early additions to the faculty was Wilburt Cornell Davison, a medical doctor with a distinguished career in public health. Davison began organizing a medical school and building a hospital. The hospital

opened in July 1930, and the medical school opened with forty-eight students the following October.[74]

Harry Chase was feeling battered and bruised by the time the legislature adjourned in March. He went home with a 7 percent reduction in what had been asked for in the university's operating budget, although the total was more than the last biennial appropriation. The university was due approximately 15 percent of a $10.7 million bond package for permanent improvements for state institutions ($1.7 million), so Chase could continue with the campus building program. However, he did not believe the money allotted for maintenance was enough to meet demands of a fall enrollment that he expected to top two thousand.[75]

In addition, he and the governor had been at odds throughout the medical school debate, with the latest difference arising at the January trustee meeting when Morrison sided with members who wanted to continue discussions of a four-year medical school rather than adopt Chase's recommendation that a decision on expansion be postponed for two years. The governor had welcomed the chance to reopen the debate.[76] Back on his own campus, Chase also had lost some standing with his dean of the medical school, who believed that Chase had never been committed to expansion of the school and, ironically, had been too deferential to the governor's ambitions for Charlotte. "As a matter of fact during the entire controversy he was never certain of his position and could not make up his mind on the issues. He was seeking a way out of his dilemma," Manning later wrote. He did concede that Chase had hard choices to make before the legislature, choices that were complicated by the scramble of the communities competing for the new school.[77]

If there had ever been a comfortable time for a president in Chapel Hill, those days were as much a part of the history as the image of a cozy liberal arts college tucked away in a shaded grove. The spirit of those days was invoked from time to time, but only as nostalgia. In the coming months Chase may have wished for a return to that era, but he had convinced the state of North Carolina to build a real university and he would have to live with the complications and cross-currents of ideas and the public meddling in university affairs, including who should enjoy a political plum like a medical school. That and more came with larger appropriations and required greater public approval for the creation of the university that Chase was committed to see develop in North Carolina.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

The Educator

THE PRESIDENT'S ANNUAL REPORT to the trustees, produced in the last month of each year, reflected the man behind the pen. Francis Venable, the scientist, followed a formula, like those from his laboratory. First, he recited the names of trustees who had died and the changes in faculty since his last report. Following that came a brief résumé of each department. Edward Kidder Graham was more lyrical. He covered much of the same territory as Venable, but his words included flashes of oratory, and they left the reader emboldened with ambition for expansion of the university. His words were notable enough for Louis R. Wilson to include segments in a collection of Graham's writing published soon after his death.[1]

Harry Chase, like Graham, embraced the annual report as a platform mounted with the confidence of an experienced teacher. In his early years as president, composing the report was not an onerous official duty, something to be endured. He seemed to welcome the opportunity to inform and instruct his "students," whether they were trustees and state officials who got their own copy, or a classroom of the state's newspaper readers, thanks to verbatim publication in the *News and Observer*. Of course, he recorded the physical and professional changes taking place in Chapel Hill. More important, he brought his readers closer to understanding what a *real* university meant for the students, and for the state.

"We fail to interpret rightly what is going on within the University of North Carolina if we think of its growth as chiefly physical, or in terms of an increase in the number of its students," he wrote in a lengthy exposition in December 1923 that spread across more than thirty pages of the *University Record*. Chase believed that the university was the taxpayers' most important

tool in building North Carolina in a new era of industrial development, urban growth, and expansion of commercial enterprises: "It is as the State's chief instrument for its own advancement that you, as trustees, and we, as faculty, must conceive our institution; it is in such terms that together we must plan its future and so, in no small measure, the future of the State."[2]

It was the memory of Ed Graham that had inspired the alumni to rally behind the statewide campaign for expansion of state institutions, but to Chase fell the task of fully interpreting the changes that followed. He was far better prepared for this than his predecessor would have been. Chase had the experience of doing his doctoral work at Clark University, which was founded for graduate education, and Carolina's admission to the Association of American Universities brought him in regular and intimate contact with his peers at the nation's leading universities. His feel for a modern university was immediate and real.

Chase's enthusiasm and vision for the university were bold and invigorating, especially for those most directly affected by his efforts. In the spring of 1922, the university's literary magazine published a short article by Chase. The title of the piece—"Our Leader Speaks"—signaled the recognition that the torch had passed and Graham's successor had come into his own. "When we asked President Chase, some month or so ago, to express his views on the Greater University, we did not realize just what kind of a leader the University has," the editors wrote as a preface. "We did not realize that in the person of H. W. Chase the state of North Carolina has a servant who is not only thinking of education in the practical terms of courses and buildings but is also moulding and developing in Chapel Hill an institution and a spirit which will turn into the life of the state a steady stream of men—REAL MEN. . . . President Chase is doing for a BIG UNIVERSITY what E. K. Graham started to do for a college of six hundred men."[3]

While students grasped his message and the changes taking place under his administration, there were still some on the campus not ready to give him the proper credit, which bothered Chase not at all. Chase "rode his own steed," colleague Henry Wagstaff later wrote, "taking the hurdles as they came, and was scarcely aware that an inner group of faculty, trustees, and alumni were ascribing the accelerated momentum to Graham's grooming."[4]

Chase was far ahead of the rest of the state in his appreciation for what was taking place in Chapel Hill. In a variety of ways—letters from parents, comments of trustees, questions from legislators—Chase was repeatedly reminded

that the perception remained of the university as a large college with a curriculum that revolved around the liberal arts. That was what the founders had had in mind in 1789. To make his point, Chase quoted from the university's founding charter, which declared that the institution's business was to fit youth for an "Honorable Discharge of the Social Duties of Life." More than a century later, Chase heard from parents who seemed to hold fast to the original mission and saw him more as a schoolmaster with a hickory switch than a university president with broad responsibilities. "I wish you would wear him out or make him study," wrote one father concerned about his son's progress at the university.[5]

A university was altogether different from a college. A college, Chase explained in 1923 to any who would listen, did not have a faculty of approximately 160 organized in nineteen departments and nine special schools or an enrollment of nearly 2,200 students, less than half of whom were in the College of Liberal Arts. A college did not have a graduate school with 329 students (including those attending summer sessions) seeking advanced degrees as preparation to become the next generation of faculty at the university or some other institution. A college did not have 1,300 students enrolled in extension and correspondence courses, and a college did not have outreach programs, such as those of the Department of Rural Economics, the School of Education, and the School of Public Welfare, that touched on the lives of people from one end of the state to another. No college enjoyed membership in the Association of American Universities or was referred to by some as the "only real state university in the South." Yet, after five years as president, Chase lamented that many of the state's decision makers did not fully understand the difference.[6]

As he pushed and pulled the university through this transition and onto a different path, Chase was constantly bedeviled by regulations and traditions that were more befitting a nineteenth-century college than an institution caught in the swirling crosscurrents of social change in the twentieth century. In the summer of 1924, for example, he was dealing with simmering discontent among the faculty after they were overruled by the trustees in a decision related to student drinking. The faculty had heard the case of a senior who, in the wake of completing his final examinations, had taken a drink or two in celebration. He was not accused of being drunk or disorderly, but the faculty executive committee upheld the regulation against drinking any amount of alcohol and denied him his diploma. The student mounted a hasty appeal

to the trustees, handing them a petition for mercy signed by every member of the senior class. The trustees reversed the faculty's decision, and the man's college career was saved.[7]

In a state that went dry long before national prohibition took effect in 1920, Chapel Hill should have been absolutely parched. (In the same spirit of purity, state law still prohibited billiard parlors and bowling alleys within five miles of the campus.)[8] Yet, in 1920, Louis Graves, writing in the *New Republic*, reported that North Carolina was ranked at the top in the capacity of illicit liquor stills, and Orange County, where the university was located, had the biggest distilling operations in the state, notwithstanding notorious Wilkes County in the mountain foothills.[9] (After a Wilkes County Republican complained about raises for state officers, a Democratic colleague was quoted as saying, "If they would only sell the crop of blockade licker in Wilkes County they not only could pay salaries of all the state officials, but they could pay off the state debt as well.")[10]

Chase was well aware of Orange County's reputation and the threat it posed for his relations with trustees and teetotaling alumni. Almost from his first days in office, he had called on Josephus Daniels in Washington, D.C., and, later, Governor Morrison in Raleigh to use their influence to have federal agents brought in to control the bootleg liquor trade. It did not seem to do much good. A student writing in the *Carolina Magazine* in the late spring of 1921 said wine was easily available in drug stores, railroad porters sold rye whiskey on the trains, and homemade liquor was available in four colors—white, yellow, pink, and red—depending on the quality desired. "It is almost as easy to buy a drink, as it is to buy a coca-cola."[11]

Graves observed that attitudes toward prohibition in North Carolina fell into three classes: "those who believe in prohibition for everybody, those who don't believe in it for anybody, and those who believe in it for everybody but themselves." That pretty much covered the campus community. There were those who abstained altogether, but some ranking faculty members, including the dean of the law school, were known for the quality of their home brew.[12] In 1922, not long after Chase was reminded of these transgressors, four instructors at State College in Raleigh were summarily dismissed after it was revealed they were making wine in their apartment.[13] Casual use of alcohol was not hidden. Ed Graham kept a bottle of sherry in his house, and Chase enjoyed a cocktail when he had the opportunity to do so.[14] Despite his own

occasional use of alcohol, Chase would use a chapel visit with students in 1925 to preach against drinking.[15]

Against this backdrop, the university was expected to impose what amounted to academic capital punishment in the event of a student's unlikely confession of misbehavior or having been found by the Student Council to have taken as much as a taste of alcohol. The harsh penalty mitigated against formal charges being brought, except in the most egregious or notorious circumstances. The dean of students, Francis Bradshaw, complained publicly in late 1923 that "wet tickets" elected to the Student Council had done little to curb student drinking. It sounded like he had all but given up on campus control when he wrote, "I do not believe that either campus or faculty is convinced that student government, as represented by the student council, can meet the drinking situation. It remains a problem which is shared by all governing agencies in America."[16]

No sooner were Bradshaw's comments in print than a *Charlotte Observer* editorial noted that students made up a large percentage of the drunken attendees at the annual Thanksgiving Day football game.[17] The letters started arriving in Chase's office immediately, including one from a Reidsville woman who upbraided the president for allowing Fabian Franklin to have a platform on the campus.[18] The noted mathematician and political editor was the 1923 Weil lecturer on American citizenship. His address, titled "The Rule of the People," had been delivered in a series of three lectures. Chase's correspondent had not heard the lectures, but she was aware of Franklin's book *What Prohibition Has Done to America*. In it, he concludes, "The Eighteenth Amendment, if it were not odious as a perversion of the power of the Constitution, would be contemptible as an offense against its dignity."[19]

The charges against the senior up for graduation in 1924 came directly to the faculty executive committee because the Student Council had concluded its work at the close of the regular academic session. The man's offense probably would have gone unnoticed except that another student had gotten drunk and caused a commotion. He, too, was dismissed by the faculty, which had no discretion in the matter if the trustee regulation was to be obeyed. As Chase heard the charges and voted for dismissal, he may have been reminded of a letter from a prominent Durham alumnus, Kemp Plummer Lewis, who had demanded a "full investigation and drastic remedies" following the reports of drunkenness at the Thanksgiving Day football game.[20]

Chase and the faculty were trapped. Alcohol was a fact of life at campus football games, and at the spring dances. Chase tried to mollify critics by saying the university had no control over alumni and others from off campus who brought liquor with them to sporting events or social affairs. Meanwhile, the faculty had imposed conditions for the annual dances sponsored by the German Club, whose earlier efforts to prevent drinking at dances by requiring attendees to sign pledges of abstinence—at least six hours before and during the festivities—had proved ineffective. Threatened with cancellation of future dances, the German Club responded to the faculty's demands by abolishing after-dance parties and "late-dates" and organizing a committee of chaperones that included the president's wife. This approach seemed to help.[21]

Campus drinking remained a concern with the faculty, bound by what the trustees, in their own action, had demonstrated was clearly an untenable regulation. Faculty members were left feeling abused and their prerogatives in disciplinary matters undermined. "We will have to struggle with it here with the best discretion we can," Chase told E. C. Branson. "The mistake was made years ago when the original regulation was passed by the trustees in that form. Having been done, however, in the present sensitiveness of the public mind regarding legislation about alcohol it cannot well be undone."[22]

The world was now at the university's doorstep. Students debated the value of a liberal arts education as enrollment swelled in the School of Commerce, where in the fall of 1923 Dean Dudley D. Carroll was asking for a building to handle the nearly five hundred students taking courses there.[23] The eagerness of undergraduates to graduate and get about the business of making money reflected the new diversity of opinions and ambitions found among the students on campus. The university was no longer a finishing school for the sons of the state's elite who had been trained for entrance at private academies for instruction leading to careers in medicine, the law, and the ministry. In the past, students had represented a "common culture," Chase observed. "The foundations of this common culture it was the business of the college to impart . . . through a curriculum that, narrow as it was, fitted its purposes fairly well." By the early 1920s, the students represented a broader swath of the state. All but three counties in the state were represented on the campus in the fall of 1923—91 percent of all students were from North Carolina—but sitting in the classrooms with the sons of doctors, lawyers, and ministers were those whose tuition was paid by fathers of middle-class families. Mixed in with the farm boys were young men whose parents worked in textile mills and made

modest livings at blue-collar jobs. More than ever before, the student body reflected the changing demographics of a growing state.[24]

Early in his years as president, Chase spoke often about the restlessness of students across the nation, and he saw that mood reflected on the campus. Writing G. Stanley Hall at Clark University in 1922, Chase said that the war and the flu epidemic that closed schools for weeks at a time four years earlier had disrupted the high school years of the university's students. As a result, he believed they were not as well prepared for university work as their predecessors. Moreover, they were "far more restless, far more inclined to be critical, and far less willing to accord the older generation with very much wisdom, far more impatient with requirements and restrictions than was the case even a few years ago." These observations had set Chase to thinking about how the university should respond, and he told Hall he had a faculty committee working on a "revision of the whole educational scheme of things."[25] Some of the fruits of that work would produce more student counseling, career guidance, and changes in the curriculum with the addition of survey courses for freshmen in the humanities and science. Chase said one model was the courses designed for the Students' Army Training Corps.

Chase welcomed the diversity. In fact, it was that very condition that he had skillfully used when he invoked the university's constitutional mandate to justify the program of expansion to meet the growing demand of high school graduates. The university did not have the right to pick and choose its students, as the denominational schools could; it was obliged to admit any student who qualified for admission. And when some in Raleigh objected to the university's long-stated plans to provide accommodations for women, he reminded them that the constitution spoke to educating the state's "youth," not just its young men.

First admitted in 1897, women had gradually infiltrated most of the precincts of campus life by 1920. A handful were enrolled in the freshman and sophomore classes. All others were in the upper-level classes or pursuing graduate or professional degrees, with a few taking courses that were not available at other campuses, such as the North Carolina College for Women in Greensboro. Small in number, women had established a presence on campus and by the early 1920s took a disproportionate share of the prizes announced at commencement. After the women organized a basketball team in 1921, men wondered if they would actually have to award a woman a letter for her athletic ability.[26]

Chase was as committed to building a women's residential building as Ed Graham had been. Plans for the building had not made it into the initial phase of construction as attention was focused on overcrowding in the men's dormitories. In 1921, the trustees had purchased a former boardinghouse and rented a private home where women could receive room and board. By 1923, the pressure was growing to do something more substantial after nearly a decade of talk. The number of women at the university was still small—only about eighty out of an enrollment of nearly twenty-two hundred—but that number had increased by more than 70 percent since 1920. Chase put a women's building in his budget that went to the General Assembly in 1923.

A year earlier, at a celebration of the first twenty-five years of women at the university, Mrs. Robert L. Gray, known as the "first coed," said a woman, Sallie Stockard, had cast the deciding vote in the election of senior class president in 1897 after the men found themselves deadlocked between two candidates.[27] It was an interesting historic footnote, but the fact remained that with all the change that had occurred during the past quarter century, the university was still operated for and administered by men. There was an advisor to women, Inez Stacy, but she was the only female on the regular university payroll, except for a few stenographers and library aides. The bias against women was made embarrassingly clear in the middle of March 1923 when the *Tar Heel* published a poll of the students, who voted 937 to 173 against the building of a women's dormitory.[28]

Chase spent the first few months of 1923 juggling the politically delicate issue of women on campus. His request to the General Assembly for $224,000 to build a women's dormitory was running into a headwind at the close of the session from legislators who conflated decent room and board for one hundred women with open enrollment of women at the university. Chase told one group of visitors that opposition in Raleigh was such that he was not sure even the limited admission of women would continue beyond the present term. He was especially eager to keep under wraps, at least until the close of the legislative session, any interest by two women's Greek organizations to organize chapters at Chapel Hill.[29] Chase thought he had that question tabled when he was awakened on March 14 to a special edition of the *Tar Heel* with its rant against coeducation. One editorial headline stated bluntly, "Women Students Not Wanted Here." Another read: "Shaves and Shines but No Rats and Rouge."[30]

His trouble was just beginning. He had returned from Raleigh with $667,300

Inez Koonce Stacy, widow of Marvin Stacy, was appointed advisor to women students in 1919. She pleaded for better housing for females, who were scattered in private homes around Chapel Hill. In 1921, the university built two houses on adjoining lots for about 45 of the 65 women enrolled.

less than the $2.3 million in construction money he had asked for. After it appeared that the building committee planned to move ahead with a women's building, an editorial writer at the *Greensboro Daily News* cried foul, claiming Chase had promised legislators nothing would be done for women.[31]

As was his style in situations like this, Chase responded with a lengthy rebuttal. It was an overwhelming volume of words that accounted for the development of higher education for women, the university's role in it, and

the responsibility of the state to provide education beyond high school for all. He did not back away from his support for women at Chapel Hill and denied any promises not to erect a dormitory for them. He did conclude that open enrollment of women at the university "would not be wise," largely because it would only duplicate what already existed on other campuses. Later, he read his response at a chapel meeting on campus, and the entire text was published in the *Tar Heel*.[32] After the dust settled, it became clear that during the pushing and shoving that accompanied the hours before the adoption of the university's budget by the legislature, some members had been left with the impression that a women's dormitory would be postponed. Neither Chase nor W. N. Everett, who was lobbying on the university's behalf, declared they had ever made such a promise. Humbled by the rush of events, Chase said he took responsibility for any confusion. He probably received certain forgiveness from trustees due to his own lack of experience in politics, and the fact that the 1923 crowd had proved to be more cantankerous than the one he had seen two years earlier.[33]

In the midst of the furor, the women on campus made a convincing case of their need before the trustees building committee. Inez Stacy and a student, May Belle Penn, presented the need for decent accommodations and reminded the trustees that women all across the state had given their strong support to the 1921 campaign. The women had deferred their request in the first phase of the building program, but now the situation had become impossible. As an example, Penn noted that the Archer House, the former boardinghouse assigned to the women, had only one bathroom for twenty-one residents. This prompted W. N. Everett, a member of the class of 1886, to respond that in his day students did not have a bathroom at all. She answered, saying, "But Mr. Everett, you could hit it to the creek, but we can't."[34]

The committee subsequently approved construction of the dormitory, but in a reduced size at a cost of less than half the $224,000 requested. Construction would later begin on a site beside the Episcopal church at the corner of Franklin Street and Raleigh Road where Eben Alexander's home had once stood. This was an alternative location. The other one considered, on the east side of the campus where women's dorms were later built, was outlined on the plans for development as "a proposed future group." The spot beside the church relieved the committee of explaining that the "future group" might be even more dorm rooms for women.[35] The Cornelia Phillips Spencer dormitory, with rooms for one hundred residents, opened in 1925.[36]

Cornelia Phillips Spencer Dormitory was completed in 1924.

A portion of Chase's presentation of the university's policy for women, as it appeared in the Greensboro newspaper, did not sit well with the president of the North Carolina College for Women. Chase had stated that it made good economic sense for female students in the upper classes to seek specialized courses at the university, leaving schools like NCCW to the "elementary courses" or basic instruction found at any good college. President Julius I. Foust fired back immediately: "I am the more surprised that you should by inference not only point out the function of the University but that you should state the function of this college, limiting it as you do to what you call 'elementary work.'"[37] With that Foust called off a planned conference to discuss the complementary work of the university and NCCW.

It seemed Chase could not shake the devils from his back. He responded with a handwritten letter to Foust, urging him to read the entire statement. He declared there was nothing in his comments that should be taken as suggesting a limitation on NCCW's future. The two institutions both should offer upper-class courses, with the university avoiding "fields into which women generally enter."[38] Within a few months, after a summit meeting of sorts of the two presidents at a Durham hotel, the discussions between the two in-

stitutions were back on track.[39] Out of it came an agreement that women would be admitted to Chapel Hill's graduate and professional schools, but no women would be allowed to enter as freshmen or sophomores in the College of Liberal Arts, even those living in Chapel Hill. Further, any transfers from NCCW to the university, except for the summer session, would require the consent of NCCW. Graduate studies in education would continue at both institutions, but NCCW laid claim to "household economics and music . . . and other areas only in special cases."[40]

The affair left Chase scrambling to maintain proper relations. He was not ready for the fight over the women's dormitory, which had a lower priority on his agenda. Yet it was probably better to get over this hurdle, since bigger fights loomed in the future. The campus politicians and the other crowd in Raleigh had been more than irritating, but what bothered Chase most was the lack of understanding among alumni of a policy of openness to women that had been plainly advanced for ten years. "Here is one more illustration of the fact that the University, after some ten years of trying to do it, has failed to put over to the State a concrete picture of what it is all about. Here were our alumni, not understanding what all of us had supposed was an obvious policy," he confided to Louis R. Wilson. "There is [also] our extension work—we might chop off all of it but the *News Letter* and the work with women's clubs and the legislature and most of our alumni would be none the wiser of it for a long time. (If you think that is exaggerated, talk to a few of them). We must some how sell better the real stuff that goes on here. That's easy to say, perhaps almost impossible to do. Most people won't get it through newspapers."[41]

He finally succumbed to Wilson's nagging that the university needed a full-time publicity man. The university had slipped back to where it was a decade earlier, Wilson said, "except that we have a much bigger University to sell to North Carolina."[42] In the summer of 1923, Chase hired Robert Wilson Madry, an alumnus then writing for the *New York Herald*, for the job.

The excitement over women at Chapel Hill passed, but it was a distraction from a full agenda facing the president as he closed the 1922–23 academic year. At their meeting during the week of commencement, the trustees revisited the medical school issue and voted for a four-year program to be developed at Chapel Hill. Chase knew any expansion was out of the question, but he asked the American Medical Association's medical education committee to make a study for the university. It subsequently declined to become involved.

Alumni visiting during commencement week got a close look at the new buildings. Manning Hall, due to receive its first law students in the fall, was set aside for use by the ladies, as there were no other buildings with suitable lavatories available. Several hundred men were put up in the new dormitories, now empty of students. The hotel that had been long talked about was finally under construction, but it would not be ready for another eighteen months. The colonial design recalled Mount Vernon, George Washington's estate on the Potomac, with a broad veranda facing north. Chase remained hopeful that work might begin soon on Graham Memorial. A group of alumni were once again talking about a summer campaign that would pay for construction of the central portion of the building, if not the two wings that had nearly doubled the cost.

Chase and his wife left Chapel Hill for the Grove Park Inn in Asheville to spend the month of July at the mountainside hotel. They were the guests of Fred Loring Seely, the Grove Park's general manager and a recent donor of a grand piano that was placed in Memorial Hall.[43] It was a good marketing ploy by Seely, who was cultivating a summer colony of prominent North Carolinians. Governor Morrison was expected for several weeks. A widower, Morrison was seen often with Edith Vanderbilt, the widow of George Vanderbilt whose sprawling estate, Biltmore, lay just across the valley south of the city. She was an extraordinary woman with wide-ranging interests. As president of the North Carolina Agricultural Society, Vanderbilt was responsible for the state fair. And, in 1924, Morrison would appoint her to the State Board of Agriculture. John Sprunt Hill was another regular; he had a favorite corner room just off the second-floor Palm Court.[44] Hill had lately been elected to chair the trustees building committee. If Chase wished to conduct university business, he did not have to go far to find men whose opinion counted. He saw Morrison almost daily for two or three weeks and later remarked to a friend that he was concerned the strain of office was affecting the governor's health.[45]

Chase's work followed him to the mountains. His secretary, a former student named Claude Currie, compiled regular reports from the campus, including word that some of the older buildings on campus—Old East and Old West, Carr, and Battle-Vance-Pettigrew—had been deemed fire hazards and would require immediate attention. The latter was considered especially dangerous because of fast-burning interior materials and limited fire exits.[46] The campus's architectural engineer, Thomas C. Atwood, would come up with ways to save them all, by rebuilding interior walls and adding fire escapes.

The item most on the president's mind was the law school. Slowly, but steadily, Chase and Dean Lucius McGehee had been preparing the law school for a status befitting a modern university. McGehee was a beloved teacher with a solid reputation as a practitioner in New York and North Carolina. A writer and editor, McGehee was a progressive leader, especially for a man steeped in the nineteenth-century methods of legal instruction. In 1910, his first year as dean, he introduced the casebook method of instruction in which students studied the record of adjudicated cases, rather than legal theory. As the American Bar Association (ABA) increased the standards for legal education, McGehee was not far behind. With Chase's support, he eventually persuaded the trustees to require that students have at least one year of college before entering the law school and to expand the faculty to accommodate the curriculum for a three-year course of study. He also hired professors whose record was founded on their study of the law, not the number of years they had spent in a courtroom or advising clients.[47] Still, the school at Chapel Hill lagged behind others, even in the South. The law school at Trinity enjoyed Class A accreditation from the ABA, but not so the ones at Chapel Hill and Wake Forest.

When McGehee informed Chase in 1922 that he no longer wished to serve as dean, Chase was eager to continue what McGehee had begun, and he went after a man to stay the course. His choice was Merton Leroy Ferson, an Iowan who for six years had been dean of the Washington University Law School in Saint Louis. This courtship involved some risk. Chase was mindful of trustees who muttered among themselves about out-of-state talent brought to the campus. Earlier, he and others had tried to convince Walter P. Stacy to come to Chapel Hill as McGehee's eventual successor. Meanwhile, Chase sought to lighten the dean's workload and stunt criticism by bringing in U.S. district judge Henry Groves Connor as a part-time lecturer.[48] He was the head of a well-regarded North Carolina family. One of his sons had been a contender for the presidency of the university and was now a Kenan professor of history; another was a lawyer and state legislator. Chase hoped that Connor's presence in the law school would help him ease a younger man into the deanship when the time arrived, probably at the end of the 1923–24 academic year, when McGehee planned to give up the deanship but remain as a lecturer. Although Connor begged out of the lectureship set up on his behalf, Chase continued to move forward carefully, anxious about each step with the trustees, a preponderance of whom were lawyers. He told Ferson, "It is a question

of filling what they regard, I am sure as the most important deanship in the institution at the present moment."[49]

Chase's plans fell apart not long after he returned from his vacation in the mountains. McGehee's health failed altogether a few weeks before classes were scheduled to begin. Chase appointed a senior faculty member, Atwell Campbell McIntosh, as acting dean, and McGehee left for a period of rest in Richmond, Virginia. The dean, a widower for twenty years, died there in early October, his finances as broken as his health. The trustees awarded $2,000 to his estate so his executor could pay for burial and outstanding bills.[50] Financial embarrassment was not uncommon among aging faculty men like McGehee, who had all but given his life to the university.

The deanship at the law school now loomed larger than before. The school was at a crossroads, Chase believed, just like the university. He knew that without more rigorous entrance requirements, without the continuation of modern methods of instruction, and without the leadership of a dean who was at least familiar with the new standards, the law school would never acquire Class A accreditation. For Chase, the question was whether the law school would "prepare an inferior brand of lawyers for law as a trade, or whether it shall prepare men for practice and leadership in law as a profession. It cannot do both." He visited the nation's first-rate law schools and mounted a vigorous defense of raising standards and other requirements as high as possible. "We must choose between a law school which is frankly a coaching school for bar examinations and a real professional law school in the modern sense."[51]

Even before meeting with the trustees, and with Ferson waiting in the wings, Chase explored the possibility of appointing Stacy as dean. In January 1922, Stacy had been sworn in as a justice on the state supreme court, an advance in his career that only further enhanced his reputation among those seeking a North Carolina native for the job. Stacy was a product of the earlier era of legal instruction, but Chase was willing to mediate that. He asked Harvard Law School dean Roscoe Pound if Stacy might come to Cambridge for about six months to absorb the administration, organization, and operation of a modern law school. Chase told Pound that Stacy was bright and capable but that his training ended with graduation from the University of North Carolina law school.[52] At a meeting of the trustees executive committee in early November, Governor Morrison preempted the president and offered the job to Stacy on the spot. Stacy considered it but turned it down.

Chase learned about his decision secondhand, leaving him disturbed about Morrison's intrusion into what was clearly the prerogative of the university president.[53]

Chase had boasted in his correspondence with Ferson that "the board of trustees never interferes in the internal administration of the institution," but he should have added that the lack of interference did not apply when it came to questions of drinking on campus and the education of lawyers.[54] The president was in for a fight, as the episode with Stacy clearly demonstrated. Apparently, Morrison had assumed the task of hiring the new dean, and he was not real happy about all the other changes that had been taking place in the law school. It was an attitude he was willing to share with any who inquired. Meanwhile, Chase stood his ground and defended the direction of the law school. In his annual report, the one in which he defined a real university, he said, "I have little sympathy with the objection that the newer type of legal education is 'theoretical.' All professional education is theoretical in precisely the same sense; the product of any professional school must always serve an apprenticeship under practical conditions before it is made into teachers, or engineers, or doctors, or lawyers."[55]

January 1924 was a doozy. At midmonth, Democrats Josiah William Bailey and Angus Wilton McLean launched their campaigns for governor, with McLean, a Scots Presbyterian, kicking Governor Morrison's shins for extravagance in government and for raising fears about "boll weevil negroes" (black tenant farmers driven off land ravaged by the insect) moving into the state from the Deep South and upsetting the balance in race relations. Bailey presented a populist program aimed at taxes. He was still angry about Thomas Bickett's reforms in taxation of real estate. He also made it clear he was fighting the same political organization that had put Morrison in office and that he now believed was trying to choose the governor's successor. Later in the month, Morrison voted to reject two biology textbooks he found objectionable because of their references to evolution. He was ready to throw out the whole list of texts on the subject until he was informed that if none were approved, then local boards of education would be free to pick whatever text they wished. "Of course," the *Greensboro Daily News* opined, "unwarranted assumption of more than papal infallibility is characteristic of Cam. He has always exhibited an astonishing eloquence on subjects about which he is not qualified to speak." Then just as Chase was to confront the governor over the future of the law school, a state superior court judge was publicly identified

as the grand dragon of the North Carolina Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. The judge, Henry Alexander Grady, acknowledged he was a Presbyterian, a Mason, a Democrat, and a Klansman and did not feel he should be called on to defend any of his associations.[56]

Chase was not looking forward to another fight with Morrison. That really was not his style. He was a quiet, dignified, and convivial sort, with a keen sense of humor and a reputation for managing differences. "He was preeminently a civilized man, tolerant and understanding of other views than his own, yet courageous in advocacy of his own reasoning," a colleague later wrote.[57] Chase marshaled his facts, set the course as he thought best, and pressed on. "He was sure of himself, but never arrogant," a family relation later told Louis R. Wilson.[58] This was especially true on academic issues that touched on the integrity and quality of the university's work and its reputation for unfettered scholarship.

Driving to the winter trustee meeting on January 30, Chase knew his plans for the law school would meet opposition, as he had already received a few letters to that effect. John J. Parker warned that increasing entrance requirements might drive men to Wake Forest and that some of those men would eventually arrive in Raleigh as legislators "with a distinctly unfriendly feeling toward the University."[59] At the same time, Chase knew that he had support from other members of the bar. A Greensboro lawyer told him, "The University law department has been hide-bound for 100 years by aristocratic and family and political ties. . . . We have graduated political lawyers. . . . The dean of the law department should be alive to world conditions, and should wish his men to have a knowledge and training in law as would immediately fit them for great commercial positions."[60] In his pocket, Chase had a letter from Ferson saying that if the job were offered, he would take it.

The governor's office on the ground floor of the capitol was jammed with men and clouded with the smoke of cigars when Chase arrived. About half of the one hundred elected members of the board of trustees had made it to Raleigh. Of those present, forty-five were lawyers. Presiding was the governor, and his back was up. It was not entirely a replay of the meeting a year earlier, where the governor and his allies bulldozed the president aside on the issue of medical school expansion. Yet similar issues of institutional development were in play, and it was going to be a long meeting. The trustees gave no excuse for dipping deep into the university's affairs, including a referendum on the type of instruction to be employed in the law school. The gray-haired

legal lions who had struggled with Blackstone in the nineteenth century wished to inflict the same on the law students of the twentieth century.

The meeting was closed to reporters, so everything written about the governor's opposition came secondhand. The reports put Morrison as the most outspoken opponent during a session that lasted four hours. According to one account, the governor declared that raising the entrance requirements "would disbar ability from competent training." Morrison himself had never attended a law school; he "read" law with an experienced man and stood for the bar examination at a time when prospective attorneys answered questions put to them directly by members of the supreme court. He proceeded to throw out name after name of men he called great lawyers and who had succeeded without formal education. Others joined in, including John Sprunt Hill and William Hyslop Sumner Burgwyn of Woodland. The trustees considered adjustments and counterproposals, but in the end, on a voice vote, they approved Chase's plans as presented. Morrison said he was not through. He promised a legislative fight, a threat that was preposterous on its face. It would have required a special session since the General Assembly was not due back in office until Morrison's term was over. The governor did not like losing.[61]

It was not a total victory for Chase. Only Morrison and Burgwyn asked that their opposition be recorded in the minutes, but when the president pressed his case further and put up Ferson's name for the deanship, his support faded. The trustees deferred to those who wanted a native son of bench and bar. The meeting closed with the selection of a dean postponed until June. The president told Ferson not to worry and compared the xenophobia he found in Raleigh to the bias surrounding his own election as president, adding that "once that matter was settled I have never suffered the slightest embarrassment or lack of support as a result."[62]

Soon after the meeting, Chase reported on the events to A. H. Patterson, the dean of the School of Applied Science. He was spending his Kenan fellowship year at Harvard, where his colleagues had heard of the North Carolina governor's observations about the biology texts. Patterson told Chase, "I gave the Governor his due,—told of the good things he had done, but—!" In Chase's account of the governor's performance, he said, "I think he talked for two hours on the subject [of the law school] and declared, among other things, that if the regulations like that had been enforced when he was a young man he would today be a factory hand in North Carolina instead of

governor of the state. Oscar Coffin [a Raleigh newspaper editor] declares editorially that somebody on the board doubtfully remarked in an undertone that he thought the board ought to make the motion raising the standard retroactive."[63]

Chase had already polled the likely in-state candidates for the deanship and knew the scarcity of prime candidates. As instructed by the trustees, he solicited advice from Edwin Alderman at the University of Virginia, where a similar debate had recently concluded. President Alderman reinforced Chase's position. "Do not permit yourself to be driven into putting any lawyer in your faculty because he is a practitioner, however eminent," he advised Chase. "Teaching law and practicing law are two different professions." Trustee Haywood Parker of Asheville, whose opinion carried considerable weight, urged the same. He wrote Chase to let him know that he did not believe the president should compromise. He added that if the trustees overruled him, that could not be helped. Chase told Parker that Ferson was "a man who quietly, modestly, and with an extremely pleasing personality, could win over the bar of the State after a little while."[64]

Names of candidates began floating about the state, but those trustees most eager to find a native for the job discovered the reluctance of accomplished men to forsake a thriving law practice, or resign a judgeship, and move to Chapel Hill for low pay. With cool diplomacy Chase deflected one proposal to make another appeal to Henry Connor with a promise to hire a younger man who would handle the dean's administrative duties. Judge Connor was in his seventies and had recently been weakened by the sudden loss of his wife; Chase said any man who was not fit and in good health would be unable to stand the pressures of academic life. All any doubters needed to do, if this line of inquiry proceeded, was to recall the wear and tear on Lucius McGehee.

Chase kept silent when he was told confidentially that one candidate gaining traction among the trustees liked to drink and had "rather delicate health."[65] The deep-seated fear of some of those most anxious about hiring an outsider finally surfaced in a letter to Chase from Robert Burwell Redwine, a trustee from Monroe who had tried to stall Chase's plans. He reluctantly had come around to follow Chase's lead on selection of a dean. "One thing, however, we want to guard against," he wrote. "While we want advanced methods, independent thought and progressive ideas, we don't want to bring into this state, and particularly we do not want to broadcast among the lawyers of North Carolina who will be leaders in public affairs, anything which would

estrange them from Southern customs and Statesmanship. We have the best state in the union and we want to preserve it."[66] Redwine did not elaborate on which customs he thought should be preserved for the next generation.

The governor was absent for commencement on June 11. He was in Asheville attending the funeral of former governor Locke Craig, who had died two days earlier. Chase handed out diplomas, though he was still wobbly on his feet following an appendectomy a few weeks earlier at Watts Hospital in Durham. At the trustee meeting the day before, the matter of the unfortunate senior cast out by the faculty for taking a drink and the election of a law school dean had been on the agenda. Chase saw his candidate for the deanship, Merton L. Ferson, elected with three times the number of votes in his behalf as those of his nearest competitor. Haywood Parker told Chase that his patience in the matter had won over the doubters. North Carolinians are "a conservative, fair-minded body," Parker wrote, "and given an opportunity to think a thing out, are pretty apt to reach a right conclusion."[67]

Morrison had nothing more to say about the law school, but he continued to be at odds with Chase over another matter. The governor was outraged over the hiring of Gerald Johnson to head the new journalism department that had been approved by the trustees at their commencement meeting—the one he missed. Johnson was a gifted essayist and a keen political observer who was starving to death as an editorial writer for the *Greensboro Daily News*. To him, even university pay looked good. His paper had never been kind to Morrison, who a year earlier had banned the paper's lively and entertaining Raleigh correspondent, W. T. Bost, from his office. He said it was because he caught Bost eavesdropping on his meeting with his former revenue commissioner Alston Davidson Watts, the chief political operative for U.S. senator Furnifold Simmons; just weeks before the meeting, Watts had been discredited after his arrest for abetting prostitution. Editorials in the *Greensboro Daily News*, many written by Johnson, and regular jabs from Josephus Daniels in the pages of the *News and Observer* bruised Morrison's thin skin. He lumped the two papers together and called them the "poison gas brigade." To have Johnson on the state payroll and training future journalists was more than Morrison could stand, and soon after Chase had offered Johnson the position, he let Chase know of his displeasure over the hiring of a man he would later characterize as "my bitterest and most vindictive critic."[68]

Chase believed Morrison had clearly overstepped the boundary. He deftly explained to the governor that it was Johnson's talent as a journalist, not his

political opinions, that mattered. Further, to seek outside review of faculty hires would have "embarrassed you, and not have been fair to the situation, and I do not believe that is the sort of question you, or the University trustees, want me to ask about University appointments." Chase put it bluntly in a reply to Johnson, who offered to withdraw: "It would be a matter of bitter regret to me if I felt the time had come when the University of North Carolina had to consider a man's political views and opinions in determining his fitness for a position on the University faculty." Johnson planned to stay at the newspaper until classes began, but he told Chase that he would not be writing any unsigned editorials about Morrison. "It is a matter of taste, simply," he said, "but since Morrison has chosen to make a personal issue of it, when I sink my harpoon into him I will do it over my own name."[69]

Chase continued trying to win Morrison over despite the absence of what he may have considered a common culture. During his back and forth with the governor, Chase expressed his regret that they had been at odds of late. The governor appears not to have responded until a year later, when he finally revealed to Chase the depth of his feelings on the matter.[70] Chase remained generous in his appraisal of the governor despite Morrison's impulsive nature and his impatience with "reactionaries," his name for those with whom he disagreed. Morrison's public spats generally obscured what Chase believed had been a progressive administration, Chase told Johnson. "I know that he has courage and sincerity, because I have seen both of these qualities tested a number of times when I happened to know something of the real situation." Chase said history would count him "as a pretty constructive fellow."[71]

For the time being, however, Morrison's record was proving to be a drag on the continuing campaign for improvements at the university. What had begun as a dispute between the governor and state corporation commissioner Allen Jay Maxwell over accounting methods had mushroomed into a general suspicion that the state was in the red and had overshot its ability to pay for the governor's ambitious road program and the millions of dollars invested in construction projects at state institutions. The controversy had been at its peak in the summer of 1923 when Chase saw the governor at the Grove Park Inn and thought him unwell. Chase was not sure whether the state was building up an actual deficit or simply embarrassed at the end of the fiscal year because tax deposits were on a different schedule.[72] The entire issue was not lost on Angus McLean, a banker and former assistant secretary of the U.S. Department of the Treasury for whom balanced budgets were sacred.

Built by university trustee and benefactor John Sprunt Hill, the Carolina Inn opened in December 1924.

He campaigned for the party's nomination for governor promising lean government and economy.

None of this talk boded well for the university, Chase believed. The campaign for state institutions had begun on his campus four years earlier, but since that time the university had received only $3.1 million of the $5.6 million it had said it needed in construction funds. State College in Raleigh had built out nearly 70 percent of its 1921 program, while NCCW had secured only enough money to complete about 60 percent of what had been proposed.[73] Once again, Chase was thinking that the university's current enrollment, which numbered around twenty-three hundred in the fall of 1924, was nearing its absolute capacity and was talking about enrollment limits. He assured all who asked that the university was making every dollar count. Claude Currie, his secretary, was doing his part. He even used the reverse side of draft letters and scrap paper to make carbon copies of his boss's correspondence.

Even as Chase felt a change in the mood in Raleigh, there were some encouraging developments. Excavation of the site for Graham Memorial—the old University Inn—had begun in November 1923, and by the autumn of

Manning Hall, the new home for the law school, was dedicated January 23, 1925.

1924 the frame of the building had begun to take shape. In December, Chase saw another of Graham's dreams become reality when the Carolina Inn opened at a final cost to John Sprunt Hill of about $200,000. The first formal event was a dance over the Christmas holidays that Hill hosted in honor of his daughters, Frances and Valinda. In January, the state's supreme court justices, superior court judges, lawyers, and alumni who gathered for dedication of the law school's new home in Manning Hall—two hundred or more in all—were seated at the inn for a luncheon as Hill moved from table to table seeing to his guests.[74]

Meanwhile, workmen were continuing to make progress on Graham Memorial. Two stories of masonry were standing by year's end when Chase completed his annual report. The accounting of the year was less expansive than the one he had written the year before. His commentary was more perfunctory and subdued. It did not project the same excitement and, more often than not, reflected the growing talk of economy in the face of huge unmet needs. The university was at a critical juncture, and those in charge of the purse strings were suggesting it was time to pause. That was dangerous talk, Chase said. "The University must go forward or go back. It cannot 'rest' in its development for the next two years, without grave damage to the work it is already doing and to its future."[75]

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

Freedom to Think

Brigadier general albert jesse Bowley graduated from the U.S. Military Academy at West Point in 1897 and went on to fight the Spanish in the Philippines and pursue Pancho Villa in Mexico. He also faced the kaiser's might in Europe before taking command of Fort Bragg in North Carolina. Early in February 1924 this beribboned soldier's adversary was the university's extension director, Chester DeForest Snell, and his battlefield was the Virginia Dare Ballroom in Raleigh's new Sir Walter Hotel. Standing beneath the mural of Sir Walter Raleigh in a deep bow to Queen Elizabeth, Bowley declared that Snell's "pigheaded narrowmindedness" made him the perfect dupe for the Soviet-inspired revolutionaries who were undermining America.[1]

The general's speech followed a luncheon of North Carolina's "commercial men," so called because they ran the chambers of commerce in dozens of cities and towns across the state, each with an uplifting slogan and large welcome mat for anyone starting a new business or willing to make an investment. Bowley's America was a perilous place as he described the work of Soviet-subsidized emissaries who had lured African Americans out of the South to create racial strife and crowd the cities of the North and had inspired a deadly confrontation of striking miners in Illinois. Moreover, they had infiltrated the Young Women's Christian Association, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Catholic societies, and other organizations that believed in regulating child labor, or setting the minimum wage, or aiding women with unwanted pregnancies. That was not all. "In the colleges the so-called 'youth movement' and the 'liberal forum' are breeding revolution in the young men and women of the country," Bowley was quoted as saying. "The Soviets send clever speakers who shape the minds of these young college students who

pride themselves on being open-minded. And these brilliant speakers are offset only by the senile college professors and dubs sent out by the soviets as part of their work."[2]

Bowley warned his audience to keep all this to themselves until the time was right to expose these secret agents. At that point, Snell had had quite enough. He rose, disagreed with the general, and said he believed in freedom of speech and ideas. That is when Bowley descended on him with a sergeant major's fury and accused him of being part of the problem. A reporter from the *News and Observer* refused to keep off the record the remarks of a commanding general. His front-page story the next day guaranteed that Memorial Hall would be packed two weeks later when Bowley was due in Chapel Hill to give an address on the occasion of George Washington's birthday.[3]

The *Tar Heel* prepped the campus for Bowley's appearance with its own report of the confrontation in Raleigh.[4] The paper's breathless account provided Bowley with a perfect foil, and he held his own for nearly an hour before a crowd of about three thousand. He returned to his earlier commentary on the Soviet-backed agitators in the local precincts and the infiltration of unwitting welfare organizations pushing social legislation at a time when the military was in dry dock. He maintained that the newspaper report of his Raleigh speech was exaggerated. He had not called Snell pigheaded, he asserted. "I did say that it was such pin-headed narrowness as his that is dangerous to this country. . . . He needed a jolt, and I gave it to him. I woke him up."[5]

Bowley was not the only one expressing concern about the state of the American college campus. President Harry Chase had a file cabinet full of letters from alumni, parents, patriotic organizations, and men of the cloth who told him that the university was failing in its duty to produce right-thinking young men and women. He had heard all about what ailed America and could recite the full litany of "-isms" responsible for the decline: socialism, urbanism, secularism, atheism, modernism, radicalism, Romanism, materialism, Freudianism, alcoholism, sexualism. There were also letters from those worried that women were not only voting, but also taking over the university; that Orange County liquor was in the hands of students; and that shameful dances had replaced the proper fox-trot. Then there were those who objected to campus speakers who said nice things about labor unions and probably bad things about the Bible. Chase had been president for five years, but many still were not sure that this Yankee Congregationalist, all but a first cousin to a Puritan or a Presbyterian, might really be a Unitarian.

The unexpected controversy ended well, for the most part. The *News and*

Observer's Ben Dixon MacNeill observed that Bowley's closing remarks in favor of a ROTC program on campus drew sustained applause.[6] (A ROTC program had been organized at the university after the war but was discontinued in 1921 due to weak participation.) The general did write Chase some time later to complain that on a visit in Chapel Hill thieves had relieved his car of two blankets, a mackinaw, a pair of black driving gauntlets, a pair of buckskin gloves, and a flashlight.[7]

Bowley's visit proved to be a teaching moment for President Chase. The restlessness among the nation's students, a condition that he had noted in a letter to G. Stanley Hall two years earlier,[8] had spread abroad to members of an older generation, who were questioning what was happening on the nation's college and university campuses. He found in the exchange with Bowley the material for a restatement to the students on the fundamental purpose of a university. In his 1923 report to the trustees, he had noted that "it is the main intellectual business of the college to sharpen men's minds, to 'teach them how to think.'" A university, he said, "in this era of pressing problems, ought to be the most experimentally-minded of all institutions."[9] He was ready to make that point again after Bowley's visit.

Chapel exercises had been revived after the overhaul of Memorial Hall made it comfortable for year-round use. Daily attendance by freshmen was required at chapel exercises, and there was sufficient seating on the hard, heavy benches for them to be joined by sophomores and juniors, whose attendance was required on two given days of the week. Chase often took the podium on Friday mornings, when the larger audience was on hand, and in mid-March 1924 he opened with a reference to the old saying "that truth is mighty and will prevail."

Just how truth prevails was on the minds of many, Chase said, and he offered two options for the campus. One was that of German philosopher Johann Fichte, who Chase said believed the use of "all the force of constituted authority" to conquer men's minds was "the sacred duty of every man who has the knowledge and power." On the other hand, there was Thomas Jefferson, who said, "I have sworn upon the altar of God eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man." Chase said it was the business of the university to stand for Jefferson's point of view.

He chose his topic, he told the students, because "a good many articles have been written lately, and a good many speeches have been made, that have taken as their text the assumption that the colleges and universities of

the country are hotbeds of radicalism," although the president did not mention Bowley by name. He said the charge was all the more evocative because campuses were beset by critics on the left as well as the right. Chase called the students' attention to Upton Sinclair's 1923 book, *The Goose-Step*, in which Sinclair accuses American college administrators of being captives of the system's "last organized enemy, which is class greed and selfishness, based on economic privilege." Both sides, Chase said, are convinced the other has gotten hold of the colleges and are using them for their own purposes.

"The point is just this," Chase continued, "that neither group has the slightest idea of what a university is for. . . . Any university that is worth anything at all has an intellectual ideal, and that ideal has to do with truth, and with the opening of men's minds to seek the truth."

"And now to sum it all up," he concluded, "it is the business of a university to stand for truth, and for so opening men's minds and enlarging their horizons that they are in a position to seek truth for themselves. The University has only one possible position to take in such a matter as this, and that is the position that was taken by Jefferson."[10]

The editor of the *Tar Heel* had not missed Chase's speech, although he would have been excused since he was a senior. In an editorial in the following week's edition, he wrote,

> President Chase says "Piffle" to the charges that universities breed and spout radicalism and "Bosh" to the insinuations that higher officials shape college courses for capitalistic purposes or words to that effect, and gives his own conception of the university's mission—that of training minds to the point where they may seek out and establish the truth. . . . Professors do not impose truth on their subjects. They lay their particular branch of study before the students for the latter to assimilate or pass by. This selective process requires thinking which is the university's fundamental purpose.[11]

Bowley's commentary on the campus was only the latest criticism, and his was not an isolated opinion. Soon after his talk in Raleigh, the general got a letter from trustee John Sprunt Hill, who told him, "I am glad you touched up some of the pussy-foot people of North Carolina on the subject of socialistic and Bolshevistic propaganda. Do it again—the folks are with you."[12] At about the same time, Chase was dealing with the aftermath of an editorial by David Clark, the opinionated editor of the *Southern Textile Bulletin*. In that

editorial, titled "Dangerous Tendencies," Clark took note of Howard Odum's new *Journal of Social Forces* (soon retitled *Social Forces*), one of the early publications of the new University of North Carolina Press. Clark took exception to a trio of Odum's contributors, calling two of them "parasites who have for years been professional agitators" and a third "tricky" and a "manipulator of statistics." He continued, "We take pride in the growth and development of our University but wonder if in publishing the *Journal of Social Forces* and in similar activities it is not going aside from its purposes and its intended work. It was never intended as a breeding place for socialism and communism but when professors and instructors turn aside from their duties as teachers of regular courses and seek to develop fads and fancies, great injury to our State may develop."[13]

Dangerous tendencies in political thought was the new accompaniment to the long-standing chorus of criticism from the pulpit, where the spiritual drift of young people was as regular a refrain as it had been since the 1890s. It was even more complicated now. When education was fixed on the basic sciences, history, and literature, the only professor that the state's preachers had to worry about was Horace Williams. Now, with the expansion of the curriculum into social sciences, students and their professors were involved in the examination of society's relationship with a changing world. Even the discussion of labor unions and their role in industrial America was suspect. In the wake of labor unrest in some North Carolina textile communities in 1921, Chase heard from an important textile man in Durham who questioned the university's sponsorship of the high school debate competition in which collective bargaining was the topic to be considered.[14]

David Clark and his followers would become more troublesome for Chase in the latter half of the 1920s and for his successor, Frank Graham, on into the 1930s. Meanwhile, Chase was more keenly aware of the anxiety of religious leaders about the state of Christianity at the university. Chase used every occasion to speak about the religious devotion of students, just as his predecessors had done before him. He never failed to cite the work of the YMCA in his regular reports to the trustees and spoke often of the uplifting moral and religious environment of the university. He recalled the number of faculty members who filled long-standing appointments as Sunday school teachers and whose classes were full each week.

At the same time, there was no getting around the almost proprietary interest in the university held by the heads of the leading Protestant denomi-

nations. Chase would have been aghast at anyone who asked about the political affiliations of a new hire, but even in the 1920s a person's religion was something to be noticed, even tongue in cheek, as when Chase asked Horace Williams to pass judgment on a prospective faculty member. "I am entirely willing to accept your judgment both as to the worth of the man and as to the 'harmlessness' (from the point of view of the State) of his Unitarian affiliations," he told Williams.[15]

For a village of only a few thousand residents—the population in 1924—Chapel Hill was blessed with an extraordinary display of church property. First the Presbyterians, and then the Baptists, had built large new churches costing as much as $100,000 and $125,000 respectively. The Methodists were planning an equally grand structure. Farther along Franklin Street, a stone's throw from the president's residence, construction of the Episcopalian Chapel of the Cross was nearing completion. The new building of pink granite and limestone, complete with a towering spire 146 feet high, would be ready for use in 1925. The Presbyterians and Episcopalians had generous out-of-town donors to thank for covering the cost of their new structures. The Baptists and Methodists relied on their local congregations to cover a portion of their costs, and altogether $750,000 was spent on church buildings in the village.[16] That amount was half as much as had been allocated to the university for its entire construction program in 1921. Along with the new churches came thoughts by the denominations' governing bodies of integrating their religious programs with the academic work of the university. The Baptists planned to install a second pastor who was to spend all of his time with students.

America's active participation in World War I had been brief, as compared to the investment of other nations, and the devastation had been kept from the homeland. Nonetheless, the war had unhinged institutions and changed familiar habits. The federal government had taken over certain aspects of private enterprise and run the railroads and telegraph companies, raising the specter of socialism. Men had been dislocated from their homes and cast abroad into new and different environments. African Americans in the South had begun their migration away from cotton fields to factory jobs and life in the urban North. Those who had served in Europe brought home the experience of a release from a racially segregated America. Labor unrest and radical politics from abroad were talked about on street corners and added to the growing concern that outside enemies threatened America.

The war also had people talking of the need for spiritual reconstruction. Religion was defending itself in a changing environment in the home, where young people were attaching themselves to new fads of behavior, as well as on campuses where sociologists and other so-called modernists were challenging doctrine and the Bible itself. In a May 1919 edition, the *Biblical Recorder* had given over its front page to William Joseph McGlothlin, the chair of the Southern Baptist Convention's education commission. In an article entitled "The Christian School in the Reconstruction," McGlothlin wrote, "Our industrial life, our religious life and activities, our social habits and ideals, our educational objectives have all been more or less disorganized and modified." The Southern Baptist Convention was preparing to launch a $75 million campaign, part of which would be used for its colleges, and McGlothlin's words were directed first at the needs of building up denominational institutions like Wake Forest College and his own Furman University, where he was about to assume the presidency. Yet his commentary included a warning about higher education in general and pointed to the state-supported schools: "The Christian school is to be one of the bulwarks against radical unbelief and indifference to religion. Higher education divorced from religion tends to become anti-Christian, or at least non-Christian, education." This was no time for questioning the Bible or the doctrine. "Skepticism is always disintegrating and destructive."[17]

The university's history of troubled relations with denominational leaders was not lost on Chase. The perception remained abroad in the state that the university enrolled religious innocents and turned out atheists. Just as the legislature was about to vote on the biggest boost in financial support in the university's history, Chase had received a letter from a woman who said, "Last night our minister in denouncing state colleges quoted statistics to prove that our state institutions have 66% infidels among the faculty and 85% of students leave as infidels." She asked him to provide any evidence on those points that he might have.[18]

The university was at a peak in its goodwill within the state in the summer of 1921 when Chase decided to extend a hand to the religious community. It was a gesture just as significant as Ed Graham's invitation to the leadership of the state's Farmers Union had been in November 1915, when he was eager to show the university was no longer an institution for the sons of the elite. Including religious studies in the university's curriculum was not objectionable to Chase, or to most of his faculty members. Two years earlier,

William MacNider from the medical school had proposed that the university hire a "studious and scholarly minister" who would offer courses "connected with theology, the Bible, Biblical literature and the life of Jesus."[19] What gave Chase pause was how to incorporate religious studies into the work of a state-supported institution without stepping on doctrinal differences and constitutional restrictions. In the summer of 1921, Chase wrote the Reverend Charles E. Maddry to inquire about a model that had been suggested for the university.

Maddry was a graduate of the university and for the past five years had been a popular pastor at University Baptist Church in Austin, Texas, where the University of Texas offered courses in religion. The minister had recently returned to North Carolina to become executive secretary of the Baptist State Convention, and Chase asked for some insight on the Texas program. Chase suggested a conference in his office some time in the fall with Maddry and representatives from other Protestant denominations. He did not include the Catholics—there were too few on campus, he told Maddry—and he asked for advice on how to handle the Jewish faith, whose followers usually slightly outnumbered Catholics on campus.[20]

The instruction on the Texas campus was a joint venture between the university and participating denominations that pooled donations to pay the salary of teachers whose academic credentials were reviewed by the university. Classes were held in churches, and the university offered credit for courses chosen as electives for those pursuing a liberal arts degree.[21] The program appeared to avoid the overlap of church and state and shared some similarity with a plan approved by Chase's own trustees the year before to use money from the American Red Cross to hire instructors for Howard Odum's summer program for social workers.

The conference of religious leaders that Chase had suggested did not take place. Maddry himself did come to the campus in October 1921 for a meeting with the faculty in which he described the Texas program and advocated for the introduction of religious instruction at the University of North Carolina. No decision was made, and Chase referred the proposal to a faculty committee on educational policy. Among others, it included James F. Royster, a Kenan professor in the English department whom Chase had recruited back to the university from Austin.

That was as far as Chase was willing to go at the time. He proceeded with caution and even asked E. C. Branson to withdraw an article that was to ap-

pear in the *University News Letter* in which Branson had catalogued religious instruction at state-supported schools around the nation. Branson found four state universities—in Virginia, Texas, Kansas, and Michigan—with chairs of religion. Bible schools also had cropped up adjacent to campuses at the Universities of Missouri and Illinois and at Ohio State. The president apparently was not ready to launch a public debate on the question. Branson appreciated the president's position but told him that introducing religious instruction was not the issue. The concerns out in the provinces ran much deeper. "[People] are stirred up about the University as a 'godless institution that offers a purely pagan culture,'" Branson said. "I quote the phrase that is most sounded in my ears as I get about the State these last two years. The growl and the ground-swell of it are ominous." He then offered Chase advice that the president apparently took to heart. The university should issue "a conservative statement of sympathetic, open-mindedness" and leave it to denominations to present a plan. "The situation is this: American universities as a rule have avoided formal religious instruction because the churches themselves have been apposed [*sic*] to such university courses; whereupon the religious bodies damn the universities for being pagan and godless."[22]

The future of religious instruction remained submerged in the faculty bureaucracy throughout 1922. Chase himself soon was consumed by the debate over expansion of the medical school. He was happy for the university to be on the sidelines as the state's Baptists carried out a prolonged and open debate over the teaching and writings of William Louis Poteat, who over the span of more than forty years had been a student, teacher, and then president of Wake Forest College. Poteat's field was biology, and for fifteen years he had been a thorn in the side of fundamentalists bound by a belief in the inerrancy of the Bible and by their repudiation of Charles Darwin's theory of evolution.[23] In the spring of 1922, Poteat had roused the opposition once again with a thought-provoking article in the *Biblical Recorder* that was titled "Was Paul an Evolutionist?"[24] He followed with others, including one offering an explanation of why a Christian could believe in evolution. The *Biblical Recorder* gave it all such thorough coverage that Poteat privately called the journal "The Daily Evolutionist."[25]

Poteat was not some theological bomb thrower. He did provoke people to think, and he left the campus of the university in that state of mind following a scheduled chapel appearance in late April. He did not speak on the current controversy, or even touch on it. "That was out of the question from more

points of view than one," he told Chase afterward.[26] But as Gerald Johnson explained in "Billy with the Red Necktie" some twenty years later, Poteat could sermonize with a delivery "so gorgeous in its imagery, so musical in its phrasing, so charged with passionate conviction that when he sat down at the end of an hour even his adversaries would be weeping."[27] Soon after Poteat's April chapel appearance, the *Tar Heel*'s editor signed off for the year with an editorial entitled "Men, Let Us Think."

"Many have accused the institution of breeding irreverent and irreligious thought," editor Julius Jennings Wade wrote. "Charges have been made that University students tend to forget religion, that atheism exists in the atmosphere of the campus. The charges have emanated from the fact that students are thinking men." The campus was changing; some called it a "factory," Wade said. "Do we think intelligently, deeply, or are we truly being swept off our feet by the materialism of the Greater University which has so largely replaced the sentiment of the Old University? Perhaps we are mistaken, and our fears are groundless—But Men, Let Us Think."[28]

The Wake Forest trustees gave Poteat a vote of confidence following the college's commencement exercises in May 1922, just about the same time that Chase and the faculty extended an olive branch and conferred an honorary doctorate of divinity on the Baptist State Convention's man, Charles E. Maddry. Later, in December, a challenge arose to Poteat's presidency at Wake Forest at the ninety-second annual convention of North Carolina Baptists. It was heavily attended, and Poteat was the session's most anticipated speaker. His topic, Christian education, was routine, but his message was anything but. In an hour-long delivery of what some called the greatest convention speech given in memory, he presented a profession of faith and a declaration of Christian principles that transcended the issue of evolution. His reference to the biological debate was even oblique. Science, he said, only provided clues to the "invisible things of God." When he finished, even his critics pushed forward to the podium to shake his hand.[29] With that, the issue disappeared from the pages of the *Biblical Recorder*, at least for the next few years.

Chase was still sweeping up after the hustle and bustle over the medical school expansion early in 1923 when the question of religious instruction returned. This time he heard not only from Maddry, but also from the Reverend W. M. Hunter, the chair of the Presbyterian Synod of North Carolina's committee on schools and colleges.[30] He and some other churchmen had recently finished a discussion in Raleigh about an optional course on the Bi-

ble to be part of the curriculum at the university and state colleges. Hunter asked for a conference with Chase and his faculty, and a meeting was set for mid-April.

In his history of the university during these years, Louis R. Wilson makes special mention of Chase's ability to manage competing ideas as men gathered about a conference table and hashed out a problem and then to arrive at an equitable solution. His easy manner, calm demeanor, and openness to debate had made for a smooth transition as he had guided the faculty through a thorough overhaul of the administrative organization of the university.[31] A colleague later wrote, "His presidential halo never fitted very tight. He had the gift of ready and sincere laughter, and, rarer still, could laugh at himself when occasion arose. He liked good companionship and there was a deal of the joy of living in his makeup. There was little or nothing of the crusader in his spirit, even for his main preoccupation."[32]

The April 17 gathering in Chase's office would certainly test his skill with people, particularly those with competing ideas. Arriving on campus that morning were Maddry, Hunter, Moravian bishop Howard Rondthaler, Bishops Joseph Blount Cheshire Jr. and Edwin Anderson Penick of the Episcopal church, and the Reverend William Walter Peele, who represented the Methodists. Chase also invited the faculty committee on educational policy. It was a crowd, and one with almost as many variations on the theme of religious pedagogy as there were denominations represented.

There was common ground with the churchmen. They all believed the university should include some form of religious education that was not doctrinal or sectarian but would at least cover the historical and literary qualities of the Bible. Maddry presented the Texas plan. He knew the North Carolina Baptists would never countenance church funds going directly to a state-supported school. Meanwhile, Hunter, the Presbyterian, favored the pooling of resources to underwrite the cost of an off-campus program. There was a back and forth over who would qualify the course instructors. Would it be the sponsors or the university? And then there was the question of credit from the university for completed courses. At one point, Chase raised the possibility of the denominations joining together, pooling their funds, and organizing a department of biblical instruction with one outstanding teacher to lead it. Rondthaler liked the idea and called it ideal. He also said it was impracticable; there was no way to satisfy all the denominations with the voice of one man. The session lasted all day, with the churchmen reaching a

consensus that courses would be taught off-campus by teachers selected by the denominations, with course credit to be given by the university.[33]

In the coming months, Chase would have other, more public opportunities to interpret the work of a university to the taxpayers who provided its support. The university's answer to the churches on religious instruction was an important stone in the foundation of Chase's belief in the independence of the academy. The faculty committee's response to the churches bore the mark of Chase's pen. In it, the committee found it unacceptable to have instructors on campus who were beholden to the denomination that paid their salary and put them in a place to teach, outside of the normal relationship of other faculty in the university. To do so would make those instructors an "instrument of . . . a special cause" yet provide them with the stamp of approval from the university. The report also warned that establishing such a program at a state institution would intrude on the work of the denominational colleges, the proper forum for the teaching of religion. Chase did suggest that the university could, within its own organization, "offer Biblical instruction from the literary and historical point of view through members of its own faculty, chosen by and responsible to the University, men whose primary allegiance would be to the University rather than to a special cause."[34]

The report set Chase apart from the rigid Calvinist Presbyterians from around Charlotte. They were unlike those with whom he and his family had worshiped during their years in Chapel Hill. The Chapel Hill Presbyterian Church best suited his background as a Congregationalist, a New England denomination that often had Presbyterian-trained ministers in its pulpits. The local representative was the genial Reverend William D. Moss. For much of the previous twenty years, Moss had been the pastor of the Chapel Hill congregation, which as far as Moss was concerned included the entire student body. Men left Chapel Hill with fond memories of the tall preacher with angular features whom the graduating seniors always called upon for a final vespers service under the Davie Poplar. Moss loved the university and its setting so much that he was said to have told a dying man that heaven "as near as I can figure out is like Chapel Hill in the springtime."[35] A Canadian, born in Ontario and trained at McGill University, Moss had sloping shoulders and reddish hair. He was a confessed "modernist" who was sometimes criticized for preaching too much about love and not enough about damnation.[36] His brothers in the North Carolina Synod, especially those around Charlotte, were of an entirely different breed.

William Dygnum Moss, a native of Ontario, Canada, served as pastor of Chapel Hill Presbyterian Church for 22 years. Photograph by Wootten-Moulton, Chapel Hill.

Most of the university's antagonists from the religious community in the years before had been the Methodists and Baptists. The questions that aroused those two denominations were founded in state support of institutions that competed with their own colleges, Trinity and Wake Forest. The Presbyterians had long had a hold on the presidency of the university, reaching back to Joseph Caldwell, the Princeton-trained clergyman, and had rarely engaged with the university over financial support. It would be the Presbyterians, however, who would turn the concern over the moral health of the university into an issue that would provide Chase with the most defining moment of his years at the university.

The first hint of discontent among the Presbyterians came just as the delegation of ministers was about to gather in Chase's office to discuss reli-

gious education. Three weeks before the meeting, Chase heard from Angus McLean, the Lumberton attorney and businessman. He said he was writing Chase in his capacity as a member of the board of trustees and "a loyal friend of the University."[37]

McLean was concerned about the most recent speaker for the McNair Lecture. Since 1908, a grant from the late minister's estate had paid for a series of lectures each year that, as McNair's will stipulated, "shall be to show the mutual bearing of science and [theology] upon each other and to prove the existence of attributes (as far as may be) of God from nature."[38] At least that much was repeated each year in the university catalogue. Omitted from this printed description was a further requirement that the lectures "must be prepared by a member of some one of the Evangelic denominations of Christians."[39]

Over the years, the speakers had alternated between a recognized theologian one year and a man with more secular credentials the next. In later years, the denominational connections had become almost coincidental, but all the speakers came from top universities. The selection had begun to drift a bit under President Graham, who brought educational theorist John Dewey to the campus in 1915. A full decade earlier Dewey had advocated academic freedom for colleges and universities in much the same language that Chase himself had been adopting of late. McLean was writing to challenge the choice of Harvard Law School dean Roscoe Pound, who delivered the 1923 lecture. He wrote that "there has been some complaint among distant relatives of Rev. John Calvin McNair and of the friends of that family that the University is not carrying out the true spirit of the will of Mr. McNair."[40] The family also may have been disturbed that the lectures of biologist Edwin Grant Conklin of Princeton, one of the most ardent evolutionists in the academy, were now in print and identified as part of the McNair lecture series. (Publication of the lectures was part of the requirements of the legacy.) In his three evenings at Memorial Hall in the spring of 1920, Conklin had delivered more than enough to make himself unpleasant to the Presbyterian faithful, especially the bluestocking variety found throughout much of North Carolina. Conklin discounted the biblical story of man's creation, with God molding man from bits of clay, as "not only irreverent, it is ridiculous," and he said that "so far as scientific doctrines are concerned no sane person now attempts to prove or disprove them by appealing to theology or the Scriptures; they stand or fall on scientific evidence alone."[41]

The Presbyterians were further outraged by the presentations of Charles Allen Dinsmore of the Yale Divinity School. In the spring of 1922 he delivered

a series of lectures titled "Religious Certitude in an Age of Science." In them he directly challenged those who took the Bible literally. "The Creator has left a record of his activities in the rocks which compels all informed minds to relinquish the venerable chronology which asserts that only six thousand years have elapsed since Creation," he said. The *Presbyterian Standard* confirmed for the faithful that Dinsmore's lectures provided a classic example of why "church people oppose state institutions."[42]

What Chase had initiated as an effort to open discussion between church leaders and the university was building into something much more, pushed along by a growing uneasiness among the righteous in North Carolina over the question of the discussion in the public schools of Charles Darwin's theory of evolution. The Baptists had been through this battle, and the Methodists seemed comfortable with a place on the sidelines. Meeting at their conference grounds beside Lake Junaluska in the western mountains in the summer of 1923, the Methodists had effectively stated that they hoped for optional courses at state institutions and endorsed "hearty" cooperation of the denominations.[43] To go further might bring the debate too close to Trinity College, where President Few had already staked out a position against requiring faculty to submit to religious doctrine.[44] The storm clouds that Charles Maddry saw were with the Presbyterians, whom he feared would push for something more institutional, a move that Baptists would resist as overstepping the bounds of church and state. "There is a profound feeling among the Baptists of the state that it is not the function of the university of the state to teach the Bible," he told Chase. "I should be very sorry indeed for any thing to be done now that would tend to revive the feeling of other days among our people."[45]

Hunter and the Presbyterians were not going to let the question end with the report of the committee on educational policy. In October 1923, the denomination's governing body approved a resolution calling for religious instruction at state institutions, specifically the campuses in Chapel Hill, Greensboro, and Raleigh, with established "chairs for teaching the Bible" and instruction by men who would be chosen and would be paid by the participating denominations.[46] Three months later, at a meeting in Greensboro, Hunter was elected president of a group of twenty-four ministers from eight denominations. Maddry was present and part of the discussion, but Hunter had earlier told Chase he did not expect much support from the Baptists.[47]

The Baptists departed from the Presbyterians only on the latter's insistence

on denominational support of a state program, not on the evils they believed abounded in the college classroom. As Chase was struggling to explain the university's duty to provide freedom of thought and expression on campus and the difference between a college and a university to the trustees, a Baptist congregation in Raleigh was listening to the Reverend Charles Fayette Swift of the National Reform Association. He was from out of state, but he could have been talking about Chase when he said, "I heard a noted educator some time ago declare that the most paramount factor in our education today is to teach the younger generation to think. I agree with him, but we must go further. We must give them the right things to think about. And there is no greater source of proper thinking than the Bible."[48]

Swift's presence at one of the largest Baptist churches in Raleigh came just as the evangelist Mordecai Fowler Ham Jr. was preparing to open a six-week revival meeting in the city. Ham had been in and out of North Carolina cities and towns for three years or more. He would later hold forth in Elizabeth City, where William Oscar Saunders, the feisty editor of the *Independent*, called Ham to account on the fury of his preaching against Jews and Roman Catholics. In his editorials, Saunders said Ham was gifted in "the art of making people hate." Saunders's pounding on Ham drew applause from the student editors of the *Carolina Magazine*, who said they were "highly appreciative of [Saunders's] contribution and expression of somewhere near the ideas which we hold."[49]

Ham's Raleigh meetings drew thousands who looked for what Gerald Johnson called "red meat" in the evangelist's preaching.[50] Ham did not disappoint. Governor Cameron Morrison had given him the perfect setup with his recent opposition to biology textbooks containing references to evolution. Ham settled into Raleigh, preaching in a specially built low, one-story wooden hall that could seat about a thousand of the faithful. Then he moved out into the community, shaming business owners into closing for an hour to allow their workers to attend his meetings. He carried his preaching into public squares and even state office buildings, and into some of the city's largest public venues.

Ham was into his third week when he took aim at state-supported colleges and universities. As his audience raised their hands in endorsement of fundamentalist beliefs, he asked,

> Then what on earth are these folks meaning when they preached their "higher criticism" and let their young folks go into colleges and believe

> the teaching of those modernists? You folks in Raleigh think you have settled the question, but you haven't, and you won't until thousands of your sons and daughters are lifting their eyes in Hell. . . . You today are listening to false prophets and seeing the prophets of God slapped in the face and are doing nothing. You put men in your universities and colleges who are known to believe that Christ was an illegitimate child. You recognize them as prophets, these men who teach disbelief in the essentials of salvation.[51]

In late March, Ham was a week away from closing out an extension of his tour in the city as he conducted an open-air service from the south steps of the State Capitol facing down the long sweep of Fayetteville Street, Raleigh's main thoroughfare. Standing beside him was Morrison. At an earlier revival meeting the governor had made a contribution of fifty dollars after the preacher appealed for money to defray expenses. Speaking to a midday gathering of about a thousand gathered in Capitol Square, Ham promised a final sermon on evolution, "so next Saturday night we will ride Raleigh's hobby again. Bring all the degenerate sons of celestial monkey ancestors, and we will take up another phase of evolution." It was reported that fifteen people stepped out of the crowd at the close and accepted Ham's blessing of conversion.[52]

Ham's religious crusade in Raleigh and General Bowley's speech and subsequent visit to the campus were just the first of what began as minor interruptions to Chase's routine that were now building to major concern. It seemed that there was little about the university that could satisfy the critics. A Richmond, Virginia, minister wrote to complain about photos and articles that "border on obscenity" in the *Boll Weevil*, which claimed to be the humor magazine of the University of North Carolina.[53] Chase and the executive committee had already dealt with this embarrassment one month earlier. Students associated with the publication were told to either withdraw as students or quit the independent, off-campus magazine. They chose the latter.[54] Then, trustee Josephus Daniels forwarded a letter to Chase from the Reverend Albert Sydney Johnson, a prominent Presbyterian pastor in Charlotte, who was bothered by reports of a fashion show that had taken place during the summer when hundreds of women teachers were on the campus.[55]

All the while, Chase was attempting to negotiate the appointment of his nominee as dean of the law school and keep other institutions from stealing his best men. A pay raise helped persuade William MacNider from leaving for a choice spot in Vanderbilt University's expanding medical school. Just before

Ham opened his revival, Reverend Hunter and the committee organized at the Greensboro meeting in January pressed for a session with Chase. A conference in February turned into another all-day affair, and Hunter presented another proposal that remained outside the bounds of the university's stated position. If anything, it was even more troubling to Chase. The committee wanted the trustees to endorse a program of religion courses underwritten by the denominations and taught by teachers who would be chosen from a list of nominees made by the churches. Course credits would come for students who completed their work. This proposal all but ignored the conclusion of the university's committee on how instruction best fit into a state-supported institution.

The first six months of 1924 were perhaps the most difficult that Chase had experienced since taking office. At least, it was a period where he was beset by more critics from outside than from within. He confided to the president of Dartmouth, his alma mater, that he was bothered by the unsettling public commentary about students and their political activity: "The infernal stupidity of bringing heavy guns to bear on this sort of thing forms an exceedingly interesting commentary to my mind on the too widespread existence of the same state of mind that manifests itself in the efforts of the Ku Klux Klan and the Bryan wing of fundamentalists."[56]

When students settled into the benches in Memorial Hall at the beginning of the fall term in 1924, Chase greeted them with a welcome that was perhaps the best of his public presentations. That fall, he answered virtually all of the critics who had used his university for target practice, from the likes of General Bowley to those of evangelist Mordecai Ham. He did not call them by name, but if they read his remarks, which received wider publication than any of his other speeches to the student body, they would find themselves included. His address was a strong, forthright statement of the intellectual responsibility of the university, its duty to produce graduates equipped to deal with a changing and complex world, and a restatement of his faith in the philosophy of free inquiry as defined by Thomas Jefferson.

Students on American college campuses had a high moral standard, he said, that critics refused to acknowledge. Drawing from the Bible, Chase said that while the Lord promised to spare Sodom if ten righteous men could be found, "the critics of college life nowadays seem to want to reverse that process and to feel that they should hold this or that institution up to public condemnation as a modern Sodom if it can be demonstrated that there are in it as many as ten unrighteous men." Too many people ask the wrong questions

about colleges, he said. They focus on moral values and think too little about the quality of its intellectual life, and "no institution ought for a moment to be allowed to excuse itself for the absence of genuine intellectual freedom and high and honest intellectual standards on any grounds whatsoever. An educational institution without these things is like a church without religion, or a government without statesmanship."

"The chief opposition to intellectual freedom today," Chase continued, "is directed against two fields: that of the biological sciences and that of the social sciences, especially economics and sociology. In the case of the biological sciences, it is of course the teaching of evolution that is mainly attacked. In the social sciences, the case is more complex. Here it seems to rest on the fear that the free discussion of social and economic problems tends to make men radicals, socialists and Bolshevists." Chase said he had too much faith in America to fear informed discussion. Suppression of debate, as inflicted upon Galileo and Roger Bacon centuries before, would "lead inevitably in the direction of a civilization that is characterized by intellectual sterility. . . . It is impossible to fit men to participate effectively in a twentieth-century civilization on the basis of a medieval theory of education."

Intellectual freedom carries with it responsibility, he said. "Let me propose this test: that an utterance undertaken in the real spirit of intellectual freedom is always animated, not by sensationalism, not by a desire to make out a case, but by a careful, patient attempt to answer 'what is true?' Such an utterance neither lies nor distorts. It marshals its facts in order; it does not seek to generalize on the basis of facts that are not representative and sufficient. It does not appeal to prejudice, but to reason. It follows truth, not preference."[57]

There were over twenty-two hundred students listening to Chase that day in October. That was around two hundred more than at the same time the year before, as the enrollment continued to inch toward a student body of three thousand. The president was well aware that in just three months the legislature would again be looking at his budget, and he had included a spirited defense of the university's continuing needs in his speech. To stop in the midst of a program of development would be "sheer stupidity," Chase said. The state, and the South, needed the talent being developed on the campus. "Is that leadership coming out of itself or from elsewhere?" he asked.[58]

High on Chase's list was a new library. "Nothing in the University's building program can outrank in importance this crying need," he wrote in his annual report for 1924. In addition, the gymnasium had been built for a student

body smaller than the current freshman class. A new facility was needed for the students' physical welfare just as the library was needed to focus intellectual life.[59] Neither would be cheap. The estimate given Louis R. Wilson for a building to house the library was in the range of $700,000.[60] The president was unsure whether the university would receive the third installment on capital improvements, as had been promised four years earlier.

There was a different mood in the state as Governor Angus W. McLean took office in January 1925. His relations with his predecessor were chilly; Morrison was leaving with the state's books out of balance. There was debate over whether the deficit might be as much as $8 million, or just some loose change as far as government revenues were concerned. McLean was nursing a grudge against state institutions, which he complained had made "reckless requests for funds" in the proposals sent to the State Budget Commission. Writing U.S. senator Furnifold Simmons, his political sponsor, a month before taking office, McLean said, "They seem to be afflicted with a mania for spending as much money as possible. I see very strong evidence of an organized movement to make a general raid on the treasury of the state. Unfortunately, Governor Morrison is encouraging them to ask for all that they can possibly use, and some other members of the State Administration are doing likewise."[61]

In his inaugural address, McLean made no mention of the needs of the state institutions, as Morrison had done four years earlier. The new governor had campaigned on bringing economy and rational thinking to the state's affairs. If there was to be expansion of any state services, he favored putting more money into building high schools. The outstanding need in the state was agricultural improvement and rural betterment, and the way to realize that was through equalization of educational opportunities, even in the most remote areas of the state.[62]

Chase drew no comfort from McLean, or the mood of the legislature. The spending spree under Morrison was over. McLean said the state needed more revenue to pay the debt already issued and cover the operating costs of the institutions that had enjoyed growth in the past four years. Privately, he was hearing from New York bankers who warned about the issuance of any more bonds. If the state appeared to be overextended, local government was even more in debt. Wake County's commissioners had recently had to borrow $155,000 to balance the budget.[63] The new governor believed the state's chief executive needed more control over the budget, and he planned to get it. One of the bills he was backing in the 1925 General Assembly as it convened

required state institutions, including the university, to get permission from the State Budget Commission before spending its appropriated funds.

McLean was serious enough about his fiscal responsibility that he paid for the fuel in the state car that carried him to his home in Lumberton, where his wife remained in residence with their children until April, when she had recovered sufficiently from illness to move to Raleigh. She was considerably more comfortable in the McLean mansion in Lumberton than at the governor's residence in Raleigh. As McLean came into office, the director of the State Board of Health gave the Governor's Mansion a rating of 71 when he inspected it in February. "The principal difficulty," he noted, "is that the mansion has never been completed in proper condition for occupancy, and that in many respects it is dilapidated and in very bad need of repair." If the mansion were a hotel, it would have been closed for failing to reach a minimum score of 75.[64]

Chase heard from an ally in Raleigh that "there is a peculiar atmosphere down here."[65] W. T. Bost of the *Greensboro Daily News* sensed it too and created a character he called "General Gloom." This was not a name for the governor, Bost explained, although some called him "Gloomy Gus." Rather, he "is a corporate person aided and abetted" by His Excellency. "General Gloom is the all-pervasive and impersonal citizen who is telling the folks to quit building schools, to hold up on roads, to pile up court cases on county dockets, to procrastinate in negro institutions, to 'lay off' the expending programs and above all things else, not to tax the big folks any more. The rich cannot stand it."[66] McLean's frugality reflected the same stinginess of President Calvin Coolidge, who was eagerly whittling away at the expenses of the national government.

By the time the trustees gathered in late January for their winter meeting in Raleigh, Chase thought he had the negotiations over religious instruction buttoned up. He had not heard from Reverend Hunter about a counterproposal, so he had negotiated with Josephus Daniels to keep the question of introducing religion courses off the agenda. He did not want any debate on this touchy issue to disrupt his pitch to the General Assembly. In addition, he had recruited William Louis Poteat as the lecturer for the upcoming McNair series. Surely, a native North Carolinian, the state's best-known Baptist, and a devoted man of Christ would not be objectionable to the McNair heirs. Chase was most concerned about how the university was going to be treated in the appropriations committee and about McLean's interest in having the last word on paying state expenses. If the university could not control its own

spending, he told Representative Walter Murphy, the former house speaker who remained a major presence in the lower chamber, "I can conceive of nothing that would be more damaging and unbusinesslike."[67] The university's earlier experience with a state building commission that delayed construction may have come to mind.

The president was not so preoccupied with the discomforting mood in Raleigh that he could not respond with a light and humorous touch to a letter in the *Tar Heel* written by a student calling himself Percival Sylvester DePeyster, who complained about the muddy state of the campus grounds, especially Cameron Avenue.[68] Chase replied that Hinton James, the university's first student, had trod the mud of that roadway. "Since his day, as the generations have passed, picture to yourself what feet, feet that later were to bear their possessors into the high places of State and Nation, have trodden this sacred mud," he wrote. "Every foot of this mud has held in its tenacious embrace some noble form. And now you, sir, would cover with a six-inch slab of concrete this *via* sacra; you would conceal it and its memories from mortal eyes!"[69]

Chase had taken notice of a resolution that had been introduced early in January on the second day of the session. It was from a Hoke County Democrat, a Scotsman, Presbyterian elder, and Sunday school teacher. Representative David Scott Poole's resolution would make Chase a figure of some renown. It asked the General Assembly to declare that "it is injurious to the welfare of the people of the State of North Carolina for any official or teacher in the State, paid wholly or in part by taxation, to teach or permit to be taught, as a fact, either Darwinism or any other evolutionary hypotheses that links man in blood relationship with any lower form of life."[70] Similar bills and resolutions had been popping up in legislatures around the nation.

There were few who gave Poole's bill much chance of even getting out of committee. Poole acknowledged as much, but said he had the people on his side. "He desires to make a testing of popular thought," the *Greensboro Daily News* reported. Poole believed that the resolution spoke for itself. It was simply a way to find out if evolution was being taught in the schools. If it was not, there was nothing to worry about. He was "for the Bible, against any teaching that questions it or fails to accept it in everything that it says. But at that there is no penalty to his proposal."[71]

The meeting of the trustees opened and closed without any official comment on Poole's bill. It was snug in the hands of Representative Henry Groves

Connor Jr., the brother of history professor R. D. W. Connor. After backing the wrong man for the speakership, Henry Connor had ended up as chair of the house education committee, a second-tier appointment compared to his earlier assignment as finance committee chair. Under the circumstances, that may have been a fortunate turn for the university. It is not clear that another man would have flagged the Poole bill as more trouble than it appeared. Just before the bill was due to come up for a vote in the committee, Connor sent an alert to his brother in Chapel Hill. He had already been in touch with President Eugene C. Brooks at State College and President Poteat at Wake Forest College. Do not take this bill lightly, Chairman Connor warned.[72]

Chase had been busy putting out other brush fires when R. D. W. Connor received his brother's letter. Some legislators were angry that Samuel Huntington Hobbs Jr., one of E. C. Branson's protégés in rural economics and sociology, was working with the house finance committee, which was handling the governor's tax bills. The president explained that Hobbs was there at the governor's request and only because of Hobbs's background in tax matters. After some members complained that Hobbs was pushing a sales tax to raise money for the university, the committee chair advised Chase that perhaps it was best that work be found for Hobbs in Chapel Hill.[73] In addition, the governor had word that the university had two hundred empty dorm rooms, and he wanted an explanation. Chase responded quickly, saying that enrollment was up by two hundred students and, in fact, there were only twelve rooms vacant. Seven of them were in South Building, "which is almost unfit for habitation."[74]

Henry Connor's letter apparently got wide circulation on the campus, because Chase heard almost immediately from faculty members who said they wanted to attend and be heard at the hearing, which was just a few days off. One was Collier Cobb, the geologist whose lectures often wandered into Darwin's theories about the natural world. Stay in Chapel Hill, Chase told Cobb. "I am planning to go down myself, and I believe it would be better for me to be the 'Goat,' if one is necessary, on that occasion than for a man who is known to be teaching evolution to be put into a position where he might have to defend himself."[75]

Connor scheduled the committee hearing for the evening of February 10. The session was held in the house chamber when it was clear that the large turnout could not be shoehorned into a standard meeting room in the nearby Agriculture Building. Every seat on the floor and in the gallery was filled.

Chase was there, as were Poteat and Richard T. Vann from the Baptist State Convention as well as the *Biblical Recorder*'s Livingston Johnson. President Brooks from State College was absent. So was President Julius I. Foust from the North Carolina College for Women, who was reportedly ill.

Foust's stomach was still churning after a recent uproar in Charlotte. A few days before Poole's bill was introduced, a sociologist in his faculty, Albert S. Keister, was holding a session for public school teachers in Charlotte. As the class was about to begin, he responded to a question about Darwin's theory with an answer that was taken out of context and used as the foundation for a vote of condemnation of him and NCCW by the local ministerial association. Foust saved Keister from the wrath of some trustees who were calling for his head, but it had been a struggle. Brooks was new to his presidency and stayed away from the committee hearing with his own worries about how stepping into the fray might play on critical appropriations requests pending before the legislature.[76]

The proponents of the Poole resolution took the floor first, and most of their hour was consumed by a Concord preacher, James Robert Pentuff, who strutted and preached for fifty minutes. Pentuff claimed academic credentials that were later found to be overdrawn, but he delivered an impressive and impassioned condemnation of Darwin and his work. Darwin's theory, he said, was "a mere figment of imagination without any basis in fact and hence should not be foisted upon school children as science." Representative Poole told the committee he could produce an affidavit from a State College student who did not return for another term after a professor told him the Bible was a myth "and the Christian religion a superstition." Representative Julia McGehee Alexander was from Charlotte and carrying the brief for her local Presbyterians. She said she had read the Bible from cover to cover and "desired nothing that was not handed down to the folks by the forefathers." Clearly, with this evidence of abuse of the Bible, there was a need for a statement by the General Assembly.[77]

The opposition to the bill was not organized and virtually leaderless. Some members who were wary of Poole's resolution believed it best not to respond publicly but instead let the Poole folks have their say, and then afterward the opposition could take action to quash the bill in committee without exposing anyone to unnecessary embarrassment. There was a lull in the proceedings after the proponents had presented their arguments, which left an opening for one legislator to joke that he too had imagined great things. He wanted to

be president of the United States, he said, but it had taken him twelve years of trying to get to the state house. Representative Alexander tried to coax Poteat out of his seat in the gallery to speak. He waved her off with a smile even though the mention of his name brought a loud chorus of applause. Vann also declined an invitation. Finally, Chase was spotted, and he rose to do what he had told a correspondent he would do nine months earlier when he brushed away the notion that any serious legislation such as the Poole bill would be proposed in North Carolina. "In case such attempt should be made," he had written the Reverend Curtis Williford Reese in Chicago, "you may be certain that the University would resist by every means within its power any effort to abridge the freedom of teaching."[78]

He was not a biologist, Chase said, and was not going to speak to Darwin and his theory. He was an educator, and he could speak about the freedom of the mind. He then recast for the legislators the same message he had delivered in his remarks in chapel after General Bowley's visit and in his survey of intellectual freedom that he had offered to his students when the academic year opened five months earlier. He came to speak for intellectual freedom. He quoted constitutional guarantees of intellectual liberty and said, "This constitution does not promise this liberty to everybody but school teachers. It promises that the liberty of speech and of the press should not be abridged." He said he knew of no church that prohibited evolution from being preached from the pulpit, "and why it should be held lawful to preach this theory from the pulpits on Sunday and unlawful to teach it on week days seems to me illogical to say the least." Once again, he quoted Jefferson and said, "I stand here in the name of human rights to say that this bill should not pass."[79]

Two State College scientists, a biologist and an entomologist, finally gathered their strength and waded into deep scientific explanations, speaking as if science had some import in such a highly charged political arena. A State College student came forward and defended his school and his teachers. The evening was mostly a forum for Poole's team of supporters. One took a shot at Chase and accused him of diverting the committee's attention "by raising the issue of free speech." He said he was now convinced his sons would be attending Davidson College. Chase, as usual, remained calm, even serene amid the tension of the heated give-and-take that lasted three hours. At one point, a committee member asked one of the scientists when, in the transformation described by Darwin, had man lost his tail and gained a conscience? Chase answered, saying, "Does the gentleman mean that they occurred at the same

time?" Connor pounded with his gavel for order amid the laughter that followed. Poteat leaned into a friend and said, "Biologically, he [man] has never lost his tail and here is some evidence that he has never acquired a conscience."[80]

Connor's reading of the committee was as accurate as he had predicted. The members were deadlocked on the bill, at eleven on each side. Some said the outcome had been swayed by Chase's presence, but in the wrong direction. His statement had only angered those who were already upset with the university. To break the tie, Connor cast his vote against the measure, and the bill was given an unfavorable report. Poole's resolution was far from dead, however. A minority report would be brought to the floor, and according to one account, "The Poole protagonists have every reason to believe that they will win their case and by legislative fiat repeal all laws and clauses of laws in conflict with the Mosaic account of the creation of man."[81]

Most of the state's editorial pages stood with Chase. Of the major daily newspapers, only the *Charlotte Observer* continued to support Poole and his resolution. Overnight, the university's president had emerged as the spokesman for the opposition, and there was no going back. When the next all-class chapel session rolled round on the following Friday, Chase was in Memorial Hall. He did not need a printed text and only occasionally referred to notes. He spoke for about an hour without passion or attempts at oratory. He was just a college president talking to his students, explaining to them why the university had stepped into such a minefield.

Yes, he said, there was risk at alienating those who pass on the university's appropriations, and political expediency would call for silence, "but the real university is more than buildings, is more than the present generation of its faculty and students. The lasting thing about the university is its ideal, a spiritual goal. It is a perpetuation of that ideal with which we must be concerned." The university opposed the bill because it put a target on the back of every teacher and was an infringement on the freedom of thought. Moreover, it was not the university's job to force any scientific theory upon students. "What the university does believe, and believes with all its heart, is that a teacher has the right to state the honest conviction to which he has come through his work, that he has the right of freedom of speech in teaching just as any other citizen has that right under the constitution." To be fully prepared to deal with the current world, students needed exposure to all manner of beliefs. "No man can be called an educated man who has not been taught to find facts, to weigh evidence and to reach conclusions."[82]

Chase repeated some of his remarks from Tuesday evening's committee hearing, questioning why evolution would be outlawed in the classroom when it was not prohibited in the pulpit. He probably had not counted on the president of Queens College in Charlotte, a Presbyterian school, who declared one week later that "no theory or science of life which contradicts or contradicts the inspiration of the Bible" would be taught on his campus. "The College looks upon the Bible as a direct revelation of truth from God and accepts it as the ranking standard and infallible guide for every utterance and teaching." Nothing to the contrary would be tolerated from students or faculty. Smoking, gambling, and "indiscriminate theater going are under the ban and no teacher or student will be retained in the institution who violates these principles."[83]

Chase's argument for freedom of speech sounds right and proper, even unassailable, a century later. In the 1920s, however, the First Amendment was still narrowly interpreted, and there was no guarantee of free speech for public employees.[84] And the license taken by teachers on the public payroll was what most irritated the fundamentalists. Like Mordecai Ham, preachers across the state told their congregations that the evolutionists could think and say what they wished, as provided in the Constitution, but God-fearing taxpayers should not be called on to pay their salaries and build them classrooms in which to teach Darwin's theories or provide commentary on the Bible.

That message was the essence of a salvo fired at the university in general, and Chase in particular, by the minister at Charlotte's First Baptist Church. The Reverend Luther Little read the Charlotte newspaper's account of the committee hearing and dashed off telegrams to Chase, Poteat, Livingston Johnson, and Richard T. Vann. He asked Vann and Poteat to explain their silence at the committee hearings. He asked Johnson's opinion on the bill. Poteat's office said he was traveling and not available to comment. Vann replied that he was working on a substitute bill but that the legislature "was not qualified to pass on any question of science or religion." Johnson said he was opposed to "teaching any evolution as facts."[85]

Little wanted an explanation from Chase about an Associated Press reporter's paraphrasing of the president's remarks at the committee hearing that appeared in the *Charlotte Observer* that said "Dr. Chase was asked if he thought teachers had the right to teach atheism and to this he replied that this was a matter of conscience."[86] The reporter apparently conflated a series of questions, which began with Chase being asked if a teacher could teach

anything he conscientiously believed. "It is a matter of conscience with the teacher," Chase is said to have replied.[87] Later, Chase had answered a legislator's question saying he knew of no laws prohibiting the teaching of atheism or bolshevism. In his answer to Little, Chase said, "I should regard conduct of a teacher who taught or advocated either as reprehensible, and would neither employ nor continue in employment such teacher."[88]

On Sunday night at 7:30 p.m., Little opened a service that he said reached as many as thirty thousand people in his church and on the radio. A radio receiver was placed in the auditorium of Little's church to accommodate the crowd that overflowed from the main sanctuary. Another five hundred people were said to be unable to get into the building at all. The Baptist State Convention might have been wary of the state saying what could be taught in schools, but Little was convinced a law prohibiting the teaching of evolution was as necessary at the time as antisedition measures had been during the recent war. The schools were taking advantage of impressionable youth by putting them in the "hands of an agnostic intellectual giant where the contest would be just as unequal" as their facing the prizefighter John Lawrence Sullivan. "To undermine the faith and destroy the heart life of the students of this land is the most serious thing that could happen."

"I admit that I am treading on holy ground when I discuss any question that involves the deliverance of so great and good a man as Dr. Chase," Little said. "He has the physical equipment by which he can put his message into every home in this state in one day. As an illustration of this he had the tremendous advantage of speaking in his chapel service to a body of students last Friday morning. In that speech he said, 'The search for truth must not be handicapped because of Christian expediencies.'" Little went on to tell his audience that evolutionists should establish their own schools rather than have those who believe in the Bible pay for their work. As for the Bible, "There are many reasons why the old book is going to stand. The millions of faithful, humble Christians who love God are going to fight its battle and be the divine exponents of a truth that is dearer to lives than the greatest earthly possessions."[89]

While Little was preparing his sermon over the weekend, Chase advised the State College professors not to do anything further, unless directed to do so by Henry Connor. There was a tinge of anxiety that the bill would pass the state house and have to be stopped in the senate. Chase warned his old ally Representative Walter Murphy that "if anybody is interested in dismantling the University no surer way could be found, in my judgment."[90]

After learning of Little's sermon, Chase sent a note to Poteat complimenting his decision not to be drawn into public debate. The state institutions were indebted to him for his courageous stands in the past, he said. "If the bill is beaten, and it must be, I think it is going to be in no small part due to the groundwork you have laid in all of these years of manful struggle." He also sent a message to Governor McLean, asking him to do what he could. The governor had not said a word about Poole's bill.[91]

When the *Charlotte Observer*'s Monday edition arrived on Chase's desk, he discovered that he had been dragged even further into the vortex of the fight. The house session for consideration of the minority report on the Poole bill was just over twenty-four hours away as Chase drafted an urgent letter to Speaker Edgar Walker Pharr, a Charlotte legislator and a member of Little's congregation. He started by enumerating faculty members who were on the verge of leaving. One of them was Edwin Greenlaw, the dean of the Graduate School, who was weighing an offer from Johns Hopkins. The University of Wisconsin wanted extension director Chester Snell. Passage of the Poole bill would further discourage faculty downhearted over the hold on campus appropriations. Now, the latest attack from Little only demonstrated the danger that "good men simply will not teach in an environment" created by the Poole measure:

> I have been accused editorially in the *Charlotte News* of having said that "the teaching of evolution was a matter of conscience," which is an absolute misquotation; and in the headlines in the *Charlotte Observer*, which furnished part of the material for Dr. Luther Little's sermon yesterday, I have been accused of talking about "Christian expediency," which is a phrase that I never used, and that to my mind has no meaning, and has been distorted by Dr. Little to represent an idea which I never had remotely in the back of my head. Suppose the Poole bill were enacted, do you not see the possibilities of humiliation which any reputable citizen who believes in freedom of discussion is going to be subjected? These two personal experiences are simply one point, which would be multiplied by a hundred under such a restrictive measure.[92]

Chase's battle over words with Little compounded what was being said about him in Raleigh. The *Greensboro Daily News* reported a toxic mood in the capital that wrapped together all manner of complaints against the university, including the hiring of a man from the Midwest as dean of the

law school, into one big lump of fury and opposition. "There isn't any more evolution taught at the University today [than in the days of Graham or Alderman]," the *Daily News* observed, "and likewise there is no less religion, which is considerable, but it is foreign, Republican, Damyankee evolution. That's absolutely all there is to this miserable business here. By threat against the University, State College and NCCW appropriations the cupidinous Christians thought they might strike terror, but foolish Chase and his fellow Damyankees will not get scared."[93]

Word of the uproar reached across the Atlantic to Frank Graham in London, where he was engaged in graduate studies. He unlimbered his pen while a friend from home, Virginia Terrell Lathrop, typed what he wrote. They got his lengthy defense of Chase in the mail to the daily newspapers in North Carolina. Chase was a northerner; there was no escaping that, Graham said, but he had been nominated for the presidency by "a Democratic, North Carolina, ex-Confederate soldier, without disloyalty either to the section for which he had fought or to the party for which he had campaigned." As for the charge of corrupting the campus with outsiders, Graham said all presidents had brought men in from out of state and "the local spirit and color and charm of Chapel Hill, the most ancient of its traditions and the very sweetness of its placid tones, have been made richer by the association." Chase had opposed the Poole bill because he could not do otherwise. "Then and there he revindicated his leadership and holds more tightly to his side the fighting loyalty of University men. Let us all close ranks solidly about him."[94]

Graham's endorsement was heartening and would be well remembered, but it did not arrive before Chase faced further complications. With the Poole bill carrying an unfavorable report from the committee, the Baptists now saw an opportunity to enter the fray. Richard T. Vann found a Democrat from Durham and a Republican from the mountains to introduce a bill that Chase found even more disturbing than Poole's toothless resolution. The proposed legislation declared in favor of freedom of religion but set as the policy of the state that "'to reflect upon the religion, belief in religion or sacred book of religion' of any citizen" would be classified as a misdemeanor. Violators found guilty would be discharged from office, the bill stated.[95]

The alternate bill was introduced on the same day that Speaker Pharr was forced to adjourn a special evening session when spectators jammed into the chamber and rotunda and filled the stairs of the capitol so that it was impossible to conduct business.[96] The Poole resolution all but consumed the

attention of the house for the next two days as the bill's advocates and critics jockeyed for support. Chase remained out of sight and shifted his attention to the substitute bill. It was even more problematic, he told Representative Reuben Oscar Everett, the Durham sponsor. What do you tell a history professor to do about his lectures on the Protestant Reformation that might offend Roman Catholics? he asked. "I doubt very much indeed, as a matter of fact, whether under the bill any servant of the State would have a right to state that he was a Christian, if the bill is to be interpreted literally."[97]

Chase felt the need to issue a public statement clarifying his comments on bolshevism and atheism after a house member, a university graduate, said he heard Chase say that the teaching of either was a matter of conscience. Representative Zebulon Vance Turlington declared on the house floor, "I parted company with the present management of that institution when I heard him say that." Turlington claimed the forces behind the opposition were "textbook lobbyists" eager to keep their book sales. North Carolina teachers had nothing to fear if they were not teaching things that reflected on the Bible.[98]

The debate produced some memorable quotations. Future U.S. senator Sam J. Ervin Jr. declared that the only thing the Poole bill did was absolve monkeys of responsibility for the conduct of the human race. His other remarks were more profound. "This is a serious matter," he said. "It is an attempt to limit freedom of speech and thought and for that reason I am opposed to it. If this measure is consistent, then let's pass laws against witches." He called it an insult to the Bible. "I don't believe the Christian religion's endurance depends on the passage of some 'weak-kneed' resolution by the General Assembly of North Carolina."[99]

The house was in its second day of consideration of the bill when Henry Connor tried to deflect some of the criticism from Chase. He said he had asked the president, along with the heads of the other institutions, to appear at the hearing. He stated his opposition to the Poole bill and introduced legislation that he called a compromise. The bill was similar to the one cosponsored by Everett, but without the legal penalty. Connor declared, "It is as intolerant to ram defeat down a man's throat as it is for him to try to ram his opinion down our throat." That did not satisfy former speaker Walter Murphy, whose personal declaration of faith brought silence to the chamber. Men can think and believe what they want, Murphy said. "A man's religion is a matter between him and his God." With what a reporter called "picturesque eloquence and evident sincerity," Murphy brought the debate to a close. He

was not much interested in whether he came from a monkey or not. "That which shall come to be in the future, so far as good is concerned, will come through the atoning blood of Jesus Christ and the love of a compassionate Father."[100]

The consensus was that Murphy's speech provided the clincher. Others followed him to the floor and tried to arouse support by using Chase as the punching bag, but none had Murphy's gravitas. Connor's compromise bill went down first on a vote of seventy to forty-one. Then, adoption of the minority report on Poole's bill was defeated, sixty-seven to forty-six. Charles T. Woollen was in Raleigh, and he wired Chase with the news of the vote. Later, the story circulated that it was Poteat's Wake Forest graduates sitting in the house who had provided the deciding votes. There was no way to tell for sure. A majority of members with college degrees opposed the bill, but four medical doctors supported it. Two Presbyterian elders and a Baptist minister voted against the measure. Perhaps the only consensus was that the state had no business telling teachers what to teach. Moreover, there was chagrin over the image of intolerance and sectional bigotry that the issue had projected on the state.[101]

Chase and the university came away badly bruised, but with a new recognition of respect both inside the state and without. As the whole hoorah began, the editor of the *Baltimore Sun* asked Gerald Johnson for a story on the "revolt of the civilized minority against fundamentalism, Ku Kluxism, etc." Johnson outlined his plans for an article for Chase in which he proposed that liberalism was not suddenly afoot in North Carolina, but that "it is merely unterrified, because the state behind it is not much afraid of the bogeys that have scared some other commonwealths to death. Therefore, this University says things and does things that every University would like to say and do, but which would scare some states to rioting and bloodshed."[102]

In the midst of the debate in Raleigh, Chase, the governor, and the board of trustees received an open letter from a group of Presbyterian ministers in Charlotte complaining about essays carried in the January issue of the *Journal of Social Forces*. The Charlotte ministers said they discovered examples of heresy in the journal's columns. Fortunately, that reading and subsequent outrage did not come until the fate of the evolution measures was sealed.[103]

The Poole bill was but the tip of the spear that was aimed at the university, and it would remain poised at Chase and his campus. Professors using scientific methodology were poking and probing the values and mores of society

and coming up with notions that to some sounded no different from what radicals without caps and gowns were saying on the street corners. For the *Charlotte Observer*, the journal articles the Presbyterians found objectionable "served to rivet attention upon the trend of University literature and it is not too much to say that the revelation was of a kind to astonish the hitherto indifferent people of the State."[104] Chase saw that the debate over evolution had opened a wound, and he would have to work to heal it.

President Poteat's McNair lectures in early May 1925 were titled "Can a Man Be a Christian Today?" Chase introduced Poteat to his audience as the "defender of the faith." Just days before Poteat arrived to speak in Chapel Hill, where he would stay with Chase and his family in the official residence, Chase was trying to find money to encourage the Wake Forest president to leave his alma mater and come to the university as a professor of moral philosophy. He appealed to H. Smith Richardson at the Vick Chemical Company for $6,000 a year for five years to cover Poteat's salary. Poteat would have the freedom to work out his course, and Chase was willing to leave that to him. "The very fact that he is here and about the campus would be a helping influence on the boys," Chase told Richardson. Poteat politely declined.[105]

Chase certainly had won the loyalty, and the hearts, of the university community. A writer in the April–May issue of *Carolina Magazine* said of the president:

> His intellectual stability, his practical idealism for the University, his comprehension of the academic situation, and his ability to sow fine seed and reap a great harvest are beautifully shown in his report to the trustees. . . .
>
> That this is not mere table-talk recent events have proved. There are faults here but they are admitted by the mighty and in comparison with other institutions which we know they are not so many after all. With such leadership we cannot in sincerity doubt a brilliant future for the University of North Carolina and perhaps an ultimate attainment of something faintly approaching the good, the true, and the beautiful.[106]

The love feast for Chase on the campus carried over to commencement in June, with the praise lavished on him heightened by word that he was being courted by another institution. In early May, he confirmed that he had declined further consideration as president of the Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn, the second-oldest private engineering school in the country. The

events of February also figured in the content of the speeches given by the commencement speakers, including a Baptist minister from Atlanta who delivered a baccalaureate sermon on the harmony of science and religion. Chase drew praise from the state's most notable Democrat, Josephus Daniels; Daniels's old antagonist, Republican Marion Butler; and Chief Justice Walter Stacy, who was taking up the presidency of the alumni association. The university showed its appreciation to Walter Murphy by conferring on him an honorary doctorate.

It was a bittersweet occasion. Chase was saying goodbye to Edwin Greenlaw, who accepted the job at Johns Hopkins, ending his five years as dean of the Graduate School. During his tenure, enrollment had increased threefold to 346 students in eighteen departments. The *Alumni Review* declared that Greenlaw "is being literally driven from the State" by miserly budgets that have inhibited his work.[107] Snell was staying, but an associate director of the extension division was leaving to become director of extension at the University of Virginia. The university was also losing Oliver Towles, a French professor in the Department of Romance Languages, who was leaving for New York University. He had been in Chapel Hill since the days of Venable.

Chase had convinced Archibald Henderson to remain at Chapel Hill with the offer of a Kenan professorship. It had been long in coming to Henderson largely because for Chase it was not clear whether Henderson's reputation was based more on his off-hours work as the biographer of George Bernard Shaw than on his classroom achievements as a mathematician. Chase believed the latter should be the basis for selection. Henderson's pay at the University of Oklahoma, where he had been offered the presidency, would have been double even his Kenan pay of $6,000 a year.[108]

In late June, Chase left Chapel Hill for Dartmouth College, where he received an honorary degree from his alma mater. A few weeks later, he and his family headed to New York and their boat to England, where he already had plans to have dinner with Frank Graham, who was due to return to the campus in the fall. From there he had six weeks open and free of worries at home.

It had been an exhausting six months, stressful and perilous at times, aggravating and insulting at others. Chase had never before been the object of scorn from people he did not even know and had never met. The episode with Reverend Little had left scars. Once again, E. C. Branson advised that he clear his mind of care about the university and enjoy his travels and the time with his family. Chase may have been comforted by the words of the university's oldest

A casually-attired Chase.

undergraduate, Robert W. Winston. After a career in the law, Winston had retired to Chapel Hill and reenrolled in his alma mater as a freshman although he was of the generation of Alderman, Venable, Daniels, and McIver. He told a friend who was down to review the campus after some time away, "I would not give twenty minutes of the Chapel Hill of 1925 for a hundred years of 'befo' de war.' Great but narrow was 1875; 1925 is broad and universal."[109]

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

A New Deal

NORTH CAROLINA HAD NEVER seen a governor like Angus W. McLean. He was a lawyer, like most of his predecessors, but none had his record as an entrepreneur. He farmed a thousand acres of flat Robeson County land and was a director at the mills that processed the cotton from his fields. When the railroad companies refused to extend service to his hometown of Lumberton, he laid track to the nearest railhead. His talents as a banker—at an institution he founded—had carried him to Washington, D.C., to be a director of the War Finance Corporation, and he could jawbone as well as any corporate financier. He also was fussy about his appearance and proud of his Scots-Irish heritage, a subject he could write and speak on at length.

McLean's opponent in the Democratic gubernatorial primary, Josiah Bailey, had tried to throw McLean off his message of economy and efficiency in government but had failed miserably. McLean recorded one of the largest winning margins in recent memory. Facing Republican opposition barely worth the notice, the governor-to-be still campaigned in most of the state's one hundred counties and won a majority in seventy-nine of them,[1] but he spent much of the second half of 1924 preparing for his four years in office.

As inauguration day approached, McLean was distressed by the measures of the state's financial health. He knew the state's spending was well beyond its ability to pay, and his predecessor was handing him books covered with red ink. The outgoing governor was not as profligate as McLean would have some believe. The recommendations from the budget commission that Morrison chaired cut by more than half the requests submitted by state institutions. The university's request for $2.4 million in new construction was

reduced to $800,000. Morrison was quoted in the *Biblical Recorder*, on his way out the door, saying, "I think we have done about all we can do. We can't keep on selling bonds by the barrel every time the Legislature meets."[2]

Nonetheless, a newspaper reporter thought Morrison looked uncomfortable seated behind the physically imposing McLean on the inaugural podium as the new governor laid out a plan for managing state government like a business. The *Greensboro Daily News*, never a fan of Morrison, noted that McLean mentioned the word "deficit" three or four times in his inaugural address. After a period of big spending on roads and public buildings, McLean said this was the time to pause and take stock. He planned an "efficient, profitable administration."[3]

Moreover, he was not going to leave it to the legislature to fix things. The new governor would deliver three special messages to the General Assembly within a few weeks of taking office in January 1925 and tell legislators exactly what he wanted done. McLean was impatient with those in Raleigh who had been reading press clippings about the progressive administration of Governor Morrison. They believed "North Carolina is perfect in every respect," he told one counselor, and the new governor knew that was not true, as demonstrated by an unbalanced state budget and unresponsive bureaucrats.[4] Indeed, there were serious deficiencies, and the public schools needed help, especially out in the rural counties that did not have the advantages of a growing municipal tax base.

Harry Chase and the governor were not quite strangers, thanks to McLean's correspondence on behalf of the McNair heirs, but their contact had not gone much beyond that. At least the new governor had attended classes on the campus, where he spent two years studying law, finishing in 1892. Yet there was little in the governor's inaugural address for Chase to be happy about. After thirty years of preaching by the university's leaders that it was the head of the state's educational system, McLean saw things differently. If the university was indeed the head of the public schools, it was resting on a foundation of elementary and secondary schools, and it was the country schoolhouses that had his attention. He wanted to use them as instructional centers to wean farmers off a debilitating two-crop system and to attack illiteracy, which remained a crippling drag on progress. Only two states had a higher proportion of native whites ten years and older who could not read.[5] All in all, McLean's focus on using public schools to improve rural neighborhoods was not far from the idea advanced by Ed Graham a decade earlier.

While McLean was not close to Chase, the governor was well acquainted with E. C. Branson and Branson's chief assistant in the Department of Rural Social Economics, S. Huntington Hobbs Jr. The new governor had devoured the facts and figures about the state's debt and taxation that Hobbs prepared for the *University News Letter*, and Hobbs began funneling details on taxes and bonded indebtedness to McLean when he was still a candidate. Come December, Hobbs was working with the governor-elect on his inaugural address. When McLean wanted information on the traffic jam of cases in the state's courts, he asked Branson to assign members of his county clubs to gather the information he needed. It was faster, McLean said, than sending a questionnaire to the elected clerks of court.[6]

McLean approached his job with an exhausting work ethic. He had the drafty Executive Mansion to himself until April, when his wife, Margaret, and their three children, two sons and a daughter, joined him in Raleigh. McLean's workday began at his office in the State Capitol at 8 a.m. and continued until past midnight with a second staff of assistants he had on duty at the mansion. He got Hobbs installed as an advisor to the house finance committee and convinced his friend Martin J. Gillen, a wealthy Wisconsin industrialist, to take up residence at the mansion for three months and help him put together a new plan for running state government. Gillen was one of a few close friends. The governor spent his summer vacations at Gillen's summer cottage in the wilderness of Wisconsin, chopping wood and undertaking other strenuous chores.[7]

The governor's work schedule left others running to keep up. He was either working or sleeping, and he did not sleep much. McLean disliked small talk and according to his biographer had never learned how to *play*. He did like to ride horseback and kept Governor, his preferred mount, at the prison farm outside of Raleigh.[8]

He applied the same economy to his own life that he expected elsewhere. He replaced the mansion cook making $21 a week with one satisfied with only $15. That was the most he said he paid any of his household servants in Lumberton. The man washing the mansion windows for $18 to $21 a week was discharged, and the house servants took over his duties. Special deliveries of spring water to the mansion and public offices were discontinued. McLean and others working around Capitol Square started drinking city water from the tap.[9]

McLean had told the state what he wanted to do months earlier in a cam-

paign speech in Chapel Hill that left Chase worried about the university's prospects.[10] McLean's plan was quite simple on paper. If the governor was expected to run the state, then he needed the tools of any corporate chief executive. He had to control expenses, and to do that the governor needed command of the budget. State government had grown to nearly fourscore bureaus, agencies, commissions, and institutions. Some operated efficiently, but many did not. If they overspent their budgets, they just asked the legislature to cover the deficit. Some received special appropriations that were outside the regular budget, hidden in bills that had nothing to do with their title. There were agencies with separate nontax streams of revenue for which no one outside the agency was held accountable. Oversight came from the General Assembly, and legislators met for only sixty days once every two years, unless a special session called them back to Raleigh. For a man who had been given the job of managing a war economy by President Woodrow Wilson, the state's affairs were simply intolerable.

McLean's plan essentially took the legislative budget commission created five years earlier and gave it more power. It followed, in some measure, the federal budgeting system that had been implemented in 1921 during the early days of the administration of President Warren G. Harding, when McLean was still on the government payroll in the treasury department in Washington. The governor's new Advisory Budget Commission would still include legislative leaders in its membership, but it would be chaired by the governor and become the pinch point for all state government expenditures. The commission would prepare a biennial budget for all state operations—not just for a limited number as in the past—submit it to the General Assembly, and then see that expenses and revenues balanced over the two years. The governor was designated as the director of the budget and had the authority to reduce spending when it appeared that there was not enough money to meet projected expenses. Any shifting of funds from one appropriated account to another within an institution's budget required approval in Raleigh. There was more. McLean saw that the Advisory Budget Commission made regular visits to the institutions that received state money, thus bringing it into close contact with the functions and daily operations of state agencies. He also wanted all the revenue collected by state agencies to be deposited daily and banks chosen as depositories to pay interest on the state's money.

McLean's plan upset all manner of fiefdoms in state government that had operated beyond the attention or even control of the top elected state of-

ficials. Many bankers, especially those who had favored status with a state institution, were going to be relieved of interest-free cash deposits. The plan also diminished the influence of some legislators who introduced special bills for their local institutions. For Chase and the university, the impact would be profound. The plan would overhaul the relationship between the governor and the university. Heretofore, the governor chaired the board of trustees, but there he was only one voice among one hundred. Now, as director of the budget *and* chair of the trustees, the weight of his opinion increased exponentially. It was one thing for Chase to irritate Cameron Morrison over the hiring as a journalism professor a man who had written editorials critical of the governor. It would be another for the president of the university to be at odds with the person who controlled purse strings.

McLean's plan was approved, and the legislature demonstrated on adjournment why overhauling the state's finances was necessary. Informed legislators, and especially the governor, believed the state would end the fiscal year in the hole. The best guess was a deficit of $9.5 million. The legislature compounded this problem by approving bills that would add another $1.7 million over the next two years.[11] Faced with such a future, the director of the Advisory Budget Commission decided in the middle of May 1925 to cut all appropriations for the upcoming year by 5 percent. That wiped out the miserly $25,000 increase in the university's operating funds that the legislature had approved. For the first time in the twentieth century, the university was faced with operating in the coming year on a smaller state appropriation than the year before.

Most would remember the 1925 legislative session for the university's victory over the antievolution bills. That good feeling was short-lived and not without consequences. No one spoke of retribution as a result of Chase's bold opposition to the Poole bill, but Chase and his institution lost on every other front in that session. Operating funds were cut, and there would be no money for the new library or the new gymnasium that Chase had argued were desperately needed. The $800,000 approved for capital construction would be quickly consumed by the paving of Cameron Avenue, additions to existing buildings, renovation of old ones, and one new classroom and laboratory building. Included in the renovations was work on South Building. It was to be restored exactly like Old East and Old West with the exterior walls kept intact but with a new infrastructure on the inside. A new portico was planned for the south side with stairs leading down to the sloping hillside and future greensward that would be a striking feature of the new campus. The expense

would run over budget, and some suggested razing the building, whose cornerstone was laid in 1798 and was finished with funds raised by a lottery. But Chase and many others in Chapel Hill favored saving the building.[12]

There was deep concern on the campus when Chase called a special meeting of the faculty just days after the legislature adjourned in March 1925. Gone were the smiles that had greeted him on his return from defending academic freedom. Chase was calm, thorough, and even stoic in his presentation. Yes, he said, it had been a tough session, but "the University is determined not to be stampeded by the 'howl of calamity,'" the *Alumni Review* reported. The next two years would be "a period devoted in the main to consolidation and adjustment and stock-taking, with emphasis on quality production." The president tried to put the best face on the situation, saying contraction was a natural response following a period of great expansion. Other universities around the nation were facing the same thing, he said. Salary increases that had been earned would be paid, but department heads could fill jobs only with replacements willing to work at current rates, a problem in a period of wage inflation brought on by institutional competition. Chase further warned that it may be necessary to raise tuition fees.[13]

There was more to the legislature's actions than dollars and cents, and these measures were unsettling to the president. One section of the new arrangement required ongoing review of the university's budget by the Advisory Budget Commission throughout the two years covered in the document. Further, at McLean's request, the legislature had created a commission to study the equity of pay and benefits of state employees. When faculty members began receiving questionnaires from the commission asking them to parse their workday, enumerate the hours they spent on the job, and detail paid leave for vacations or illness, they began lining up at the president's desk asking whether someone other than the trustees would be deciding on their salaries. That had happened in Texas, Chase reported to one trustee, and legislative interference in campus affairs had proved disastrous to campus morale and academic integrity.[14]

Chase himself was seized with enough alarm that he asked for a special meeting in May of the executive committee of the board of trustees just as Governor McLean was announcing the 5 percent budget cut. Chase wanted a ruling from the attorney general on whether the Salary and Wage Commission's work applied to positions at the university. He was told it did, and university employees, from secretaries to instructors and full professors, were

instructed to detail their activities in an "informatory way," as Chase called it.[15] Left unsaid was how an accountant in a Raleigh office could evaluate an educator's workday. Nonetheless, Chase was not eager for a showdown on this or the other measures, and he promised his support to the governor's initiatives, but only after a resolution was passed pledging the university's cooperation.[16]

A further reminder of outside fiscal control came at the trustee meeting during commencement week when the trustees were divided over what was interpreted as a legislative directive to raise tuition. Some balked at such interference, but in the end the board agreed to a 20 percent increase after the governor warned that it would be bad form to ignore the legislature and begin the upcoming fiscal year knowing there was not enough revenue to cover expenses. The trustees could leave tuition as it was, he said, but only if the operating budget was reduced to balance the budget, which he insisted be done. The trustees agreed to the increase after a three-hour debate with a final vote of thirty-eight to twenty-three. The size of the minority, roughly one-quarter of all the trustees, was an indication of the depth of the ill feeling toward the legislature and the governor.[17]

Librarian Louis R. Wilson was very disturbed. He called the budget cuts "disastrous." Writing Daniel Lindsey Grant, the secretary of the alumni association, Wilson said, "The most serious consequence, however, is not the lowering of morale or the lowering of efficiency in instruction, but it is saying to a group of men whose chief purpose of existence is to train men for the upbuilding of the State to stop thinking how they can promote the welfare of North Carolina and, instead, to concentrate their thinking upon how they can live within a restricted budget."[18]

Chase was deeply troubled as he discovered one new twist after another. Some of his confidants on the board, including an influential former state senator, warned him against any obstruction to the directives from Raleigh. That, he said, would risk furthering the attitude "that the University of North Carolina is rather the aristocracy of all the state institutions, and that it holds itself superior and aloof." Chase told another trustee that new budgetary requirements that called for funds to be dispensed from month to month were disruptive for an institution whose monthly expenses varied greatly throughout the year. "Just between ourselves," he confided, "I am beginning to question whether [the governor] sees any difference between the operation of a cotton mill and the operation of an educational institution." At the same

time, Chase confessed he was perhaps overwrought and was seeing "spirits behind every tree." He was tired and worn out from the trials of the past six months, and "consequently things probably do not look as cheerful to me as they will in the fall."[19]

While Chase was hailed with praise at commencement for his stand for academic freedom, there was an edge in his presentation to the alumni when they met for their annual luncheon that June. After six months of being a punching bag for the religious fundamentalists, the object of scorn by legislators, and what appeared to him to be silly bean-counting by the governor, Chase sounded like he had had enough. The university practiced sound fiscal management and carefully budgeted its resources, he declared, and it had done so for some time. What the university deserved was to be measured as a university and not a simple college. If budgets had to be cut, then the university would take its share, but all should be clear that if this was not a temporary halt to progress, then it was the state, through the future of its young people, that would suffer. Without specifically mentioning the new fiscal controls, Chase said the university's stable anchor had been its freedom from "the effects of momentary caprice and prejudice. . . . Universities do not grow great in an atmosphere of political interference, and this North Carolina has clearly seen."

He continued. For those who found the campus a den of atheists, he suggested they take a measure of the Sunday school classes taught by faculty members, the number of students engaged in voluntary Bible study, and the money put in the collection plates at Chapel Hill's large churches. "I sincerely believe that there is no community anywhere in the United States that is more genuinely religious," he said. His nod to the Poole bill came near the end of his remarks: "North Carolina is a deeply and genuinely religious state. It is in no denial, rather in a positive affirmation of its faith, that it has taken the stand that faith in God and the free pursuit of knowledge are handmaidens each to each, that the priesthood of science can be at the same time the priesthood of the living God."[20]

Chase was counting on a summer vacation that would carry him far from Chapel Hill to England and France, where he hoped to shed his anxiety. Shortly before he was due to depart, he got a request from Nathan Walker, his old colleague from the School of Education, to speak to the 1925 class of teachers attending the university's summer school. The troubling episode with the Poole bill was still on his mind as he read newspaper accounts of

the crowds gathering in Dayton, Tennessee, where a high school teacher was on trial for teaching evolution in a public school. John Thomas Scopes was about to become a familiar name in history, and some of Chase's flock, including Howard W. Odum and newspaper editor Louis Graves, were in Tennessee observing the court proceedings, along with an army of journalists.

Chase believed that the issue being adjudicated in Tennessee was not dead in North Carolina. And if he was right, then Walker's students were the ones who would be on the front line in the days ahead. In his address, titled "The Teacher's Responsibility to Truth," Chase offered them guidance with a touched-up version of the remarks he had made a few weeks earlier to the alumni. Teachers had a duty to develop among their students a "sound moral and religious outlook," Chase said. At the same time, "our responsibility as teachers is to be straight and honest in intellectual matters with these young people and not to avoid a verdict." Was that a contradiction? He did not think so, even in the field of science. "Science is simply the search for the truth about the created universe," he said. The fight going on in Tennessee was no different from those of centuries before when the church sought to silence Galileo. He told the teachers:

> Now our task, as I see it, is to see this thing in big enough terms to be conscious of the fact that there is no contradiction between religious faith and a righteous world on the one hand, and science on the other; but that after all, truth, whether it is in the region of religion or the region of science, is one truth. It is all God's truth, and I cannot see that God so made the world that parts of it should be in contradiction to each other.
>
> You have a responsibility at a period of national hysteria to truth. These are not opposing and contradictory responsibilities. We come back again to this proposition that truth is one truth, that the more complex and involved science finds the created universe to be, the greater testimony to the power of the Creator Who made it, and that religion and science, righteous faith and knowledge about nature are not names, but as the whole history of thought has shown, so in the end they turn out to be partners working together for the advancement of human kind.[21]

As Chase prepared to depart on his travels, he was at the end of a demanding six years as president. Much of the old campus surrounding his office in

Venable Hall, completed in 1924 for the Department of Chemistry, was the most expensive building constructed to date at the university. Photograph by Wootten-Moulton, Chapel Hill.

the Alumni Building remained largely the same as it was when he arrived in 1910. The new campus lay beyond South Building, where his quarters would be when renovations were complete. The inventory of buildings constructed campus-wide since he became president in 1919 included eight dormitories and three classroom buildings, as well as a new home for the law school, and renovations had been made to older buildings that otherwise would have been declared unsafe for use. The women's dormitory was just about completed, as was Venable Hall, the new chemistry building named for the former president. Built and equipped at a cost of $400,000, it would become the most expensive structure on campus. A makeshift gymnasium constructed of metal siding, called the Tin Can, and an inadequate library were vivid reminders of the unfilled promises made in 1921. There remained much to be done. Although the alumni had incited the citizens movement that benefited a number of state institutions, the university had received only a little more than half of the amount it had requested four years earlier.

The heartbeat of the institution—the faculty—was stronger than ever before. Under Chase, it had grown from 90 to 174.[22] Somehow, Chase had been able to retain men who were being sought by other institutions and who were much admired by Vanderbilt's Edwin Mims in his sympathetic account of the university. He highlighted the university's rise to prominence in American higher education in his book *The Advancing South*, which was published in 1926. Some institutions had their bright spots, Mims wrote, "but, take it all in all, the University of North Carolina has now a larger and better academic faculty and a better graduate school than any other institution in the South."[23] Equally impressive for Mims was the nearly four hundred graduate students on the campus,[24] an impressive number compared to the total student population of about a thousand in President Graham's best year. Another five hundred students were in the new School of Commerce.[25] Chase's classmate from Clark, Howard W. Odum, had raised the visibility of the campus both nationally and at home, although not entirely in ways either Chase or Odum would have liked. The president was still dealing with Odum's critics, which included a cautious Governor McLean.

The university had a press that was producing an inventory of regional titles and academic journals that were attracting attention around the country. Odum's Institute for Research in Social Science had been responsible for gaining handsome grants from national foundations that were being used to further work in sociological and economic studies of the region. On his way through New York City, just before boarding his ship for England, Chase was interviewed by a New York newspaper. The takeaway carried in a report reprinted in the *Charlotte Observer* was that "southern boys and girls no longer need to leave the South for their education." At the same time, Mims was not sure what the next move might be. The question, he wrote, is "whether the state that has made such remarkable progress is going to meet the test of building an even greater university."[26]

Waiting for Chase upon his return to the campus in early September was a letter from Irene Hazard Gerlinger, a trustee at the University of Oregon and the chair of a search committee seeking a replacement for their late president, Prince Lucien Campbell. Campbell had led the university through two decades of expansion that surpassed what North Carolina had experienced. Gerlinger told Chase his name had been proposed to the search committee and she was writing to get an indication of interest as well as "an outline of your educational and administrative experience."[27] Chase favored Gerlinger

with a reply, but a few weeks later he wrote to tell a friend on the faculty in Eugene, the home of the university, that he probably was not a candidate for the job. "We are having our troubles with the Fundamentalists and it is quite possible that we shall have a fight on our hands in the next legislature," he told him. "No man likes to leave the ship when there is a chance that she is going to be fired on. The work here is interesting, and worth while, and I am very much attached to it and to the place."[28]

Once again, the spiritual condition of the university was in the news. The latest episode had arisen during Chase's summer absence. This time, the complaint came from a superior court judge in remarks delivered from the bench. Judge Thomas J. Shaw was reported to have said that 40 percent of the university graduates "are either atheists or agnostics" and that their unbelief was the result of a president and faculty who created "the atmosphere that produces the result." Shaw later said he was not speaking specifically about students at Chapel Hill, but expressing himself about universities in general, based on what he had learned from reading material produced by the Chicago Bible Institute. Harry Fulcher Comer, the head of the campus YMCA, and R. D. W. Connor from the history department had responded to Shaw's comments. Comer declared that he had only found five agnostics on campus, all students, and four of them had converted to Christianity by the time of their graduation.[29]

Against this background, Chase tried to reset the agenda for the university. His remarks on opening day bore a close resemblance to the talk he had delivered to the schoolteachers in the summer school. Faith and knowledge were sympathetic companions, and he believed they "must go hand in hand if civilization is to progress," the *Alumni Review* reported. Again, Chase said, he knew of no university that was not concerned about the spiritual health of its students. "The mission of a university is not to destroy, but to construct," he declared. His remarks drew compliments from the press and even one from the Reverend W. N. Hunter, the leader of the Presbyterians interested in establishing religious instruction at the university.[30]

With his own public statements often misinterpreted by critics, Chase warned his faculty to be thoughtful in what they said for public consumption. At their first general meeting for the academic year, Chase said faculty members were free to speak their minds but "such freedom of speech does not warrant the dissemination of purely personal opinions in matters not connected with the specific duties of the teacher." Chase said he issued this

reminder because "there exists at present in this State a condition of tension which might give a false and hurtful interpretation to certain opinions unguardedly expressed." Or that was how faculty secretary Walter D. Toy interpreted the president's statement in the minutes of the meeting.[31]

Clearly, Chase hoped to have an easier time of it in the new academic year. There was still organized discontent among the Presbyterians in the state over the articles in Odum's journal ten months earlier, but all in all, the atmosphere was relatively calm as Chase prepared for University Day and a celebration of fifty years since the university's reopening in 1875. One hundred women students were moving into their long-awaited dormitory. An experiment in freshman orientation—a Chase initiative—had gone well with the new men arriving early for a full week of physical and academic testing, campus tours, and preparation for the coming year. He still had five vacancies in his faculty, but he was pleased to have Frank Graham back in the classroom. The faculty was, too, and put Graham on the faculty executive committee. The budget remained a concern, and Chase was toying with a cut in the extension bureau's budget to gain some wiggle room. The governor's plans to use schoolhouses as training centers to introduce alternative farming methods suggested that the extension program might be a place to save some money for other uses.

University Day and its accompanying celebration brought more than ninety representatives from America's colleges and universities to Chapel Hill. Newspapers compared the parade that formed outside the Alumni Building to the long line of robed academics on hand for Chase's inauguration. The procession made its way to Memorial Hall to the sound of "Onward Christian Soldiers" played by the university band. Of the forty musicians, about thirty were new men, and the director of the university's music program, Paul J. Weaver, told Chase the university band had not had time to practice more musical selections.[32] The featured speaker was Philander P. Claxton, the onetime U.S. commissioner of education whose career had begun in the late nineteenth century with men like Charles D. McIver, Charles B. Aycock, and former president Edwin A. Alderman. Eleven years earlier, Claxton had stood in the same spot with Ed Graham to applaud Graham's new vision of extending the university from border to border into the life of the state. Alderman, still at the University of Virginia, was on hand and posed for a photograph with Chase and former president Venable. Their combined service accounted for more than half of the past fifty years.

It was Governor McLean's first occasion to speak directly to the university

community, and in a rare diversion from his prepared text he answered those who had doubts about his allegiance to his alma mater. "The University has never had a truer friend than the Governor of the State at this time," McLean said. Chase may also have been heartened to hear the governor refer to the university as the head of the state's educational system. Yet the governor drew upon the words of Scottish writer Sir James Matthew Barrie and reminded the academic leaders arrayed in front of him that while Barrie had applauded Scotland's four great universities, he had raised up a fifth institution—"the poor, proud homes we come out of." McLean also said that in addition to the university's duty to produce a new generation of leaders and provide assistance beyond the campus, there was the obligation of providing a sympathetic understanding among the diverse elements of society. It should be concerned with "harmonizing the discordant factions, if any exist, and of smoothing out by painstaking care and tactful treatment, differences of a social or of a religious nature which may threaten to disrupt the peace of our people and to divide them into belligerent self-conscious groups."[33]

His meaning was not lost on the crowd, least of all Chase, who would need McLean's good wishes for at least three more years. If nothing else, McLean's remarks provided a suitable bookend to Chase's unburdening of himself at the meeting of alumni at commencement. The two men had made their positions clear. The university and Chase were in a new environment from anything Venable, Alderman, or even Graham had known before. Chase's predecessors had bucked headwinds, but not like the resistance that he was facing, and not just from McLean. The supporters of elementary and secondary education had taken a leaf from the university's book and in 1924 had organized their own citizens campaign to increase funding for public schools. McLean was proving very sympathetic, although he was not ready to back a required eight-month school term for the entire state.

One dimension of university life that had caused little concern for Chase was athletics. There had been a flap over the eligibility of a football player in 1921 when the University of Virginia game was canceled and then revived within hours of the kickoff. For the most part, however, the university's relations in the large Southern Conference had moved along nicely under the direction of Charles T. Woollen and Robert Allison Fetzer and William McKinnon Fetzer, the brothers who were running the school's intercollegiate athletic program. Carolina football remained the most binding tie of alumni to the campus. In 1923, about fifteen thousand spectators turned up at Emer-

son Field for the Thanksgiving Day game with Virginia. That many, or more, were expected as the contest returned to Chapel Hill in November 1925.

The Thanksgiving holiday was now about much more than a football game. The event was accompanied by a week full of dances and special events. As part of the festivities, the university was planning to dedicate the old law school building, Smith Hall, as the new home of the Carolina Playmakers. The Playmakers Theatre was to become the first state theater devoted to native drama. Using a combination of funds from the Carnegie Foundation and the legacy of Robert K. Smith, the theater was a fitting home for the plays of Frederick Koch's students and followers. *Out of the Past*, a romance set on the campus on the eve of the Civil War and the work of Frances Gray, was the first performance on the new stage. It was followed by two other plays, including *Quare Medicine*, written by faculty member Paul Green, whose work was attracting national attention.[34]

Chase decided to take advantage of all the attention focused on Chapel Hill. He invited some of the leading legislators who had been the university's champions to a meeting at his residence before the game. A dinner was planned at the Carolina Inn later that evening, and a more private postdinner meeting would close out the president's lobbying for the day. The governor got a personal invitation, too. Chase told him he hoped to bring him up to date on some of the studies about to be launched by the Institute for Research in Social Science. The university's Thorndike Saville, a professor in the engineering school, had already begun one study at the specific request of the governor, who wanted more investigation of the competitive position of North Carolina's textile plants compared with those in New England. Chase planned to have the governor, a couple of McLean's good friends, and the presidents of the North Carolina College for Women and State College seated with him at the game.[35]

Thanksgiving Day was cold and overcast, which was not good weather for Chase, who was fighting a respiratory illness. Somehow, Woollen had arranged to add temporary seating to accommodate seventeen thousand spectators who could not all fit into the concrete benches in Emerson Stadium. Robert Madry, from the university's press office, kept the fifty sportswriters, on hand to cover the game, happy with free food and soft drinks. It was evident to all that the old stadium and field house needed to be replaced. Chase had never put it on his want list for a state appropriation, hoping some alumnus would feel moved to aid the university. The other Thanksgiving Day

miracle was the efficiency of police officers. After the game, they directed thousands of automobiles parked here and there about the campus and in the town back out onto the roads to Durham, Greensboro, and Raleigh. One driver said it took him an hour to drive from South Building to Carrboro.[36]

This was the thirtieth time the two teams had met since 1892. Virginia had won most of the contests before the war, but since 1919, North Carolina had won three and lost two, while one game had ended in a tie. That was the outcome in 1925, with a final score of 3 to 3 after a game where the Carolina team played like overstuffed Thanksgiving diners.[37] Everyone seemed satisfied with the day, nonetheless, and at least one newspaper took more notice of the new drinking fountain installed at the Old Well than any evidence of consumption of alcohol among the spectators.[38] In past years, that had been the usual tagline on stories about the Thanksgiving Day festivities.

Chase must have been fairly pleased with the affair until, two days later, he read a brief story tucked inside Saturday's edition of the *News and Observer*. In a somewhat jocular tone, a reporter described a mobbed dance floor at Durham's new Washington Duke Hotel, where it was said liquor flowed and furniture flew through the air, smashing light fixtures at a Friday night dance. The following Monday, the paper carried a story quoting the hotel manager, who denied any of the mischief attributed to the college students, but that did not matter. Earlier reports of strangers gambling on the outcome of the football game drew no response, but this story involved students and liquor. Before the manager cleared the air, a *News and Observer* editorial writer took some liberties with the details reported in the initial story and declared that "college authorities should show more responsibility for instilling the proper conception of college work in those students who matriculate without it." He continued, "Neither the whiskey nor the assumption that they are favored with special immunities under an unwritten law is to be condoned."[39]

Having just entertained the governor and legislators as part of his new public relations offensive, which the president planned to follow with visits to a round of alumni meetings in the coming months, Chase was embarrassed and a little bit angry. He asked Dean A. H. Patterson to look into the matter and report back immediately. Patterson returned with word that while some drinking had been observed, it was hard to tell whether those who had caused the fuss were students or visitors. "The wonder is that more drinking was not done," he said, "for the queer thing is that some of the people present on the dance floor saw nothing at all the matter." By the time Patterson filed

his report, the German Club, the sponsor of the Durham dance, had taken action against twenty-five students and alumni, barring three from attending any dances in the future, suspending three from attendance for six to twelve months, and putting another seventeen on probation with a warning that a second offense would result in action. Two students were reported to the Student Council. Patterson suggested that Chase let the German Club and Student Council deal with violators. He counseled a "tactful and sympathetic" response.[40]

Chase was not in a mood to be patient with a problem that had dogged him for six years. He issued a summary judgment and announced that all campus dances were canceled until Easter, or perhaps later. The news made the front pages of the newspapers, which only spread the image of student misbehavior to cities that had never seen the report out of Durham. At the next available chapel session, Chase presented his brief on drinking, not by talking about the legal issues involved, but by appealing to a man's better nature and his self-respect. Nondrinkers are the ones who will best succeed in the future, he said. "An individual who wishes to rise today is only being fair to himself when he does not drink." Drinking was a habit of the "vulgar and lower classes," the *Tar Heel* reported him as saying, and continued use of alcohol "seemed to him something invariably leading to unmannerly and indecent conduct."[41]

His prompt response and his chapel talk did not relieve him of letters from angry taxpayers. One textile executive called the university "a disgrace to civilization let alone to education and training." The governor called Chase about complaints he had received, but he appeared to accept the president's explanation that student drinking at Chapel Hill was no more or less prevalent than on any other college campus. There was no crisis, the president said. McLean was still worried about the fallout. "I fear that some of the uninformed and some of the positive enemies of the University may use this to the detriment of the institution by exaggerating it and giving it undue publicity," he told Chase in a note.[42]

Following up with a lengthy letter, Chase reminded the governor that he had cracked down on the dances three years before, but the students who felt the weight of that decree were now gone from campus. This is a cyclical problem, he said, and his ban on dances was a reminder to the current student body that he took the prohibition laws seriously. He had called for extra law enforcement in the past, but it seemed to do little to stem the flow

of illegal liquor. Once again, he attributed the problem to the public's easy accommodation of the Volstead Act. "There is as a matter of fact, all of us here will agree, surprisingly little drinking on the University campus when you consider the students, the attitude of people in general toward prohibition, and the difficulties of the situation because of the openness of the campus."[43]

Chase did not make it to any alumni meetings that holiday season, perhaps because he was still recuperating from his respiratory ailment. Instead, he depended on speakers like Albert Coates from the law school faculty, who spoke to alumni as they met for banquets during the Christmas holidays. The Johnston County native had become the president's utility infielder for such assignments. He had helped Chase rally students on campus unity the year before, and later, at Chase's request, he relieved the ailing Louis R. Wilson of management of the Graham Memorial Committee, for which Coates had handled the initial fund-raising campaign.[44] At Chase's urging, Coates also was bringing the law school closer to North Carolina's leading lawyers by inviting them and members of the judiciary to speak to law classes. Chase hoped this missionary work would relieve him of the constant murmuring that the law school was out of touch with the state.[45] Coates was an accomplished public speaker, and over the holidays he addressed criticisms of the university head-on in speeches in Charlotte, Gastonia, and Selma in hopes of convincing alumni that the university was not a den of iniquity.[46]

Coates was not the only faculty member speaking to alumni. R. D. W. Connor made appearances, as did William Stanley Bernard, who was also known as "Bully." Chase probably would have been just as happy if Bernard had stayed home. He had been teaching Greek for a quarter century and was as much a fixture on the campus as any member of the faculty. He was something of a character and known for his small automobile; its odd carriage prompted some to describe it as a bathtub mounted on wire wheels.[47] Bernard reminded the eastern North Carolina crowd meeting in Rocky Mount that the university was a beacon for education in the South, recognized across the land for its excellence. He could have ended there, but then he went on to declare his dissatisfaction with the legislature and the new fiscal constraints. He was for economy, he said, "but I do not favor the theory of government now prevailing in North Carolina which has good bookkeeping and a profit in running the state as its maximum bonum and final goal of achievement." Mindful of Chase's admonition at the beginning of the academic year, Ber-

nard prefaced his complaint by saying he was speaking only as a private citizen, but that point did not make it into the headline.[48]

Even before students began leaving the campus for the holidays, Chase heard from his friend Edmund Smith Conklin, a professor of psychology at the University of Oregon. The two had roomed together at Clark University. Conklin informed Chase that he remained the leading candidate of the search committee in Eugene, despite Chase's decided lack of enthusiasm for the job.[49] Chase had heard again from the chair of the committee in the midst of the uproar over drinking and had told Irene Gerlinger that it did not seem wise for him to consider leaving his current situation. But, he added, if they still wanted to talk, he could arrange a trip west after the first of the year. Then, on January 7, 1926, Chase received a telegram from Eugene with the message lines containing nothing but gibberish. He discovered that it was written in a form of Western Union code designed to protect privacy. It took the local telegraph office two days to find someone who could interpret what turned out to be something just short of a job offer. Gerlinger informed Chase that he was the search committee's first choice and a visit was eagerly awaited.[50]

Chase's spirits were low as the year 1925 came to a close, and his annual report to the trustees showed it. It was a slightly petulant and defiant review of the university's record of financial management over the past five years. The one imaginative spark was a suggestion that the university consider an adjustment in the curriculum for students who were either unable or not equipped to earn a bachelor's degree. In what would years later become the argument for community colleges, Chase told the trustees, "I have sometimes wondered whether, for a considerable number of students, a definite two-year course, correlated, directed toward certain objectives, and leading to some sort of certificate or degree, ought not to be established."[51]

The report revealed nothing of Chase's conflicted feelings about his future. Chase's correspondence and actions at the time suggest that he was intrigued by the possibility of leaving all the nagging issues that had nothing to do with education behind and joining the people in Oregon who appeared to be genuinely interested in him. It would be something of a lateral move. The University of Oregon was slightly larger, with three thousand students, and had fully accredited medical and law schools, just like the University of North Carolina. The university in Chapel Hill received more per pupil than the University of Oregon, but Chase thought Oregon's guarantee of a certain

percentage of state funds for its university preferable to going hat in hand to the legislature every two years.[52] On balance, however, he was inclined to remain where he was. He had demonstrated as much in May when he had turned down the lucrative offer from the Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn and, more recently, the opportunity of the presidency at Pennsylvania State College.[53] In the end, he decided he owed it to himself to investigate further the Oregon situation.

On February 3, Chase finished some correspondence at his office and then drove to Raleigh and a meeting with Wallace Buttrick, the head of the Rockefeller Foundation's General Education Board. He confided to Buttrick that he was headed west, and Buttrick gave him a good report on the University of Oregon. Then Chase boarded a train for his cross-continental journey into the vast reaches of the Pacific Northwest, a territory as unfamiliar to him as the South had been fifteen years earlier. He had informed the trustees executive committee of the reason for the trip that would require his absence for at least three weeks; it was impossible for him to do otherwise. For the same reason, he had also brought a few members of the faculty into his confidence.[54] He would be alone with his own thoughts and questions about his future for the better part of the four-day journey. His wife remained at home with their daughter. Chase was approaching his forty-third birthday in April, and if he were to make a change, this might be the time. He was on his way to find out if the University of Oregon was the place to make it.

The rattle of the car and the clacking of the wheels kept time with his pocket watch. As the hours passed, and in the solitude of his travel, he took stock of his career. He loved the South; Chapel Hill had become as dear to him as his own New England. He was proud of the transformation that had taken place at the university and his part in turning a college of modest reputation into a university of national standing. He had an admirable record as a teacher, a proponent of extension, a leader in research, and an administrator. Yet the past year left him deeply worried. He thought the state had gone insane over the prospect of the millions James B. Duke had heaped on Trinity College to make it the most heavily endowed school in the nation, as if money were the route to educational excellence. North Carolinians seemed ready to ignore, or at least take for granted, the advances their own university had made in its program, especially the law school.[55]

Then there were the political fights. Every interest hostile to the university seemed to have arisen at once "to try to do damage while the going is good,"

he confided to a friend just before leaving on his journey. "Sometimes I get very much depressed over the situation, and wonder if somebody else could not guide the University through this period better than I can; and then again I wonder if it is a good time for the University to change leadership."[56]

A week before his departure, he had defended, once again, Odum's Institute for Research in Social Science against an attack from David Clark's *Southern Textile Bulletin*, which had denounced a request from the institute for cooperation by mill owners in a study of the textile industry. "There is no mistaking the idea of the manufacturers that the University should 'stick to its knitting' and not engage in the pastime of breeding radicals and reformers," Clark wrote in an editorial. Particularly annoying to Clark was the source of Odum's funding, the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial. Clark saw the foundation's support as pernicious meddling by northern interests. Speaking to the Wake County alumni in late January, Chase said, "The welfare and happiness of mankind is after all of more importance than purely material wealth or progress. The field of social science is a comparatively new one, but I consider it a very important one." The Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial had no hand in Odum's research, and Chase said the state should be pleased that the institute was one of four recipients of funding from the foundation chosen from across the nation.[57]

A speech before newspaper editors gathered a few days later for their annual meeting in Chapel Hill demonstrated Chase's frustrations:

> Some of these days I expect to inflict on some audience a speech that I should call, I think, "The Homeless Liberal." I should make the point that in America today the liberal is a creature without habitation or friends, held in contempt by both reactionary and radical because he believes in the need for human progress and social change without being a socialist; in the future without wanting to throw away the past; holds that religious creeds may change as knowledge grows from more to more and yet cherishes religion; does not believe the younger generation is going straight to the dogs and yet thinks it capable of making some very serious mistakes now and then; does not think that Babbitt is the superman for whose production the ages have travailed, and yet does not find a spiritual name in the philosophy of H. L. Mencken; neither parades in hood and sheet nor believes that America should allow here a mongrel civilization. I do not know whether there is room in America

> any more for such a creature. But I do believe that the time is coming when there will be room for the liberal.[58]

In a note sent the day he left for Oregon to the ailing Louis R. Wilson, who was recuperating at a retreat on the North Carolina coast, Chase said, "Sometimes I think it might be worthwhile resigning in order to be able to say in public a few things that I cannot say publicly under present conditions."[59]

His trip was supposed to be a secret, but the reason for his absence was known by the time his train crossed the Mississippi River. He arrived in Portland on Sunday night, the seventh of February, for a dinner with a welcoming committee. Portland newspaper reporters were waiting for him, much to the chagrin of his hosts. They had been alerted by reports of Chase's trip that had appeared in North Carolina publications two days earlier. He deflected direct questions about the Oregon presidency, saying coyly that he had come just to look around. By the time he reached Eugene, he had a new identity. The headline in the *Eugene Guard* over a story about the man cussed in North Carolina as a "Damyankee" read "Dixie U. Head Coming."[60] He may not have been considered a southerner at home, but for folks in the Pacific Northwest he was as close to one as they had seen of late.

On Monday morning, after a tour of the university's medical school campus in Portland, Chase and his hosts motored on to Eugene, where the evening paper announced that the decision was not whether Chase would be offered the presidency, but whether he would take it. In an interview he gave shortly before leaving Portland, Chase was asked about his thoughts on the antievolution bills that had gained traction in the South and had culminated in the Scopes trial six months earlier. Chase never spoke the word "evolution," a reporter noted, but referred instead to the "liberalism in education." While in Portland, Chase "talked freely . . . and in the course of his remarks let it be known that, although from the south, he has little in common with the type of mind made manifest in the prosecution of the Scopes case in Tennessee."[61] The next day Chase was formally offered the presidency after a special meeting of the university's board of regents. The decision of the regents, who had been a fractured body in the months before, was unanimous.[62]

The town of Eugene was recovering from recent flooding of the Willamette River, which ran through the heart of town. More than five inches of rain had fallen in six days, and the swollen river had spilled out of its banks into streets and buildings. Local health authorities were still warning residents

to boil drinking water until the pipes were clear. The run of foul weather did not seem to bother either Chase or his sponsors. Chase had all the administrative and educational qualifications the latter were seeking. Further, he was handsome and charming, with a "smile as engaging as that of a college sophomore." They liked his liberal politics and his record in North Carolina. A reprint of his talk to the entering class in 1924, the one he titled "The University's Intellectual Responsibility," was in circulation before he arrived, and it was quoted in the newspaper. An editorial writer for the *Eugene Guard* was appalled that the Carolina textile men had dismissed the university's offer of a sociological and economic study of their industry. The writer dressed down the southern manufacturers and said the nation needed more of that kind of "radicalism."[63] Newspapers back east were not willing to go that far.

Over the course of his visit, Chase was the toast of the town. The governor and the board of regents entertained him on his first night in Eugene, and the next morning he met with a faculty advisory committee. Later in the week, he attended a meeting of the chamber of commerce, where he said nice things about Oregon and reaffirmed his belief in a public university's duty to serve the state. On another occasion, he was introduced at a student gathering on campus, and they endorsed his candidacy by singing the "Oregon Pledge Song," a rare privilege for a visitor. Men and women sat side by side throughout the hall; Chase had recently confessed that a coeducational campus "will be a fresh sort of situation for me to think about." He was accompanied on the stage by a California educator who spoke on a familiar theme: the reported degeneration of college students. Charles Edward Rugh took a page from Chase's own book, saying, "If you expect me to tell you of the general immorality and irreligiousness of the colleges you will be disappointed." During his stay, Chase heard about the new $150,000 "basketball pavilion" that was under construction. When finished, it would put the Tin Can to shame. A new science hall had been dedicated two days before he arrived.[64]

On Wednesday, Chase lunched at the Anchorage Club with the university's deans. A larger public reception for a broad array of university people consumed another afternoon. In the evening, he got some rest at the home of Ned Conklin, where he stayed the four nights he was in town. By Friday Chase was back in Portland, where he dined with the dean of the medical school and prepared to leave Sunday morning for San Francisco, where he planned to spend a couple of days with Lester Alonzo Williams, a fellow New Englander, Dartmouth graduate, and former colleague from Chapel Hill. He

had come west some years earlier to teach at the University of California at Berkeley.[65]

Irene Gerlinger, the chair of the search committee, watched Chase leave with anticipation that he would be returning, hopeful that the promise of a salary of $10,000 ($1,500 more than his current pay) and a new president's home would seal the deal. Chase did not give her an answer but promised to respond within two weeks of his arriving home. "Destiny is leading you on to greater fields of usefulness," Gerlinger told him in a final note. She said Chase could be assured that as president he would be a leading man in the state and supported by regents who would not embarrass him with interference. He carried with him a further endorsement from the *Eugene Guard* that said, in part, "[Harry Chase] is plainly liked and approved by everybody with whom he has come in contact here. . . . If knowledge that he is 'in right' will influence his decision, acceptance ought to be well assured."[66]

For the week Chase was in Eugene, he was virtually wrapped in a cocoon, isolated from the commotion his trip was causing in North Carolina. His most outspoken champion to the east was Secretary of State W. N. Everett. Chase had not even reached Eugene when Everett announced, "We are on the verge of losing one of the foremost educators of the country, a man who has been of tremendous service to the state and to its university." The *Greensboro Daily News* gave a full-throated endorsement to a campaign to keep Chase in North Carolina, but it also expressed understanding of why his eye might wander: "He has been pestered, irritated, nagged at, denounced, vilified and feared by people who were ignorant of the truth or careless of the truth or afraid of the truth. There is no reason for Dr. Chase to accept the constant humiliation of being kicked about and this newspaper does not blame him for considering a new opportunity extended to him, as many have been extended in the past and as many more will be extended in the future." Everett surmised that there were more universities around than there were good men to run them. Losing Chase would be an "irreparable loss."[67]

Not all of the public voices were as urgent for Chase to remain. The *Charlotte Observer* did not sound alarmed that Chase might leave the university. It believed a suitable replacement could be found without going too far from Chapel Hill. "The impression need not get out that the University would go to wreck if he should leave it," one editorial writer observed.[68] The Reverend H. B. Searight, the moderator of the Presbyterian Synod of North Carolina, encouraged Chase to take the job.[69]

Apparently, it was Chase's own friends in Chapel Hill who had let slip that he was entertaining the prospects of a new job. News accounts of his trip were datelined from Chapel Hill and appeared first in the Raleigh and Greensboro newspapers forty-eight hours after Chase left Chapel Hill.[70] Josephus Daniels had presided at the meeting of the trustees executive committee, in the absence of the governor, when Chase informed the trustees of his trip. His newspaper's editorial page had little to say about the possibility of losing him as president, but it was not a total blackout. News accounts of his trip appeared on the front page. Faculty members were not going to let their president leave without raising a howl, however. While Chase was still in Eugene, Frank Graham, the old college cheerleader, took the floor at a specially called meeting of the faculty and pushed through a resolution, effusive with praise, in support of Chase and his work at the university.

Graham said Chase had taken charge at a difficult time, "a bewildering hour," he called it, and with the misgivings by some of his faculty as "an untried and an uncertain hand [had taken] over the administration of this University." Yet he had succeeded. "The strong currents, in whose sudden midst he found himself, discovered and developed his poise, intellectual patience, openness and fairness of mind, astute insights, his capacity for blending many and diverse interests in a composite statesmanship, a flexibility of leadership and yet a final staunchness in great causes. This combination of qualities in one personality is so unusual in any group that no group can let go such a personality without real intellectual and spiritual loss. This loss would be at the very center of our life."

Those most aroused at the thought of losing Chase cast it in the context of the tension between the university and the religious fundamentalists. "Issues of freedom and tolerance gather about his name," Graham said, and Chase was being driven from the state. It was a deplorable situation, just downright unneighborly, and a stain on North Carolina's honor. Graham called for the friends of the university to rally behind its president: "If he should grow tired of guerilla warfare and weary of the strife, we would reassure him and pledge him anew our ranks unbroken in the cause for which he stands. This student body, solid through, this faculty, solid through, the alumni and the citizens, friends of the University and her cause, will gather, if need be, by the fighting thousands to win the issues at stake in the continuing administration of President Chase."[71] The faculty approved Graham's resolution without a single word of dissent.

Chase was still in Portland when he received a telegram quoting the resolution in its entirety. Considering Graham's fondness for words, it made quite a bundle. Chase was surprised at the outpouring of praise and support and wired James F. Royster to relay his appreciation.[72] In the meantime, the growing pile of letters on his desk would have to wait. Chase wanted to spend some time with Williams, see a bit of San Francisco, and then make a stopover in Los Angeles before beginning his journey east. He seemed in no great hurry and, at his own expense, took time for a stopover at the Grand Canyon. His train pulled into Raleigh on the twenty-fourth at 10 p.m.[73]

Chase's trip had lasted three weeks. While he was gone, the one-year anniversary of those fractious days surrounding the legislature's debate of the Poole bill had come and gone. The antievolution feeling remained high, fed in large part by the Presbyterians, who had only stepped back to regroup and direct their ire in other directions. A few local school boards had banned the teaching of evolution, and one of the denomination's leading spokesmen in the 1925 legislative session, Representative Zebulon Vance Turlington of Mooresville, promised to introduce another bill when the 1927 session convened. The antievolutionists were in the ascendancy among the Presbyterians, and they passed resolutions at their synod meeting in October 1925 that condemned the teaching of evolution and Howard W. Odum's *Journal of Social Forces* and that called upon the university to resist dissemination of "radical and dangerous theories."[74]

The denomination remained upset about what they believed was the university's misuse of the McNair legacy. They did not know just how much trouble Chase encountered in finding a speaker for 1926 who could meet the late Reverend McNair's terms. His first choice had been astronomer Forest Ray Moulton from the University of Chicago, whose science was reshaping how men considered the universe. In mid-January, just as Chase was preparing for his trip west, Moulton withdrew his earlier acceptance, saying he did not belong to an evangelical denomination, having left a Methodist church he had attended for years because of the uptick in fundamentalist preaching.[75] Chase immediately issued an invitation to Charles Reynolds Brown, the dean of the Yale University divinity school. Brown demurred at first, saying he had not brushed up against science in some time and was not sure he qualified to speak on its relationship with religion. With time running out, Chase responded to Brown saying, "We have always given the phrase a most liberal interpretation."[76] The McNair family would have agreed, much to their chagrin.

It seemed the only time Chase could escape the issue that was so attached to his name, even in Oregon, was when he was alone on the train as it moved across the Southwest, into the Deep South, and then on to Raleigh. When he got back to his desk, and the letters awaiting him there, he was brought back to reality and those who saw him as their champion. "The State is greatly to fault to have allowed you to be almost the only standard bearer of liberal thought in a public way," trustee George Stephens told Chase. He expressed regret that Chase had been left to stand alone. Charles A. Jonas, a Republican trustee from Lincolnton who was seeking another term in the state legislature, said, "Your leaving would very probably lend encouragement to those few narrow bigots who desire that the state live in the dead past than in the living present and future." State supreme court chief justice Walter Stacy, the president of the alumni association, told Chase, "We need the ripeness of your judgment and the wisdom of your counsel."[77] Faculty members let him know if he left, they would follow.

One of the more passionate letters came from Perrin Busbee, a trustee and Raleigh lawyer. He told Chase that he had backed another candidate when Chase was elected, but the "Good God had taken an active interest in the University of North Carolina because there had never come a crisis in her history but what he had provided a leader of the exact type to handle the circumstances of the Times." Battle had reopened the school, Winston defended it and began expansion, Alderman promoted it as an asset to the state, Venable standardized scholarship, Graham extended it to every Tar Heel home, and Chase, he said, "assumed charge of this popularized, State-wide University to build it along lines of thought, spirit and materially commensurate with the Great State. If the Good God has had no hand or personal supervision in these things, then I am a barbarian and an infidel."

North Carolina learned its lesson with the departure of Edwin Greenlaw for Johns Hopkins, Busbee continued. "We realize that you are our leader and that we can safely follow you in any undertaking for the University that may be proposed. Your JOB here in Chapel Hill is not finished. You like us and we like you." In a postscript he said that if his current infirmity prevented him from walking, he would have someone carry him to the special meeting of the trustees scheduled for March 2 in Raleigh.[78]

Having seen his earlier confidences betrayed by those close to him, Chase gave no hint of whether he would go or stay, leading some to speculate on a successor. The most frequently mentioned names were R. D. W. Connor, a

candidate in 1919; James F. Royster, Greenlaw's successor as dean of the Graduate School; and Frank Graham. Even after Chase met with a delegation of the faculty and with the president of the alumni association, and after phone calls from across the state, there seemed to be no consensus on his thinking. There were rumors, too, that if Oregon did not get him, then he would leave for Ohio State or Penn State. Both schools were said to be interested.

Governor McLean did not enter the public discussion. He was absent when Chase informed the executive committee he planned to travel to Oregon; Chase had notified the governor by mail of his trip west.[79] McLean did not talk to Chase until the president was back from Oregon and reviewing his options at a special meeting of the executive committee the day before the meeting of the full board of trustees. On March 2, Chase was in Raleigh to receive a unanimous resolution from the trustees urging him to stay. By that time, he had settled the matter; he would remain at the university. His response to the board displayed the thoughtful, even personal, revelations that had been part of his most inspired public statements in recent years.

He called the outpouring of support "one of the richest experiences of my life. It has not only deeply touched me, it has heartened and encouraged me for the task ahead." He pledged himself to the university and its traditions, not just of educating men but of preparing them academically and spiritually for their lives. "It is dedicated, I conceive, to learning, but to learning which strives to direct men to ally themselves with the deep spiritual currents of life, to cherish religion, to develop character, to achieve a broad and genuine social mindedness." Having touched that base, Chase reminded the trustees, and more specifically the governor, "The building of such an institution involves, on the part of the public, stable and intelligent financial support." A great university cannot exist on routine appropriations. It would need a renewal of the momentum that had been part of the previous five years. "In this sense, with its building program not yet rounded out, with its transition from a college to a university basis not yet complete, the months and years that lie ahead of the University are critical."[80]

Recent trials and tensions were put aside for the day. "In all the discussions yesterday and today," reported the Greensboro newspaper, "not a word which smacked of a religious controversy was uttered and the ability of the trustees, who are both fundamentalists and modernists, both radicals and middle of the roaders, to negotiate this action today without even thinking in parti-

san terms is the best prophecy that could have been made of a peaceful time this year."[81]

The search committee in Oregon learned of Chase's decision at the same time as he delivered it to the trustees. Some in the West speculated that Chase had used the Oregon interest to shore up his position at home. Indeed, that had happened, but not the way some thought. By entertaining the offer, Chase had discovered a reservoir of support that he had no idea existed. The outpouring of encouragement was almost overwhelming, he told his friend Ned Conklin. All shades of opinion seemed to blend into one. "I had no conception of the united interest and harmony of trustee, faculty, and alumni opinion that really seems to lie behind the University at this juncture, and it has made itself articulate during these last few weeks." It had been an exhausting exercise. "I believe I have made the right decision. I know I have arrived at it as the result of mental agony and perplexity that have left me limp."[82]

Chase was still processing the turn of events two weeks later when he wrote Irene Gerlinger to assure her he had not used his trip west to improve his own situation. He had accepted her invitation with an open mind and had told her he was inclined to remain where he was. Yet his visit had influenced him more than he thought it would. The campus, the students, the faculty had all made a deep impression. The deciding factor was the politics at home. "Public opinion had taken such a twist that my staying here had gotten tangled up in the public mind with the whole question of liberalism of thought and teaching," he told Gerlinger. His leaving would have been a setback to "that cause and would not have been free from the appearance of desertion under fire. My continued connection with the University had somehow come to be a sort of symbol, for the moment."[83]

The University of Oregon found its man about six weeks after Chase freed the search committee to look further. The new president in Eugene was Arnold Bennett Hall, a political scientist at the University of Wisconsin. He cost them a bit more. Hall agreed to come for $12,000 a year, $2,000 more than had been offered Chase.[84]

Chase was encouraged by the generous and unexpected endorsement from the entire university community, and there was every indication that a salary increase was in his future. Through his words and his deeds he had touched something deep in the hearts of those who believed in the university. He received encouragement from Presidents William Louis Poteat at Wake Forest

and William Joseph Martin Jr. at Davidson College. NCCW's Julius I. Foust promised to be a stronger ally in the future, should the antievolution crowd rise up again. Even the governor was conciliatory and gave Chase encouragement that the budget cuts were temporary.[85] Yet Chase knew there were limits to how far he could go as the champion of intellectual liberty. It did not include authorizing the university's imprint on a book about evolution that was then in the hands of the University of North Carolina Press.

The manuscript was the work of the university's Collier Cobb. He was teaching geology when Ed Graham was a student, and his classes frequently wandered into other areas of science, including biology. Evolution had been part of his curriculum for years. He had written on evolution and Christianity six years earlier. In 1925, he was one of the first faculty members ready to rush to Raleigh and confront the Poole bill until Chase put his own prestige on the line. Chase sounded pained as he wrote Cobb to explain that the university could not risk pushing its political friends too far, and publishing his book would do just that. He rationalized his decision, saying, "The purposes for which we must contend are so large, and the importance of victory so great, that I think we can well afford for the moment to refrain from doing anything, when no matter of principles is involved, that tends to raise the issue in any concrete form, or which might add to the perplexities of those who will have to be on the firing line for the University during these next few months."

Cobb's book was good, he said.

> At the same time, regretful as I am to say so, I believe that the publication of a book by a member of the University faculty at this moment, through the official channel of the University Press, which deals with evolution would be regarded by our enemies as a challenge thrown down and by our friends as an unnecessary addition to their burdens.
>
> It is to me almost inconceivable that such a state of affairs should exist in a civilized community in the Twentieth Century, but it does exist. If we can win this victory during the next twelve months I believe it is just about going to stem the tide in the South. It is tremendously important that it should be won. To this, for the moment, I feel we should sacrifice all smaller battles.[86]

Chase had a fairly good read on the political atmosphere in North Carolina. Even the governor was worried about the momentum building behind

antievolutionists as North Carolina headed into the spring political primary season, when legislative candidates would face voters. With the Democratic Party dominant in the state, a primary victory would all but guarantee election to the General Assembly. The governor confided his concerns to Chase, as did university stalwart Walter Murphy, who encouraged Chase to write a supporter of the university who was thinking about sitting out the next election. Chase asked E. C. Branson to forward local political stories from the newspapers that he gathered, so he could stay in touch with candidates facing challengers. Reports of the strength of the movement were hard to measure, Chase told William Lunsford Long, who was running for reelection to the state senate, but it was possible "there is grave trouble ahead." Long would be needed in the senate if the house turned against the university's position.[87]

As Chase was writing Cobb, a coalition of Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian ministers and lay leaders were meeting in the Reverend Luther Little's First Baptist Church in Charlotte, laying plans for a statewide movement to rid the public schools of "all influences in the schools that tend to destroy the faith of the people in the Bible as the Inspired Word of God."[88] The so-called Committee of One Hundred was largely a product of ministers from Charlotte and the surrounding counties, and heavily under the influence of the Presbyterians, but it included preachers from Raleigh and farther east. Some expected former governor Cameron Morrison to join in. He did not, but former superior court judge Walter H. Neal of Laurinburg, a well-known Methodist and the governor's appointed chair of the State Board of Elections, opened the meeting of the Committee of One Hundred in Charlotte on May 4.

The organizers had planned an all-day conference enlivened by hymns and endorsed by prayer before the adoption of resolutions that would ban from the schools any teaching "which will tend to discredit the Bible" as well as teachers who were unbelievers in the Christian faith and the inerrancy of the Bible, whether they spoke about their religion or not. There were nods to freedom of thought, but not at the expense of public taxpayers. The limitations on teachers and what could be taught were to be accomplished through "treaties" negotiated with the governing authorities of public schools and state institutions. If that measure failed, then the legislature would be called upon to act.[89] It was an agenda more far-reaching and intrusive than anything that had been proposed before in North Carolina, or most anywhere else.

Even the Tennesseans had stopped short of making a teacher's faith a condition of employment.

About three hundred people filled the seats of the auditorium of Charlotte's Carnegie Library or stood in the aisles. Some of the overflow sat on the windowsills. Among the attendees were Frank Graham; his classmate Charlotte lawyer Charles Tillett Jr. and Tillett's wife, Gladys; and a handful of university men from Charlotte, along with Edgar David Broadhurst, a lawyer and member of the Greensboro School Board. Graham had recruited Broadhurst to accompany him to Charlotte a few days earlier after Graham had talked about the meeting and its agenda with Tillett.[90] A few of President Poteat's graduates from Wake Forest College also joined in. The meeting began with an unaccompanied singing of "How Firm a Foundation," and the spirit gained momentum as applause greeted Chairman Neal's reading of the organizers' desire to ban nonbelievers from public education. Neal and a committee retired to draft a formal resolution to organize the committee for a statewide campaign while those left behind sorted out the details of how the meeting would proceed.

One of Graham's recruits, Charlotte businessman Robert Lassiter, asked who would be recognized to speak on the resolution when it was presented. There was sentiment to limit discussion to only those in sympathy with the cause, but the chair ruled the meeting was open to all. The cramped arrangements were a concern, so the Reverend Archibald Alexander McGeachy, Tillett's pastor, offered the auditorium of his Second Presbyterian Church, which was nearby, as the place to meet when the group reconvened after lunch. There was still time left before the scheduled noon recess, so one speaker after another piled on the university, reciting the sins of atheistic teaching, egregious affronts to the Bible, and the irreligious conditions on campus. Chase was the man whose head they wanted. Recasting the misquotation that got Chase in trouble with Reverend Little, the speakers said that based on Chase's comments at the hearing on the Poole bill it was clear he would allow all manner of teaching at the university, including "the right to teach Mormon polygamy, amalgamation of the white and colored races, evolution, sovietism, or anything else they believed in, their conscious being their only guide."[91]

Tillett took up the defense of Chase and of Odum's *Journal of Social Forces*, a publication he said was produced without the aid of any state money. He was met with multiple interruptions, including an interjection by Rever-

end Little. Tillett's summation—and he talked like he was before a jury—included his personal testimony. He had entered the university without church membership, had found Christ while he was a student, and was living proof of the university's positive influence on men. "I found there was in fact a strong Christian influence there that seemed good for me," he told those assembled. "I interviewed Dr. John R. Mott also, who said he had never seen a finer Christian spirit anywhere. Yet, I was permitted to search for the truth of science and elsewhere unrestrainedly."[92]

The session reconvened at 2 p.m. with the chair, the Presbyterian Synod moderator, Reverend Searight, rapping his gavel and reminding all that "this is the house of God."[93] The larger hall had done little to reduce the anger and disgust with the perceived interlopers who had returned. As he began the proceedings, Searight suggested that those not in sympathy with the cause go elsewhere and form their own group. Tillett and his troops stood fast. It was not long before Broadhurst got the floor and referred to the words of "bitter-tongued ministers" who had spoken in the morning.[94] "You are just a bunch of scared creatures," Broadhurst said. "You had better go home and save the world by preaching the gospel instead of being here trying to pass foolish laws."[95] A Lincolnton Methodist pastor took offense at this commentary, left his seat, and advanced toward Broadhurst, only to be held back by Representative Turlington. Then another angry minister rose and in so many words challenged Broadhurst to a fight. The room broke into disorder as Searight struggled to maintain control.

Finally, Neal returned to the reading of the resolution. When he got to the portion dealing with the religious faith of teachers, Charlotte lawyer William Thomas Shore asked, "How about a Jew, or a Catholic, or men of no expressed religious affiliation?" Could he or she teach music? His question brought even some of the faithful up short, which was what Graham and the others intended as they had pondered their strategy over lunch. A prominent Baptist pastor from Raleigh, sympathetic to the movement, said a man's beliefs were his own and the resolution went too far. The group professed to honor the separation of church and state, but called for legislative action to enforce religious orthodoxy. The Raleigh man was followed by former Charlotte mayor Frank Ramsay McNinch, who said he endorsed wholeheartedly the proposed platform but that passion had outrun good sense. "It will be, in my judgment, an evil day in North Carolina when theology becomes the subject of legislation. Such a course would be a violation of our fundamental

law, the constitution and would let loose a paralyzing and deadly plague of religious intolerance, bigotry, and denominational strife."[96]

The resolution was finally adopted, officers to lead the statewide campaign were elected, and the meeting adjourned. The ruckus left some of the leading figures stunned and disappointed at what had taken place. McGeachy hastily apologized to out-of-town reporters for the anger and discord that had erupted in his church. He immediately withdrew his association with the group.[97] Others also retreated, including one of the newly elected officers. The *Charlotte News*, which had defended the committee when it was organized, withdrew its endorsement, saying the attitude at the meeting was one of "crass intolerance."[98] The damage had been done. On the following day, the entire state took note of pugnacious pastors and passion that had outrun proper decorum. A few weeks later, Turlington was asked what happened. "Why, our opponents adopted an old political device," he said. "They came into the meeting and took it over."[99]

Chase stayed out of this latest uproar. He visited alumni meetings in Winston-Salem, Asheville, Hickory, High Point, Wilmington, and Charlotte but did not give even a nod to the churchmen. His Charlotte visit took place only a few days after the antievolutionists had gathered at Second Presbyterian Church. Chase spoke to a civic club, visited the city's motor speedway, and met with alumni. He talked with alumni about the academic recognition gained by the university, as well as the moral condition of the campus, citing the hundreds of students enrolled in Bible study. One of the area's best-known graduates, U.S. appeals court judge John J. Parker, volunteered his opinion that the university was "the most religious community in North Carolina."[100]

Chase prepared a statement about the resolution, and it was adopted in late May by the faculty, which then tucked it away to "be used if later circumstances demand it."[101] No copy of it survived the years. Writing his friend Edwin Mims at Vanderbilt a couple of weeks after the meeting, Chase gave him an account of the meeting: "Men who were there told me that it was one of the greatest circuses they ever saw. The net result of it is that the activities of this group have suffered a brand of intolerance, bigotry, and fanaticism that puts them under a serious handicap from the start, and I think it is going a long way toward cutting under their efforts. In the meantime, it seems to be wise strategy for the present for the University to set back and saw wood. I am very hopeful about the outcome."[102]

In early June, legislative candidates backed by the Committee of One Hun-

dred fared poorly. An attempt to unseat Representative Henry G. Connor Jr., the chair of the house education committee in 1925, failed. Candidates who ran on an anti–Poole bill platform in Richmond County were elected. The most stunning defeat was that of Julia Alexander of Charlotte, an incumbent in her house race. Since the defeat of the Poole bill, she had been devoting almost all her time to the antievolutionist cause. She lost to another woman lawyer, Carrie Lee McLean, who turned out to be a progressive legislator during her term representing Mecklenburg County. Two other Presbyterian candidates were elected from the county.[103]

Primary election day fell on Saturday, June 5, right in the middle of the commencement exercises at Chapel Hill. It was the first year of a shift in the program from midweek to the weekend, a change that some hoped would improve attendance by alumni. The faculty had asked the trustees to forego a traditional commencement address to reduce the length of the program, now stretching into hours. The trustees refused, and the class of 1926, numbering 366 graduates, sat through an address by Richmond newspaper editor Douglas Southall Freeman, who encouraged cultural development in the South, along with economic expansion. A religion free of bigotry was the first goal, then education, and then culture, "the tangible, yet indefinable expression of a long-continued attitude toward life."[104]

Before Governor McLean handed out the degrees, he reminded graduates of what they owed the state. "To put it in a practical way, the taxpayers have been willing to stand heavy burdens in order that ample educational facilities may not be denied the humblest citizen of the State."[105]

Chase and McLean seemed to be growing into a more comfortable understanding of one another. The faculty was not as forgiving. A citation that accompanied the honorary doctor of laws degree conferred on McLean read: "Under his regime as governor, a far-sighted policy of rigid retrenchment and strict economy has been inaugurated which, while jarring the state vehicle through the sudden arrest of its careering progress, will doubtless eventuate in the permanent stabilization of the intricate and delicate finances of the commonwealth."[106]

Commencement concluded with orderly behavior at the dances in an elaborately decorated Swain Hall. They had been organized after Chase lifted the ban some weeks earlier. A president's reception and alumni ball were new to the commencement schedule. Most of the chatter was about a new stadium that the alumni association had endorsed. A campaign to raise the $500,000

said to be necessary was already under way. At their annual meeting, the trustees approved a pay raise for Chase equal to what he had turned down in Oregon. At $10,000 a year, he was perhaps the highest-paid state employee. The governor's pay was set at $6,000 five years earlier and had not progressed.

Collier Cobb's book on evolution was never published by the University of North Carolina Press.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

The Decline

WITH HIS RETURN FROM a trip abroad in the summer of 1926, Harry Chase was clearly at a high point in his years at the university. The boost in pay had underwritten his travels, and waiting for him in Chapel Hill was a newly outfitted office on the first floor of South Building. The historic building had been abused by a century of student residents, but architects had found a way to save the weak exterior walls, erect what amounted to a new concrete frame inside, and create a new administrative center for the university. From his office, Chase could walk out onto the portico added to the building's south face and down the steps onto what would one day be a broad lawn of the new campus. For the present, the green still bore the scars of construction, including the railroad tracks that carried building materials to the campus.

Chase had a new assistant with a new title. Robert B. House, a member of the class of 1916 with a master's degree from Harvard, was his executive secretary. House came to the campus from management of the North Carolina Historical Commission in Raleigh, the same post R. D. W. Connor had relinquished to take Kenan rank and teach history at Chapel Hill. House was a disciple of Ed Graham; the late president had shared with trustees House's moving letter of devotion to duty that he had written as he prepared to leave for the front lines in France in 1917. The creation of the job was a nod from the board of trustees that the president needed someone to carry some of the weight of his office. House's first major assignment was to arrive at a plan for improving the training of teachers as part of the growing movement to improve the lot of the public schools.[1]

South Building was remodeled 1926–1927, with a portico added to the south side. In 1929, steps and a stone and brick wall were added nearby.

Chase seemed to have renewed energy as he met the classes on opening day in September. Just returned from Mussolini's Fascist Italy, he spoke of the gift of democracy. His spirits were boosted by the progress of a campaign to raise the $500,000 or more needed for a new football stadium. It had the blessing of some of the state's big money men, a feature lacking in the flagging effort to finish Graham Memorial. Even the Presbyterians seemed to have run out of steam. A new adjunct school of religion, funded by the Chapel Hill churches and offering three courses—without university credit—for upperclassmen and graduate students, opened that fall.[2] This relieved some of the pressure for the university to offer its own religious education. Chase offered an olive branch to his most persistent critic, the Reverend William Parsons McCorkle of the Presbyterian Synod of North Carolina, saying the faculty would be willing to consider the Calvinists' nominees for the McNair lecture series. McCorkle was not satisfied, but neither could he get a majority of his brethren to endorse a resolution critical of the university and its handling of the McNair legacy.[3]

Robert Burton House, Class of 1916, was named executive secretary of the university in 1926. He served in that role until his appointment as dean of administration of the Chapel Hill campus. House was named chancellor in 1945. Photograph by Francis Lavergne Johnson, Chapel Hill.

All in all, Chase was enjoying a period of satisfaction with the hope that he could overcome challenges that lay ahead of him as fall turned to winter. The university had absorbed budget cuts imposed a year earlier, just as it had submitted to the new fiscal demands from Raleigh. There had been some muttering and complaint from within, but the institution moved into compliance. For Chase, the budget restrictions were more a matter of process than substance; the president was not accustomed to applying for monthly installments of his operating budget, as was now the case, or seeking approval for every adjustment in spending. The new order had been necessary for the good of the state, Chase told his faculty, and the university would do its part

to repair North Carolina's fiscal affairs so the institution could resume its program of development. The adjustment was, after all, only temporary, he told them.

Governor McLean's new measures had eliminated the deficit left behind by Morrison, one that had been compounded by sloppy legislative work. The state was on its way to ending the current fiscal year with a surplus—or, as McLean called it, "a credit balance"—of more than a million dollars. If that was indeed the case, then it was time for the university to recover some of what it had lost by the pause of the past two years. Chase put together a budget for the Advisory Budget Commission that included money to make faculty pay more competitive and to begin work on additional buildings, including a new library estimated to cost as much as $862,000.[4] Plans called for the building to anchor the mall of the south campus.

Chase laid out the need for the university's program in two speeches that got broad newspaper coverage. The first was in Greensboro in October, followed by another to the alumni association in Chapel Hill in November. In both, he issued a challenge to the governor and the legislature to increase appropriations or lose the momentum that had been won so far. Chase put to the budget writers the question that those he was recruiting to the campus were asking of him: "What about the future of the University? Is the state determined to make a great institution here at Chapel Hill?" With construction projects on hold, faculty salaries considerably lower than what comparable men could earn elsewhere, and spending on books at one-fourth what other institutions were investing in their libraries, Chase told the alumni gathered in Greensboro that to continue the pinched budget would "set back for years to come a splendid opportunity to build a great university." The university's request for the coming two years was not exorbitant, merely the amount needed to keep pace in the face of the retrenchment.[5] Chase and others worried that the Advisory Budget Commission and the governor were preparing their numbers based on some per capita allotment for the university, a measure they said made no sense if the campus was to move ahead and not stand in place. The governor and his budget writers did not take kindly to Chase's public challenge.

If Chase had hoped to revive the spirit of 1920–21, when aroused alumni from across the state changed the minds of men in Raleigh, he was sorely disappointed. There was no citizen uprising and no champion in the governor's office, as he had had with Morrison. Governor McLean even excused himself

from the winter meeting of the trustees, when the university's budget request was up for discussion. As the director of the budget, he had his document and he was not open to making any adjustments. Neither was the legislature. In the coming weeks, it was all Chase could do to keep the General Assembly from eliminating all permanent improvements and putting an unreasonable cap on what could be spent on the library. One of the university's good friends wrote Louis R. Wilson to say he had been talking with "big business folks" who were skeptical of the university's requests. "I believe some of the big heads in business in this state are beginning to think that maybe we are educating people too much."[6]

McLean was not as unsympathetic as it may have appeared. Chase was told that the governor had pushed for a larger commitment to buildings and improvements as the budget was being prepared but had been unable to persuade the legislative members of the Advisory Budget Commission. McLean confided to E. C. Branson that the state's tax structure was so unwieldy that there was no way to get institutions all of what they needed. He was aware that there were those in Chapel Hill who blamed him for the stinginess of the budget, but that sentiment was unfair, and it was detrimental to the cause. "It is unfortunate that effort should be made by any one who loves the University to create the impression that the Governor of the State, whoever he may be, is unfriendly to or critical of the University," he wrote Branson. "I believe such an impression will do the University more harm than the Governor."[7]

Chase's springtime of spirit was smothered under a winter of sour feeling and growing discontent, produced in part by a slump in cotton prices that unsettled the state's entire economy. It was not apparent at the time, but it was the beginning of the Great Depression for North Carolina farmers. Tobacco prices were on their way down, too. In fact, the revenue for all the state's major industries in 1927, with the exception of tobacco manufacturing, would barely reach the levels experienced during the depression that followed World War I. Textile plants were struggling for business, what with women's fashions requiring less cotton than before as a result of both higher hem lines and the introduction of new fabrics, especially rayon. Some North Carolina cities were finding it hard to keep up with interest payments on the money they had borrowed for the streets and other improvements to suburban developments where weeds now covered unsold building lots. Farmers complained that property taxes were a burden in a time when crop prices were depressed.[8]

The only bright spot that spring was the unsuccessful attempt to revive the

Poole bill. The Hoke County legislator introduced his antievolution measure again, but it died in committee. The university's position was presented by a law student who declared that young people were "far more interested in where they were going than 'from whence they came.'" His extemporaneous remarks brought long, sustained applause.[9]

The most serious threat to Chase's plans for the university was greater competition for the state's education dollar. The issue produced the longest and most contentious debate in the 1927 session as legislators argued over the size of the so-called equalization fund that was designed to provide additional money for graded schools in relatively poor rural counties with limited resources. One-room schoolhouses still existed in remote areas, especially in the mountains, and fewer than two-thirds of the state's high school teachers met the national standard for four years of college work.[10] The debate, especially talk of extending the school term to eight months, rather than six, grew out of a report from an education commission organized by the 1925 General Assembly. McLean did not press the legislature to require the additional two months for reasons of economy. The state simply could not afford it, he said.

There were other reasons as well. The education commission's chair, James Ozborn Carr of Wilmington, a McLean confidant who served him in various trouble spots, told the governor that commission members had no sympathy for the longer term, in part because it would require the education of African American students in what was considered a college-preparatory course of instruction "leading only to a professional life when after spending millions on him our customs, habits and laws prevent him from entering these professions and making a living out of the training we have given him."[11]

Race was the asterisk to daily life in North Carolina. State officials, from the governor on down, proudly spoke of the quality of race relations, community amity, and fair treatment of whites and blacks. In the spring of 1926, speaking at the State Hospital for the Colored Insane, Governor McLean declared that "practically every bit of race prejudice that ever existed in North Carolina has disappeared and the white and colored races are living at peace with each other."[12] For men like McLean, the "race problem" had been settled in 1900 when African Americans were disenfranchised and Jim Crow came to life. White politicians and elected officials professed a caring attitude and paternalistic responsibility for seeing that fairness prevailed under these peculiar circumstances in a society where racial segregation was sacrosanct.

One did not have to go far to find the shallowness of such claims. Carr

confessed to the governor that the state was clearly in violation of its constitution as it perpetuated inequities in educational spending.[13] To avoid embarrassment, the commission's report said nothing about the wide disparities—from teacher pay to number of school days—in the support given the education of white and black children.[14] This all seemed justified to whites, under the circumstances. There was a consensus, openly stated, that African Americans were not ready for anything beyond vocational training. Speaking at the opening of the Negro State Fair in 1925, the governor said he believed that the state had given too much attention to academic training of African Americans and not enough to teaching them a trade. He also chastised the crowd for what he said was a lack of thrift among their kind.[15] At the time, McLean's budget included a million dollars to pay pensions to soldiers of the Confederacy and their widows and only $210,500 to operate four African American teacher-training colleges and A&T Negro College, the state's land-grant institution in Greensboro, where training in shoe making, tailoring, and agriculture made up much of the curriculum.[16]

Chase coasted with this tide of discrimination that separated the daily lives of whites and blacks. He was not going to upset his southern neighbors by suggesting a change in customs and willingly tweaked his own argument that North Carolina and the South had clearly rejoined the Union and that her young people needed a strong university to compete on a national stage. He told alumni in Greensboro "that there is in North Carolina today no problem that is not national in its scope, no problem that can be solved by thinking about it solely in terms of North Carolina, or of the South. I would except from that statement only certain aspects of the race problem. But in every other field, we are confronted, not by differences, but by resemblances."[17]

More than likely, Chase accepted segregation as part of daily life. There is nothing to suggest he was overly racist, but neither did he do anything to encourage any sort of social exchange with African Americans, beyond his contact with the black servants in the president's residence. The other African Americans in close proximity were the fifty or so janitors, cooks, and other laborers who worked for the university, mostly without complaint. One incident occurred in 1918 when the janitors organized as an affiliate of the Industrial Workers of the World and flirted with a strike for higher wages as the spring term came to a close. It was short-lived. Business manager Charles T. Woollen responded by declaring he would hire a new crew from Durham.[18] A few months later, all the campus help was put out of work

when the SATC took control of the campus buildings. African Americans returned to jobs on campus after the war, although in subsequent years some of the janitorial jobs were taken by students under the self-help program run by the YMCA.

Chase's attitudes about African Americans were probably in line with the views of a prominent African American, Robert Russa Moton, the principal at Booker T. Washington's Tuskegee Institute in Alabama. Speaking in Gerrard Hall in March 1921, Moton said he subscribed to the social segregation of the races and promised agreeable relations as long as whites provided education and industrial equality.[19] Like many of his era, Chase was not above accenting his public statements with stories that included an African American as a foil. In December 1925, during the latest flap over drinking on campus, he told the governor that the bootlegging that bedeviled him and the university was the work of African Americans and arresting one or two only opened opportunities for others to take their place.[20]

Chase did seem to have an underlying sense of justice. Even as a relatively new professor, in the fall of 1913, Chase challenged the popular notion that African Americans did not deserve proper education because they did not pay a proportionate share of property taxes, since many owned no land. As one of the presenters in a series of lectures on "Negro life in the South" that was organized by Frank Graham and the YMCA, Chase pointed out to students that while African Americans made up one-third of the population, they received one-sixteenth of the money spent on education. But what African Americans did not pay in direct taxes was more than made up for in fines and penalties. Much of the discussion that night also centered on vocational education as the African Americans' best route to economic success. Chase also advocated greater vocational training for all students as a way to achieve "a truly democratic system of education."[21]

Interracial relations were a recurring topic on the campus. Another round of lectures, similar to those held in 1913, took place five years later.[22] When the Ku Klux Klan was enjoying a popular resurgence in the early 1920s, organizers appeared on campus from time to time, but never sold many subscriptions. That did not mean Chase, the students, and faculty members were not sympathetic to racial segregation. They honored the conventions of strict separation as faithfully as other Tar Heels. In the spring of 1925, James F. Royster, the dean of the College of Liberal Arts, refused permission for the debate team from Shaw University, a private African American institution

in Raleigh, to simply sit in the gallery and observe the Chapel Hill debaters in a contest with Washington and Lee. He believed it might reflect poorly on the institution.[23] Later that year, the Dialectic Literary Society, one of the oldest organizations on campus, condemned the university's Glee Club for performing before a mixed audience of whites and blacks at the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, an African American college in Virginia.[24] The following year, just as classes began in October, the Student Council voted to remove the editor and assistant editor of the *Carolina Magazine* as punishment for the recent publication of a short story entitled "Slaves" that closed with an intimation of interracial sex. The story, which had been written by the assistant editor, was called indecent and obscene.[25]

"Slaves" aroused student reaction on campus. While drinking, periodic episodes of hazing, and other forms of student misbehavior were taken in stride, this was different. The Student Council's action provoked letter writers whose opinions filled the *Tar Heel* for days. Defenders of the magazine were able to beat back a resolution in support of the council's action at the Dialectic Literary Society, but with an argument supporting the magazine's right to publish, not the content of the story. The society vote reflected what Chase heard from the Reverend W. D. Moss, who said he found the article offensive but who defended the magazine, saying, "What would become of civilization if it went after its literary offenders as the student council has gone after the author of 'Slaves'?" The rector of the Chapel of the Cross said he found nothing obscene or indecent in the story, but the *News and Observer* was not as generous. One of the newspaper's editorials concluded, "Freedom does not mean license."[26]

Chase appointed a faculty committee to hear an appeal of the Student Council's decision presented by the story's writer, Robbins Keith Fowler, and the magazine's editor, Julian Stewart Starr Jr. The committee started its work shortly after the president entertained the nation's most popular crank and essayist, Henry Louis Mencken of Baltimore. Mencken's friend Archibald Henderson initiated the visit and arranged a schedule befitting a literary prince whose magazine *American Mercury* was nearing its peak in circulation. Mencken dined at the president's residence, received callers at the Carolina Inn, and spent the first half of the Duke-Carolina football game seated on the team bench. His trip south was something of a charm offensive after years of writing critically about the region. At his North Carolina stops, he seemed happy to pay compliments rather than complain. "I am more than

ever convinced that the University of North Carolina is one of the greatest intellectual centers of the country," he said.[27]

The faculty committee came down foursquare in the middle. Its report to the president called publication of the article "an act of bad taste and faulty judgment" but found that publication did not constitute misconduct on the part of the editors. The action of the Student Council was set aside.[28] That seemed to satisfy the students, but not citizens watching from beyond Chapel Hill. Chase heard from Kemp Lewis in Durham, the textile executive who was moved to complain whenever dancing and drinking on campus reached the daily press, or when labor issues were a campus topic. The committee was wrong not to support the Student Council, Lewis wrote. He blamed the response on a "faculty filled with people whose ideals are very different from what its North Carolina supporters had cherished all these years." He continued, saying, "In addition to this horrible story, it is very offensive to me for the editors of the University magazine to call for articles by atheists and negroes. The sooner such editors are moved, the better."[29]

To his credit, Chase did not fade under Lewis's challenge. Instead, he applauded the committee's work and told Lewis that the most disturbing part of his letter was that he dragged out the old shibboleth of outsiders ignoring the university's traditions. Chase replied that five of the nine committee members were alumni and two others had been on campus long enough to almost qualify as such.[30] Even as he was responding to Lewis, Chase was reviewing the program for the upcoming Institute of Human Relations that was being organized for the spring by Harry Comer at the YMCA. The weeklong event in the latter half of March 1927 was to include speakers on race relations, industrial relations, and world affairs. Chase especially liked Comer's selection of speakers on race relations. One of them was the African American poet James Weldon Johnson, who was then the executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Comer's agenda pushed the limit on controversial topics. Race, religion, and labor were all subjects sure to provoke the university's critics. Many of the institute's speakers came out of the YMCA's professional staff, but William L. Poteat from Wake Forest College was among those invited to speak, as were a few high-profile leaders in the state's textile industry. The mill men had been added at Chase's suggestion after Comer showed him a proposed program a few months earlier.[31] All in all, the week passed with broad student participation and no apparent public comment. Most of the news stories out

of Chapel Hill at the time were about the fate of thirteen students suspended by the Student Council for lying about their part in an investigation into an all-night poker game in one of the dormitories. Chase himself was largely absent from his office throughout this furor. He spent much of the month of March recuperating from an illness that sent him to Watts Hospital in Durham, where doctors removed his tonsils.[32]

Chase returned to work just as the institute was getting under way. A few days later, he found on his desk a complaint not from outside the university family, but from one of his leading faculty members, J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, the chair of the history department. Hamilton had made a reputation for his work on a sympathetic study of the South in the post-Reconstruction era. In the 1920s he was just beginning work that would lead to the organization of the Southern Historical Collection, which he envisioned as "a great library of Southern human records." It would grow into an incomparable resource for scholars, writers, and folklorists. In late March 1927, his southern sensibilities were enflamed.

Hamilton was seated in Memorial Hall at an institute session when Howard W. Odum introduced James Weldon Johnson as "Mister Johnson." That was too much for Hamilton, who subscribed to the notion that no African American warranted a courtesy title. He rose and left the hall in an obvious display of disgust.[33] Scientist George Washington Carver had been on the campus two years earlier without such a reaction, but Carver's appearances had been restricted to a podium in Gerrard Hall and a display at the YMCA.[34] Hamilton could not abide that Johnson had spoken at student seminars, but Odum also had allowed him to meet with ordinary classes. If Johnson's itinerary were known abroad, Hamilton warned Chase, the "publicity would lead to an explosion that would shake the institution to its foundations." Echoing Kemp Lewis, Hamilton said such behavior would confirm that the university is "in control of Northern and Western men who have no regard for public opinion."[35]

Hamilton said he did not believe outsiders were in control, but "I do believe that the thing marks a perfectly unjustifiable disregard, on the part of those responsible, of the conviction of the people of the state, and of the whole South, that there must be no yielding on the question of the admission of the negro to equality. Whether that feeling is based on prejudice or wisdom is entirely beside the question." Hamilton's colleague R. D. W. Connor shared Hamilton's sentiments and prepared a similar letter that is dated a few

days earlier. He, too, objected to Johnson's appearances in undergraduate English classes and a graduate seminar in sociology. "The enclosed daily bulletin of the Human Relations Institution, which announces that certain classes of the University will be conducted by a negro, shows that we have gone a long way since the request of the Shaw professor was denied," Connor wrote in a letter he never mailed but left among his papers. Hamilton was not so constrained, perhaps in the belief that he had a sympathetic ear with Chase, apparently unaware that Chase had approved the program: "I think I know perfectly that you have no sympathy with this sort of thing, and of course I know that you are not responsible for the occurrence. But if this thing goes on, you are the one who will be held accountable, and you can see that it does not occur again."[36]

It is not known whether Chase ever responded to Hamilton or Connor. There is no evidence that he did, at least in print. An associate editor of the *Tar Heel*, David Donald Carroll, did provide an answer, and a bold one at that. In an editorial entitled "The Sun Rises," Carroll, a South Carolina native, took note of Johnson's visit and his time with students on the campus:

> This man appeared before students of a state institution in a section where prejudice toward the blacks is a part of most people's false "culture." But, during the brief visit of this representative of a misjudged race, the sons of Vance, Davie, Aycock—and all the rest, struck from their minds the shackles which ignorance, beg-brained organizations, and economic injustices forged long ago. To a fellowman whose color has long provoked the scowls of Southerners, the student body of this Southern university extended a hearty welcome; these white leaders of tomorrow forgot their savagery and *achieved a smile*.

He closed saying, "Your state university has acted her motto—*Lux et Libertas*. Those who no longer *exist* merely, but who live and achieve a tolerant, encouraging smile shall rise. But it must be more than a facial smile. The faculty can do much to sustain liberal thought on this subject. Will it?"[37]

Carroll was an iconoclast. One of his editorials so provoked the Dialectic Literary Society that they held an impeachment trial to remove him from membership. Carroll's advocates mounted a defense saying that their client was insane even as he strolled into the hall wearing a nightshirt and waving an alarm clock. After the society failed to get the number of votes necessary to impeach him, he offered his resignation, claiming that the Di

had become a club for underhanded politics. He was given a dishonorable discharge.[38]

The president was not one to leave issues dangling, but that spring aggravating racial issues seemed to crop up one right after the other. In May, the *Carolina Magazine* published what it called its "Negro Number," which included only the work of African American writers. Surprisingly, the publication of Langston Hughes's "Mulatto" never provoked the reaction that "Slaves" had, although both dealt with the same subject and Hughes employed much grittier language. This issue was released just as Chase had his hands full with other delicate matters and as he and his family were preparing for an extended leave from Chapel Hill. As soon as commencement was over, the Chases were to embark on a trip abroad. The president would be absent from the campus until January, while his wife and daughter would spend the entire year away.

It was the longest that Chase would have been away from the university since he arrived in 1910. He had matters to resolve before he left, including a vacancy in the law school deanship. Chase had hired a replacement for Merton L. Ferson, who had left in 1926 for a substantial boost in pay and the deanship of the University of Cincinnati law school, which had just been awarded its own building and enhanced status within the university. He had given Ferson's replacement a year to fulfill a former professional commitment before he was due at the university to begin work in September. Now, his replacement dean had backed out just months before the opening of the fall term. Further troubling was an incursion by Duke University, where the dean of Duke's new medical school was trying to poach the university's leading medical faculty member, William MacNider. Chase convinced MacNider to stay and gave him a boost in pay.[39] On top of it all, with the McNair lecture series still a sore spot, no speaker was engaged for 1927. These challenges easily set Chase's nerves on edge and may have contributed to his wobbly handling of two episodes that blemished his reputation as a defender of academic freedom.

One of the satisfying accomplishments in Chase's early years as president had been the organization of the University of North Carolina Press in 1922. The press was not a part of the university and was run by an independent board of governors, but this was a bit of legal fiction. The pulse and breath of the press was the university, no matter what the legal papers said. There had been hopes it would become the literary voice of the South, but that had not

come to pass. Actually, it was timid in its early years, a condition exacerbated by the uproar over content in Odum's *Journal of Social Forces*. The governors had even refused to publish Fabian Franklin's Weil lectures in 1924 because of his criticism of Prohibition. Two years later, Chase had set aside Cobb's work on evolution to avoid complaint. William Terry Couch, who as editor of the *Carolina Magazine* had brought life to its pages, was the man running the press as assistant editor in the spring of 1927, having been given his lease on the office by its nominal director, librarian Louis R. Wilson, who was absent on a recuperative leave.

Couch had just nursed one of his first titles through the editing and review process. It was a book by a South Carolina writer and bore the title *Congaree Sketches*. Odum had encouraged the press to take on the book as it fit with his study of African American dialect and life. *Congaree Sketches* is a collection of tales told by African Americans who worked at plantations along the Congaree River in South Carolina. At the author's request, Couch paid Paul Green fifty dollars to write an introduction. The timing was perfect. Green had just been awarded a Pulitzer Prize for his play *In Abraham's Bosom*. It was Green's introduction to *Congaree Sketches* that prompted a call from Chase's office in May 1927 for Couch to present himself there, immediately.

Assembled around Chase's desk when Couch arrived were members of the press's board of governors, all of them men whom Couch respected. There was Odum, Hamilton, William C. Coker, Wilson, and Robert Hasley Wettach of the law school, along with Graduate School dean James F. Royster, who had prepared a letter protesting the publication of *Congaree Sketches*. It was not the author's text that was disturbing, but the introduction. In it, Green had said that as long as the black man was in the ditch digging and the white man stood above giving orders, both races would forever remain in the ditch. It was the white man's obligation to extend a hand so both could enjoy the promise of a full life. Green's prose had given Couch pause when he had first received it, knowing it would provoke some reaction, but he had let it go with the consent of the author, who had not bothered to read it.

Now, Couch learned, he had stepped across the line that Wilson had warned him about earlier when he told him to avoid anything "that dealt seriously with race, religion, or economics."[40] Royster said public reaction to the introduction would harm the university and, in addition, it expressed sentiments that just were not true. Whites were helping blacks into new roles in society, he said, although all knew the opposite was equally true. Couch

was silent after Royster finished while Chase called on the board to comment. All, including Chase, agreed with Royster that the introduction was unacceptable. The book should not go out as it stood.

Couch was a feisty sort and willing to break with convention. He liked to stir things up. During his junior year, as assistant editor of the *Carolina Magazine*, he had written a confessional on why he lost his faith in the established church, and the following year, under his editorship, the magazine had begun capitalizing the *n* in the word *Negro*, when virtually all daily newspapers, especially in the South, did otherwise. He was also one year from having been an undergraduate, so as he sat seated before the lions of the university, he held himself in check. He responded matter-of-factly that 150 or more advance copies were already in the hands of reviewers and bookstores. If the press asked for their return, people would become suspicious and ask why, and "if they looked in and saw the introduction, they might say, 'Could this be it?' and if they then read the introduction they could then start public discussion."[41] It was better to let the book release proceed as planned. His response gave the press's governors pause. They reconsidered their vote and left the matter where it stood. The expected storm of protest never developed. Six months later, on instructions from Chase, Couch shipped all the press's unsold copies to a commercial publisher, which assumed a second printing, but one without Green's introduction. Couch considered the publication in its original form a victory, even a milestone in the maturation of the press, but ultimately he saw it as a loss that Chase could have prevented, leaving Couch wondering about the depth of Chase's celebrated liberalism.[42]

On this occasion, as in others that preceded it, Chase was somewhat insulated by a corporate decision. He would defend committee actions, as he had done to Kemp Lewis, but on these occasions he was not staking himself out alone to face the university's critics. That was not the case in the controversy that arose over the research of a graduate student on loan from the Robert Brookings Graduate School of Economics and Government (later a part of the Brookings Institution) who had spent the academic year working with Odum's Institute for Research in Social Science. Robinson Eli Newcomb had conducted a study of Durham's tax rates before he turned his attention to a study of African American businesses. Winston-Salem was one of the cities he chose for examination, and throughout the winter he had called on every black-owned business in the city in an effort to measure the extent of commerce among African Americans. In order to determine the wealth of African

Americans, he had asked the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company, which employed an estimated 80 percent of the black factory workers in the city, for details on wages. The company refused, so Newcomb had cobbled together estimates based on what he found on the discarded pay stubs he picked up outside the plant gates on payday. His request, and perhaps his scavenging on the streets, had alerted trustee James A. Gray Jr., who was now a Reynolds vice president and company director, to someone he considered a troublemaker in the company's backyard. Gray did not appreciate Newcomb's meddling and called Chase to Winston-Salem to lodge his complaint in person.

By the time the matter got to Chase, Newcomb had completed a draft of his study showing businesses in which African Americans succeeded, and why. Chase did not talk to Newcomb, but he did contact Odum. Together they rounded up all known copies of Newcomb's paper, and Chase assured Gray that he had personally attended to the destruction of the draft along with any questionnaires and notes related to it. "The study begun in Wisnton-Salem [*sic*] has been abandoned, and I believe, therefore, that the situation is undoubtedly cleared up in accordance with our understanding," Chase told Gray. "I want to say once again how much obliged I am to you for calling this matter to my attention, and I am certain that such an incident will not be repeated." (In fact, one copy did survive in the Brookings Institution Archives.)[43]

The matter would return to haunt Chase later. For the time being, it was settled. "I hope you will realize that my nerves are lying very close to the surface these days," Chase wrote Odum a few weeks after the encounter with Gray. The two were old friends, with wives courted from the same graduate classes at Clark, and had apparently been consoling one another over behavior that neither could defend to their colleagues without embarrassment. Chase thanked Odum for a recent letter, complimenting the "splendid spirit in which you have worked here through these difficult years," and urged Odum to take an extended leave in a couple of years like the one he was about to embark on himself.[44]

Chase was looking forward to months of retreat from the discomforting demands of powerful interests, stingy legislators, the badgering of fundamentalists, colleagues who expected him to share their racist views, and even the vagaries of academic professionals like the law school dean who left him hanging out to dry. After an unsuccessful effort to lure Ferson back to Chapel Hill from Cincinnati, Chase appointed Charles Tilford McCormick, a member of the faculty for only a year, as the new dean of the law school. The trust-

ees were not unanimous in supporting Chase's selection, but they gave their consent to McCormick nonetheless. Gray, the tobacco executive for whom Chase had performed such extraordinary favors, did not seem appreciative. He put forward a motion at the meeting of the trustees at commencement to require consultation with the trustees before the next dean was chosen.[45]

With his eyes on a boat ride across the Atlantic, Chase breezed through the June meeting of the trustees that toppled a university tradition, all without a hint of dissatisfaction, from inside the university or from without. The trustees approved the appointment of two women to the university faculty, giving Sallie Belle Marks and Cecilia Hatrick Bason the rank of assistant professor. Their appointments were part of an expanded program to improve the quality of teacher training, which was a major initiative of the governor. The change occurred with so little discussion that even the *Alumni Review* gave it only one paragraph of coverage.[46] A bit belatedly, the trustees also named the one women's dormitory on the campus, a building that had been in use for two years, in honor of Cornelia Phillips Spencer.

Both Marks and Bason were recruited by Nathan W. Walker, who for six years had been the acting dean of the School of Education. Neither Chase nor the trustees were willing to give Walker a permanent appointment as long as M. C. S. Noble, the founding dean of the school, remained active on campus. Walker's lack of academic credentials was an embarrassment. He had worked to develop the state's high schools for more than a decade when Chase put him in charge of the administration of the school in 1921, as Noble took a leave to write a book about early educators in the state. Noble retained his faculty appointment, and was still at work on the book, when Marks and Bason arrived.[47]

Both women were natives of the state. Marks was educated at colleges in Mississippi and Oklahoma; Basin was a graduate of Flora Macdonald College in Red Springs, North Carolina. Both had recently been granted master's degrees from the Teachers College at Columbia University. Marks was an assistant superintendent of schools in La Crosse, Wisconsin, and responsible for that city's elementary schools. She also was a member of the teaching staff of the University of Arkansas summer school. She was an advocate of manuscript writing, a style of using uniform block letters that was first employed in England and that soon would be familiar to millions of first graders. She believed it improved legibility. Bason was head of the Department of Primary Methods at the East Tennessee State Teachers College.

Marks is often cited as the first female on the faculty although both women held the same faculty rank. Their assignments were quite different. Bason was part of the Extension Division and worked from Asheville in collaboration with classroom teachers in the western end of the state. Marks began her work in Chapel Hill as the supervising principal of the elementary grades at the university's training school where teachers-to-be received practical training. She later was a contributor to "The Geography of North Carolina," which was published in 1933 as part of a textbook titled *Geography: Southern Lands*. Bason would later publish a study of elementary schools in Germany. The addition of the two women benefited women graduates from across the university. Once the faculty included women, all female graduates were eligible for membership in the American Association of University Women.[48]

Chase and his family departed for London in June. The Brits were still excited about Charles A. Lindbergh's successful crossing of the Atlantic in the *Spirit of St. Louis* just a few weeks earlier on May 21. After spending some time in London, the Chases retreated to a small hotel in Cornwall, where Chase discovered they were the only Americans around.[49] Everyone, it seemed, wanted to know Chase's thoughts on the war debt payments that Americans were demanding from financially strapped nations, the fate of convicted murderers Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, and whether President Calvin Coolidge would seek a second term. From there the Chases headed for an extended stay in Rome and a barge ride up the Rhine. By fall, the family planned to settle in Paris at the Victoria Palace Hotel. With the European economies still struggling from the ravages of war, Chase found his dollars went much further than when he had been touring the year before.

Robert B. House was Chase's conduit to Chapel Hill and was well suited for the task. He was versed in university traditions and North Carolina history, and he handled difficult situations with aplomb. His correspondence provides samples of his dry wit and diplomatic manner. He furnished Chase with periodic updates in their chatty correspondence that alternated between the consequential and the routine. House told Chase he was using the president's golf clubs during the summer, while Chase reported on a visit to one of Henry VIII's homes.[50] House sat in for the president at campus functions and committee meetings, including sessions with the trustees executive committee. House did not trouble Chase with one episode during the summer when a lawyer from the governor's hometown of Lumberton complained that an American Indian teacher had been admitted to the summer school. "We

white people in this section treat this race as a negro, and grant them no more concessions than the negro," George L. Grantham wrote. The woman was allowed to complete her work without interruption, much to the displeasure of the complainant.[51] Nor did House bother to report that a visitor had discovered that the death mask of Napoleon Bonaparte that had been gathering dust in the president's office for a quarter century was indeed a valuable treasure. The mask, considered an interesting curio at best by presidents since George T. Winston, was immediately locked away for safekeeping.[52]

Three months into his sabbatical, Chase told House that his relaxed travel and absence from demands on his time had made him realize just how worn down he was by his work. "I didn't realize how near nervous exhaustion I was," he told House, "and it has taken me some time to work out of it, but I am solidly on my feet now."[53] He recovered himself in plenty of time to wander about the great European cities, where he was free of angry preachers, the Anti-Saloon League, and undisciplined youth. His trouble-free rambling prompted a curious comment on the order and pattern of life among young men in Fascist Italy, a government he had questioned a year earlier. "We have lost, haven't we," he told House, "the sense of discipline in life that our pioneer ancestors had? They have it here, as the early church had it."[54]

Chase had left some serious business behind when he sailed for Europe. At the top of the list was the construction of the new library. The initial plans called for a building that could cost as much as $862,000. The legislature had trimmed that to $625,000, just over half of the total amount provided for all capital improvements on the campus, and that came only after special pleading by Chase. In his absence, House negotiated with the Advisory Budget Commission at several stages of development on this and other projects to keep construction on schedule. Writing from Paris, which he described as "cold and gray, and beautiful," Chase's impatience over the entire affair came through in his letters. He did not feel the university was getting the support it needed from trustees, and he told House as much: "Some day maybe the trustees are going to wake up and realize that they have abdicated power to the commission, but evidently that line is not yet. I wonder if we, as a state, will ever realize that life is something besides politics and religion. God help us if we don't."[55]

Chase missed the Thanksgiving Day dedication of the new football stadium, most of which was paid for by the generosity of William Rand Kenan Jr., who wished to honor his parents. Kenan initially pledged $275,000 and then added another $28,000 to see that a field house was included at the

Construction of Kenan Stadium, 1927.

east end. The stadium had seats for twenty-four thousand, but an estimated twenty-eight thousand showed up to see the annual contest with the University of Virginia. (The first game on the new field was played November 12, two weeks earlier, when the university team played one from Davidson College.) The stadium and playing field filled a ravine south of the site for the new library. A stream that had shaped the bottom was covered, and the grade was raised with fill dirt to a level wide enough for a football field and

An estimated 28,000 fans watched as Carolina beat long-time football rival, the University of Virginia, and Kenan Stadium was dedicated on Thanksgiving Day in 1927.

sidelines. Concrete stands wrapped the hillside on two sides. Not everyone was pleased with the site; some wanted it put on the east side of the campus in Battle Park to save the location for future classrooms. Carolina beat Virginia by one point in front of the largest crowd ever locally assembled for a football game at Chapel Hill.[56]

Chase's trip home was slow and colorful. He left in early December after a Thanksgiving dinner with his family and Paris friends that bore a reminder that he was returning to a land still parched by Prohibition. The menu, as he related it to House, included martinis with appetizers, white wine with a fish course, red wine with the turkey, followed by champagne with ices and brandy served with the postprandial coffee. He got to enjoy more good food and spirits as he followed a southerly route. His boat, a small vessel named the *La Salle*, stopped over in Spain, and the Azores, as well as Havana before it docked in New Orleans in time for Chase to catch a train north to the Carolinas.[57] The president was back in Chapel Hill by January 1, in time for him to have his picture taken with House as the two stood shaking hands on the steps of the South Building portico.

The mud and the mess below South Building looked much as Chase had left it in June. With all the cost cutting there was not enough money on hand to remove the railroad tracks or landscape the grounds around the new buildings. It remained a construction yard, not a campus lawn. Meanwhile, the locals on Franklin Street had made changes. The town had a new automatic phone system that bypassed a central operator. This was quite an advance for a village on its way to almost doubling its population from about three thousand in 1920 to more than fifty-seven hundred in 1930. There were new streetlights, and the recently opened Carolina Theatre had a stunning sign with electric lights, while the number of soda fountains had grown from four to eight. William B. Sorrell's jewelry and optometry store was in a new building with one of them. Chase also learned that an aviation landing field would soon be opening and that there was pavement on the road to Hillsboro.[58] A recent graduate and popular university cheerleader, Kay Kyser, had been touring the country with his orchestra. Once he started performing in the North, he had found an alternative to his collegiate nickname, Kike. The Rocky Mount native's given name was James Kern. Most gratifying, perhaps, was confirmation that the university's enrollment was at its highest number ever, about two hundred shy of the three thousand students Chase had planned for nearly a decade earlier.

After a few nights in his own bed, Chase would discover that things really had not changed among the university's detractors, the ones who had made his extended absence a necessity for good health. In fact, Chase was on the cusp of what would be a meat grinder of a year, one that would quickly wear away whatever reserves of energy and strength he had added to his lanky frame. His nemesis this time, and one with a platform from which to harass the university across several states, was David Clark, the editor of the *Southern Textile Bulletin*. Clark's attacks on the university in general, and Chase and his faculty in particular, would be different from earlier assaults that usually came in private correspondence or church meetings. Clark's criticism was public and twisted the truth, and it served to undermine the university's growing reputation of service to the state.

Ed Graham had convinced E. C. Branson to return to his home state of North Carolina in 1914 to spread the gospel of a university in service to every home, every community, and every segment of North Carolina life. Branson succeeded in many ways, not the least of which was through publication of the *University News Letter*, which eventually reached upward of fifteen

thousand readers each week. It was filled with illustrative details on a range of social and economic issues, from taxation, farm tenancy, and literacy to church attendance and the economic health of country parishes. Branson took the state's pulse with quotidian measurements that had subtle political consequences. His comparison of what automobile owners spent on their machines with what citizens paid for public education helped the university's allies carry the day in 1921 and begin the expansion of the university.

By the midtwenties, the man Graham had called "the professor of North Carolina" was one of the best-known members of the university family.[59] Branson was a master at milking results from an overwhelming accumulation of material, from clippings out of the dozens of newspapers that arrived at his office each day to the drippings of data from countless government agencies. His reach was even international. In 1924 he had spent time in Denmark to return with ideas for North Carolina farmers. To Branson, the state's future was in its agricultural resources. Scientific, diversified farming was his answer for most problems,[60] while cooperative ventures, like rural credit unions, was another.

Branson raised a mirror to the state, shaming some leaders out of their complacency and providing fuel for engines of change. He maneuvered in and out of political issues with considerable skill, always mindful of politicians who could take offense. "The tricksters may some day be governors," Branson told Louis R. Wilson. "I have lived long enough to see tricksters go a long way, as Jeff Davis in Arkansas, as Bilbo in Mississippi, as Tom Hardwick and Tom Watson in Georgia and as Blease in South Carolina. Their name is legion."[61]

It was Harry Chase's addition to the faculty in 1920, sociologist Howard W. Odum, who would take what Branson began and move the university deeper into the study of social, political, and economic affairs of the state and the South, pushing beyond mere reflection of conditions into investigation of *why* they existed. He represented a new spirit of investigation, one that was fired with social reform, as well as experimentation in new forms of social research.

Odum was a cyclone of activity, teaching, writing, and gathering foundation dollars to underwrite his projects. His *Journal of Social Forces* was one of the first titles to carry the imprimatur of the new University of North Carolina Press, a venture he helped organize. A prolific writer, Odum's typewriter was seldom quiet. He often worked well into the night at his house on

a farm off Pittsboro Road,[62] where he raised prize cattle, producing a body of work that would include twenty-two books and nearly two hundred articles. Odum's pace and vision put him out of step with many of his colleagues, particularly those from another era. Horace Williams once approached Odum on the street, but he said Odum refused to linger for a chat. "That man Odum's restless," Williams told a man farther on down the way. "He reminds me of one of my fractious cows, she moves about so fast we can't milk her."[63] Odum was reaching his stride as the university moved into the second half of the 1920s.

Chase had spent the first half of the decade building a university and explaining it to politicians and trustees whose minds were still encamped in their college days. When Odum organized the Institute for Research in Social Science (IRSS) in the summer of 1924, Chase became a champion for an innovative interdisciplinary effort that harnessed the Graduate School and the Departments of Economics, History, and Sociology in a common effort. It was, he believed, another step forward. It enhanced the university's reputation as a center of scholarly work and brought to the campus generous grants from the nation's leading benefactors for higher education. The Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial's three-year commitment to the IRSS of $32,500 annually had delivered to just one segment of the university nearly half the amount that the Kenan fund produced in support of the entire faculty.

The institute clearly fit within the mission of the university to serve the state. Even the business-minded governor, Angus McLean, had drawn on Odum and his research associates for a study of county government that led to major reforms in fiscal management and local accountability. At the same time, there were other items on the institute's agenda, especially in the area of labor relations and the state's shift away from agriculture to industry, that were creating trouble as unsettling as any Chase and Odum had experienced with the church men. Most of that fury was ignited by columns written by David Clark.

Clark was the son of Walter M. Clark, who for twenty-one years was chief justice of the state supreme court and considered one of the more liberal jurists of his time. David Clark had engineering degrees from what later became State College and from Cornell. He worked for Daniel Augustus Tompkins, the legendary builder and promoter of textile mills from Charlotte, peddling mill equipment to new plants going up in the first decade of the new century. He left to organize his own mill, which failed; publishing would prove more

satisfying. By the midtwenties, his *Southern Textile Bulletin*, whose first issue appeared in 1911, was all but required reading for mill owners, managers, and supervisors all across the South. There was no more aggressive defender of the southern textile industry, which had stolen the business away from New Englanders with cheaper labor costs and ready access to raw cotton. Clark took on, and usually vilified, anyone or any organization that wanted to tell mill men whether they could hire women and children, or work their employees fifty-five hours a week or more. Conspiracies abounded on his editorial page. For Clark, Yankees, meddling professors, social do-gooders, and labor organizers were the enemy, not worthy of any quarter.

Clark first attacked the *Journal of Social Forces* late in 1923, when Odum's journal included pieces by three particularly objectionable contributors who were active in the movement to limit child labor. Clark's response set the tone for editorial opposition that would continue for twenty years or more. In his first editorial he established a frequent refrain: "[The university] was never intended as a breeding place for socialism and communism, but when professors and instructors turn aside from their duties as teachers of regular courses and seek to develop fads and fancies, great injury to our State may develop."[64] After this first shot across the bow, Odum promised Chase he could win Clark over "and have him working with us."[65] At the time, Odum had plans for thorough studies of life in North Carolina mill villages.[66] Odum soon found he had woefully underestimated Clark's steadfast refusal to consider worthwhile anyone that he perceived as a threat to the tidy arrangement between mill owners and their employees.

Clark saw to it that the North Carolina Cotton Manufacturers Association closed the door on the IRSS when Harriet Laura Herring, an IRSS research associate who knew some of the mill executives, sought the cooperation of association members for a broad study that was planned for 1926. Clark cast the request as "another form of attack from our enemies," merely an unwarranted investigation by "the Rockefeller institute."[67] Among the topics to be examined were the high rate of turnover in employment, leadership in the mill population, personal habits and morals of mill workers, the effectiveness of mill-supported welfare activities, and the cost of living in mill villages.[68] Each of these elements touched on Odum's desire to examine the social fabric that held these communities together, which he feared was coming unwound in the new industrial world that was rising up in North Carolina and the South. High turnover in employment, for example, meant workers shifted

frequently from one mill village to another, never settling long enough to properly educate their children, establish a home, or build community.

Somehow, after two years of decided antagonism from Clark, Odum and his colleagues still thought they could get the industry to expose itself to such an intimate inquiry. The summary rejection proved embarrassing for Chase and the university, especially after Raleigh journalist Nell Battle Lewis prepared a piece for the *Nation* that carried a headline reading "The University of North Carolina Gets Its Orders." Lewis's piece not only carried Clark's appraisal that the university was a breeding ground for radicals and that it continued its investigative work at its peril. Lewis quoted Clark as saying, "The university will feel it when the next legislature meets."[69]

In the early days, social research for men like Chase, Odum, and Branson was closely aligned with social reform. Even Branson's benign model of accumulating data to define social conditions had an implied response of action to correct an imbalance in taxation or to improve the reach and the quality in education. Odum had gathered around him young men, and women (despite the institutional bias), who were eager to expose the corruption and inefficiency of county government, the inhumane conditions on county chain gangs, and, as they saw it, the plight of powerless textile mill workers who struggled long hours for low pay.

There was no question that the growth of North Carolina's textile industry was a social experiment in progress, and they wanted to document its impact. When Clark jumped hard on Odum's institute in its request for cooperation on the industry survey, Chase's attention was on the University of Oregon, and he left Clark to his rants. A press release from the university said the industry was well within its rights to refuse cooperation and "there is nothing for the university to do." Odum, meanwhile, retreated and told a colleague that he "thought it best to remain 'very much in the background awhile.'"[70]

Despite Clark's opposition and the lack of official cooperation, the mill village study went ahead, but at a much-reduced level. Herring began gathering information about the so-called welfare work—home nursing, education, social programs, and church outreach—that was supported by textile companies in their mill communities. This survey touched on the public face of the business, outside of the company compound, so it did not require any endorsement of management, but it was just a pinch of what had been proposed. Even so, Clark continued to peck away at the university and complain about its "Meddling Departments": "The University claims that it has not

sufficient funds to take care of all the young men who apply for admission, but it seems to have enough to pay the salaries and expenses of a lot of men and women who instead of teaching spend their time going over the State, prying into the affairs of citizens."[71]

This early harassment from Clark was prelude to what Chase would receive as he settled back into the routine of running the university in January 1928. He had yet to arrive home when Clark launched a three-month campaign against the university and Chase in mid-December. It was sparked by the attendance of three university professors, one of whom was Frank Graham, at a meeting in Greensboro that was called to coordinate a campaign to reduce the workweek of North Carolina mill operatives from sixty hours to fifty-four. One of the sponsors of the session was Paul Beecher Blanshard, a noted editor, labor organizer, and socialist who had recently published a series of articles on southern mill workers in the *New Republic*. Chase and the university ended up caught between Clark, who complained that the university was poking its nose into the affairs of industry, and Blanshard, who criticized the university for its negligence in not producing reformers to do anything about the ills uncovered by university research, which was something of an overstatement of Odum's work.[72]

Clark's painting of the background of the Greensboro meeting made it no fit place for a professor, according to one complaint that reached Chase's desk. Chase responded to a banker in Reidsville to say that the men attending the meeting were there on their own, not as representatives of the university, much like members of the faculty might attend any manner of "conferences about various kinds of subjects."[73] Two of the university men attending with Graham, and named by Clark, were Harry Morris Cassidy and Gustav Theodor Schwenning (a Clark University man). Both were economists from the School of Commerce, where they taught, among other courses, human relations in industry. The prelude for the course in the university catalogue read: "In view of the fact that there are grave problems connected with the adjustment of the workers to the new industrial and social order that is being developed in the South Atlantic States the general topic 'Labor Problems of the South' was selected for study."[74] It was a description to which Chase probably was happy that the likes of David Clark never paid any attention.

Buried in one of Clark's early extraordinary expositions on Blanshard was a reference to a letter from an out-of-state friend warning him to "keep your eye on the radicals in the University of North Carolina" and watch for a pam-

phlet out of Florida about scandalous books used at the state woman's college there. Two weeks later, Clark deeply wounded Chase in a short, pithy editorial he titled "Filthy Text Books." He said a letter had alerted him to excerpts from books containing discussions that would embarrass traveling salesmen in a Pullman smoker. One of the books was the work of none other than the president of the University of North Carolina. "We are tempted to quote a few extracts from the books of Dr. Chase . . . but the matter is so obscene and so intensely vulgar that we prefer not to inflict it upon our readers[;] in fact, it might prevent this issue passing through the mails," Clark wrote.[75]

Chase was dumbfounded, and judging from his response to a few friends and allies who wrote in support, he was genuinely and furiously mad, a condition he usually avoided. He explained that the passages Clark extracted came from a standard textbook with material that was based on lectures delivered by Sigmund Freud that Chase had translated when he was a graduate student at Clark University in 1909. "I have scarcely known whether to laugh about it or get mad," he told one friend. John J. Parker was sitting on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fourth District, but he broke from judicial restraint and advised Chase to demand a retraction, the first step in a libel action. "It amounts to an attack on your character and decency," Parker said, "and is made by a man who is a son of a former chief justice of this state, in a paper which has considerable circulation among the heads of the textile industry."[76]

The impact of Clark's editorial rippled across the state and unsettled some influential trustees. Chase made an effort at damage control, meeting with a few of those who were close at hand. In short order, he sent a letter to the board of trustees saying that he was not the author of the book, that the extracts were taken out of context, and, after all, the source of the text was clinical in nature and designed for a specialized audience. "A case could be made out, on that basis, against many of the world's best books," he said.[77] It was a reasoned approach, but Chase was not up for a public fight. Nothing was said about a retraction.

After his initial complaint, Clark never touched on the textbooks again, but the damage was done. Even Haywood Parker of Asheville, a trustee who had stood by Chase through many difficulties, lightly chastened the president for letting things slide, particularly in his absence: "It seems to me that there are loose ends which should be tied up tightly, and the organization should generally understand and feel the firm grip of a guiding hand."[78] Parker's fellow trustee in Asheville, George Stephens, told Chase he considered writing

an explanatory editorial for his newspaper, the *Asheville Citizen*, but he believed "the whole truth could never catch up with a lie, once the lie gets in circulation." Stephens said he had heard the criticism of the university by the mill owners and told Chase that he had advised Dean Dudley D. Carroll at the School of Commerce of what he had heard.[79]

Aside from Graham, the faculty members who were the targets of Clark's editorial complaints worked either for Carroll or for Odum. In addition to Cassidy and Schwenning, the subjects of Clark's initial focus, Clark later brought up Thomas Willard Holland, a research assistant at the IRSS, after he attended a meeting in Washington, D.C., where he discussed a paper on the new industrial South.[80] Chase called the three junior faculty members in for a talk and also extracted a written explanation of their participation in the meetings, which was something of an unusual measure.[81] That was one sign of his distress, as was a lengthy discussion memorandum that arose out of the matter that Chase sent to Odum, Carroll, and Graham in early March. It was extraordinary, especially since it came from a man who had heralded unfettered research as a service of the university to the state. Some scholars would later read Chase's talking points as a strategic retreat, not just from Clark, but also from his own earlier declarations about the university's duty and responsibility.[82] Guy Benton Johnson and Guion Griffis Johnson, who were there at the time, believed that Chase's note was probably a "warning" for Odum, Carroll, and Graham.[83]

In it, Chase said, "The question has been raised—What are proper and what are improper activities for members of a university faculty in the field of social sciences?" Chase said "freedom of teaching" was not the question. "That freedom is assumed, subject to precisely the same obligations as in any other field; namely, that the spirit of instruction shall be scientific as opposed to that of partisan propaganda. There is no freedom without a corresponding obligation."

No, what Chase was struggling with was the same issue that Odum himself had considered in his journal articles—where did social science end and social reform begin. Chase stated clearly that faculty members were hired for their scientific expertise, not for their "sympathies," as he called them. "If you desire to engage in the advocacy of this or that social cause, you must sever your connection with the institution and work through other channels."

Perhaps that was too broad, he wrote, challenging himself. In fact, university men had advocated social causes: Frank Graham campaigned for state

appropriations in 1920–21, Odum promoted health and social services in league with the American Red Cross, and Louis R. Wilson raised funds for the Chapel Hill Methodist Church. At the same time, there were campaigns that were off-limits, he said, citing "the overthrow of government by armed forces. Some are more local in character; e.g. certain phases of the race problem in the Southern States—mixed schools, for example. Where can a line be drawn?"

By accepting a university paycheck, a faculty member takes on an obligation to the institution. This obligation extends to the member's students and colleagues. Then he arrived at the meat of the matter: "No faculty member has any right to allow his personal sympathies for any controversial cause to involve his colleagues and his institution in a situation that means general embarrassment, restricted educational opportunities for students and threatened careers for his colleagues." If that occasion arises, "he should obviously sever his connections with the institution."

Chase could not close the circle, however. What causes would require a resignation, or possibly a forced termination? "They will vary from time to time, from place to place," he wrote. "In North Carolina they certainly involve, for example, advocacy of particular forms of taxation, of the organization of labor, of social equality between the races, of a socialistic regime, etc."[84]

The memorandum was not an idle musing. It touched on very real circumstances that caused pain for Chase and the university. Legislators had threatened budget cuts when S. Huntington Hobbs's work with the tax-writing committee in 1925 became an issue, despite his commission by the governor.[85] Clark and the textile interests made it clear where they stood on any issues regarding wages, working hours, or conditions related to employment in textile mills. Students could not write about racial issues and the university could not entertain an African American speaker without complaint. A socialistic regime? Less than two years earlier, in his annual report to the trustees, Chase had saluted the IRSS as the university's most useful tool to understanding "what is happening in the life of the state."[86] Chase delighted in the recognition that had come to Odum's work and believed that recruiting him to the faculty was one of the best things he had done as president. Now, Chase had seen to the summary destruction of the work of one of Odum's researchers and the institute was becoming known, as far as Clark was concerned, as "the refuge of radicals and socialists who are financed by a Northern organization known as the Laura Spillman [*sic*] Rockefeller Memorial Foundation."[87]

The president laid out much of his current struggle in a woeful letter to Haywood Parker. It is dated two days after his memorandum to Graham and the others. Chase questioned whether the university could continue to offer expert advice in public matters without "having to pay for it politically." The university's work was welcomed until about 1925. "Then the scene for some reason, began to change." Now, he said, "it would be interesting to estimate how many things we would like to do and don't do, just because we don't think they are wise in the present state of public opinion." The dark mood had turned public opinion against thoroughly grounded and honorable men like Branson, Odum, and Carroll. "I don't know a more conservative man than Carroll. In fact, I sometimes think he leans a little backward in his conservatism, and yet I suppose half the mill men would tell you with perfect sincerity that he is a socialist, a radical, and perhaps a Bolshevik."

The university had lost goodwill, and he acknowledged that some of that was due to its own people. "Out of 200 faculty people there are some fools," and that included "some of our younger men in economics." Yet, he said, "I think they have had a lesson. But the question that is causing me a great deal of concern is whether one or two of them have not so damaged their usefulness that we ought to let them go for the sake of the School of Commerce, the University, and their own careers."[88]

There is no evidence Carroll, Odum, or Graham ever responded in writing to Chase's guidelines on "outside activities" of faculty members. They may have talked it over, and the memorandum served only as a discussion point. Graham may have reminded Chase that when his cousin was president he had not withdrawn from political activism. Ed Graham had been a board member of the state's Equal Suffrage League, when giving women the vote was highly unpopular in North Carolina. He also was president of the North Carolina Conference for Social Service, which involved itself in all manner of reform legislation, including limits on working hours of children and women. Branson later followed Graham in that position of public service, and nothing was said about it at the time. Perhaps the most useful product of the exercise was simply to raise a warning flag, as the Johnsons observed. In later years, it does prove useful as an insight into Chase's thinking as he attempted to find new footing for the university in a very troubled environment.

Odum and Carroll would soon absent themselves from any immediate criticism, but largely by default. Odum was due to leave Chapel Hill for a year's absence, traveling first to his family home in Georgia before heading

to Florida for the winter. Carroll had never been out front on touchy matters. A few weeks after receiving Chase's memo, he attended a meeting of the state's cotton manufacturers, which helped to smooth some ill feeling.[89] That was not the case with Frank Graham, who stepped in to serve as the acting director at the IRSS. Graham would prove as irrepressible as ever and no less obliged than before to steer clear of "controversial" areas. Indeed, his public appearances on behalf of sensitive issues of labor and race only increased as he assumed the presidency of the North Carolina Conference for Social Service, a job that would put him solidly behind initiatives to reduce the workweek for mill workers and seek passage of a workers' compensation act.

Chase was left to answer publicly for the conflicts with the state's manufacturing interests that had bedeviled him for a year. In midsummer, the U.S. commissioner of education, John James Tigert, received a complaint about the dismissal of faculty members at the university who had upset the state's industrial interests. The complainant had his facts jumbled, which weakened his argument. For example, he said pressure was exerted by the "North Carolina Manufacturers Association," which did not exist, and that one man still on the university payroll had been dismissed. Yet the call for an investigation was publicly embarrassing and sailed close enough to the truth that Chase had to respond. The president reported to Tigert that one of the four faculty members had moved on, by mutual agreement; one was still on the faculty at a raise in pay; and one other was unknown to the university. Chase parsed his words carefully when responding to the case of Robinson Newcomb, the IRSS researcher on loan from Brookings whose work had been confiscated. Chase said Newcomb was not an employee of the university but had had a one-year appointment at the IRSS. He was not "let out," as was stated, because his work was too "radical," but rather it was simply "unsatisfactory to the Institute at the University and it was not utilized." (Newcomb later served on the Council of Economic Advisers during President Harry S. Truman's administration.)[90]

The public airing of the university's difficulties with social science research capped a deeply troubling springtime. A month before commencement, David Clark proved he was not through with the university, by any means. He had to reach, but reach he did, to tie a visiting professor of education from Columbia University, invited to present the Weil Lectures, to his old nemesis Paul Blanshard. In a biting editorial published in mid-May, Clark said, "It appears to us that the radical group at the University of North Carolina is

certainly keeping faith with Blanshard, for they regularly bring in one radical or provocative speaker after another." This time he was upset with the words of William Heard Kilpatrick, whom Clark called "Kirkpatrick." Kilpatrick observed in one lecture the troubling changes rippling through society in the twenties, saying, "Our civilization is being tried at the bar. We have been gradually getting away from tradition and the authority of the elders. We have even changed our family life from the old patriarchal system to the present system that finds a place for birth control, companionate marriage and divorce. We find it easier to evade personal responsibilities."

For Kilpatrick, the upheaval in society was reason for greater education and understanding. He also called upon universities to "see their duty as service, but always of the critic. Universities must be free, freed from economic care and free to follow the vision, without dictation from any selfish source." For Clark, Kilpatrick's lectures not only encouraged Chase and the university to continue its "Meddling Departments," but, in his mind at least, endorsed anarchy and unbridled sex as well. "Dr. Kirkpatrick was undoubtedly brought to the University of North Carolina because he advocated the Russian rather than the American system of civilization."[91]

Once again, Chase was pushed to exasperation. "This man Clark is getting to be insufferable," he told John Sprunt Hill in Durham, "and it seems to me that it is almost time that some of his friends took him in hand and told him a few things." Continuing, he wrote:

> As a matter of fact, I do not suppose that Professor Kilpatrick ever heard of Blanshard in his life. . . . Dr. Kilpatrick's whole point in his three lectures was that there are many perplexing and disturbing tendencies in the world today, and that it is one of the great obligations of education to try to build up a citizenship that will help bring order and stability and a deeper sense of values out of our present confusion. . . . Whatever dignity the presidency of the University may carry seems to me to forbid my getting down in the dirt with this man Clark, and yet I do not believe that he ought to be allowed to continue this career of insult and insinuation altogether unchecked.[92]

Clark's latest salvo came just as Chase was fending off complaints from an altogether unexpected quarter. Frederick Koch's Playmakers had just embarked on an end-of-term tour with a trio of performances on their bill of folk plays. One of them, *A Shotgun Splicin'*, is set in a mountain hollow and

revolves around a young, unmarried mother named Dicey who is brought to account before her brother, a preacher who tries to force his sister's marriage to the child's father. Dicey ends up marrying the man she loves, but not the young man who had fathered her child. The closing line in the play, written by Gertrude Wilson Coffin, the wife of professor of journalism Oscar Coffin, has a barb. Dicey's brother finally consents to the situation, saying he would "'Druther have a bastard in the fam'ly than a damn' legislater!"[93]

Coffin's play, rich in dialect and unabashed in its subject matter, prompted swift reaction from well-placed members of Winston-Salem society who had turned out for the performance. "If this is the type of culture to be spread over the State by the Department of Dramatic Arts, the less we have of it the better off we will be," wrote one man. It was not a fit subject for an audience of schoolchildren. Henry Elias Fries, the brother of the president of Wachovia Bank and Trust Company, sent a different, even surprising, point of view. He was offended by the cultural bias of the play; *A Shotgun Splicin'* denigrated mountain folk, he said. "Why should [the playwrights] not deal with prominent men socially in the State who, in violation of the law, serve liquor in their homes, and the women who hold high social positions who are constantly violating the law by bridge and card parties, when the negro and illiterate are pursued by the police and punished for similar offenses."[94]

Chase was still juggling these responses when the final issue of the *Carolina Magazine* appeared with a story entitled "Friday Night" that added fuel to the fire. It is a well-crafted, first-person narrative of a young man adrift with his thoughts and a bottle on a Friday night in Durham.[95] James A. Gray Jr. had lost his patience. He said it took him a week to cool down before writing to Chase. "Can it be that University authorities are in accord with the dissemination of such 'low-down' stuff as illustrated in this article and also as evidenced by the play entitled 'A Shotgun Splicing' [*sic*]?"

Gray's rebuke was perhaps the most troubling for Chase. The man was not only a leader within the state's business community, but someone with deep connections within state government. He was a former legislator and chair of the trustees finance committee; there was little that went forward without his review. If Chase was to continue to work with Gray and his kind, he could not be dismissive of his concerns. The president thanked Gray for his letter, saying sometimes university people were so detached that they gave offense in "foolish and unnecessary ways." As for the magazine piece, he said it "should not have been published." Gray's reply a few weeks later was a polite

The campus's new library, which anchored the southern end of the new area of expansion, was under construction in January 1929.

"I told you so" for Chase's permissiveness and advised, in words that smacked of Clark's constant refrain, that the university would do well as long as it gave "full regard for the business people of the State who are due to be protected from meddlesome people going about under the guise of University protection."[96]

Throughout the exhausting and dispiriting first six months of 1928, Chase did not even have the usual comforts of home for consolation. With his wife and daughter not due back from Paris until after commencement, he rambled about the residence with only the servants for company. Chase had to stand alone at the door to greet seniors who stopped by on the afternoon of Senior Class Day for the president's reception during commencement exercises that began on Friday, June 8. There was a large turnout at the commencement ceremony, one of the biggest crowds on record, according to the *Alumni Review*,[97] even though four years of lean budgets meant there were no new buildings to see. The new library was rising out of the ground. Chase reported in April that it was expected to cost $624,000, well within the limits placed on the university by the legislature.[98]

Chase made sure that the trustees were aware of the university family's continued neglect of its promise to remember Ed Graham, now gone from the

campus for nearly a full decade. The Graham memorial building stood empty and unused, reduced to a fraction of its original grand design and in need of at least $100,000 more to complete the interior and bring it into service as the student center that the late president had longed to see on the campus. Chase brought the trustees into the building's large ground-floor lounge and sat them in folding chairs, and there they held their annual commencement meeting. It was the least the president could do to underscore the university's deep embarrassment after students had rallied behind a campaign to tax themselves to help raise the needed amount. In a brief meeting, the trustees adopted the faculty's recommendation that courses in the history and literature of religion be added to the curriculum. Nearly ten years of debate over this contentious issue ended with only one dissenting vote.[99]

Chase filled in as the principal speaker at graduation in the absence of Arthur Wilson Page. The son of the late Walter Hines Page was ill. Faculty members had tried to no avail to dispense with the practice of a commencement address, as the number of degree-receiving graduates increased—there were 327 this year—causing the ceremony to drag on longer than those outfitted in academic regalia could comfortably bear. Unsettled weather during the morning meant that Memorial Hall was particularly warm and stuffy on this day as it filled to capacity.

Governor McLean had missed the ceremonies the year before. This commencement, his last before leaving office, would bear his subtle stamp. As graduates took their diplomas from his hand, they also received a Bible, regardless of whether they were Methodists, Presbyterians, Baptists, Jews, Catholics, agnostics, or atheists. The Bibles had been part of the graduation tradition from the university's early years. In his brief remarks following the ceremony, McLean said the same state constitution that organized the university recognized the Bible "as the Holy Book of the people of North Carolina." He said the presentation of copies was a "highly significant" custom that "I hope will continue as long as the University of North Carolina stands."[100]

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

Time to Leave

At the height of his political troubles in the spring of 1928, Harry Chase was corresponding with Chester D. Snell, the former director of the university's Extension Division. Snell had taken a leave from the university in the summer of 1926 to work in a similar post at the University of Wisconsin. It had been a loss for the university, and Chase had hoped to have Snell back in North Carolina some time soon. Snell now wanted to return, but Chase reluctantly advised him to stay where he was. Opportunity was greater in Madison, he said. The department there was growing, and Snell had the admiration of Wisconsin's president. "I do not think either the financial or professional aspects here are as promising," Chase told him.[1]

Chase was not in the habit of discouraging good men. He took great pride in the strength of the faculty members that he had recruited. At the same time, he was being honest with a friend and former colleague, and he was to be no less honest with the board of trustees later in the year. In a memorandum to the executive committee in September 1928, Chase noted that the university had experienced remarkable growth, it had won national recognition for its scholarship and research, and its faculty remained remarkably intact, despite a history of low pay. Yet Chase had a warning as he neared the end of a decade as president:

> In general, the problem of the next ten years is not whether we shall build a University; that has been settled. It is whether we shall build a great university, or an institution devoted to the mediocre and its routine. Either can happen. Whether or not we can, by state support and by endowment, continue steadily to provide for high quality and more ad-

> equate leadership, or whether we must count ourselves an Educational Factory turning out a standardized product by the methods of quality production and minimize cost—the answer to this vital question will decide the kind of university we are to be.[2]

In his written prelude to yet another legislative session, which was due to begin in a few months, Chase's words sounded like a last earnest attempt to recover from the stagnation in the university's appropriations. It can almost be read as such, knowing that Chase himself would be gone from the presidency within two years, disappointed by another round of budget cuts.

There does not appear to be a particular date or event to mark the time when Chase came to believe that it was time for him to leave Chapel Hill. He seemed reasonably settled as the 1928–29 academic year opened in September with a vigorous class of new men that included Ed Graham's son, Edward Kidder Graham Jr. The boy had been raised by Louis Graves and his wife, Elizabeth, who was Sonny's aunt. Their home was just a few steps away from his father's old house at the edge of the campus. He had prepared for admission to the university at Woodberry Forest School in Virginia. Another son of a notable alumnus entering that fall was James Webb Gardner, the son of O. Max Gardner, the Democratic Party's nominee for governor who was expected to succeed Angus McLean in January.

In his welcome for the year, Chase returned to what could be considered a theme of his years as president: the emergence of the South as a full and complete partner with the rest of the nation, and the need for southern youth to be prepared for big challenges. The native New Englander spoke with as much passion as any son of the Old South, but with a caution that came from his experience in working with educators around the nation. "If you will permit me to criticize in a sympathetic way, I believe that the tendency to be satisfied with second-rate achievements is one of the besetting sins of the South," he said. Frankness and honesty were required. "There have been too many Southern poets exalted as Shakespeares when they should have been blushing unseen!" Students at the university should be prepared to work. "Either you should achieve here as students or go to some other place where the standards are less exacting and the importance of work is not recognized." He urged the acceptance of new ideas while at the same time holding "fast to those things which you have found to be good, righteous, and wholesome in your experience by thinking all problems through."[3]

Chase was beginning the year without an old friend and academic workhorse at his side. A. H. Patterson died unexpectedly just days before the opening of the fall term. He had been ill for several weeks and was resting in New Hampshire at the time of his death. Patterson was a physicist and the dean of the School of Applied Science. Over the years, he had performed many extracurricular chores in academic management for Presidents Graham and Chase, including making arrangements for ceremonial events and religious and social affairs. In 1921, he had been instrumental in bringing order to intercollegiate athletics with the formation of the Southern Conference, of which the university was a part.[4]

In preparation for an upcoming meeting of the trustees executive committee, Chase prepared a summary of the university's past decade that became the basis for his annual report delivered in December 1928. The record was impressive. More than $5 million in state appropriations had been spent on constructing what amounted to a whole new campus with nine dormitories, five classroom buildings, and research laboratories. Historic buildings had been renovated to new purposes, and a handsome football stadium filled the ravine behind the new library that was under construction. During his years as president, the university's operating funds from the state had increased nearly fourfold, from $215,000 to $880,000. The number of people in faculty positions—those above the rank of instructor—had increased over the past decade from 66 to 158, and the staff also now included 43 instructors and 24 teaching fellows. Before he became president, the largest number of students enrolled was in 1916–17, when 1,028 were on campus. There had been about 700 more than that number enrolled for course credit in the first summer session. The enrollment for the previous academic year had reached 2,825, quite close to the 3,000 that he had planned for in 1920.[5]

One of the largest schools on campus was the School of Commerce, which was just getting started when Chase took office. The law school developed under his care now met the American Bar Association's definition of Class A. It was not for a lack of trying that the law school still did not have a distinguished native North Carolinian on the faculty. Chase had a folder full of rejections for offers. The Graduate School had grown from 40 students in 1919–20 to 205 in 1927–28. More than that number of graduate students had been on campus during the summer, an indication of the university's attractiveness to students from outside the state. The library's collection of books, soon to be installed in the new building anchoring the South Campus,

had more than doubled, from 88,316 to 193,867 volumes. The circulation of the collection was ten times that of 1918. The University of North Carolina Press had produced fifty titles, and the university had expanded its curriculum in dramatics, journalism, and music. A new chair of religion had also been created, although that post was unfilled. Chase did not fail to mention the Institute for Research in Social Science, which had been operating for more than four years on outside funds.

There was even more to be written about this remarkable period of development that had produced more changes in mission, focus, and spirit than ever before. Chase had managed an internal administrative overhaul that was largely obscured by the new buildings and physical changes on campus. New powers and responsibilities had been defined for deans and other administrative heads. The university's budget system made the business office fully accountable, and the construction of more than a dozen buildings, and renovations of more than half that number, had been managed with efficiency and economy. More women were enrolled as students, and women were teaching in classrooms. Student self-government had faced difficult challenges, but it had survived and remained strong. It was a model for campuses across the country.[6]

Chase's own reputation had grown with that of the university. He had taken office little known beyond a limited circle in Chapel Hill, but over the years he had been asked to consider the presidencies of institutions large and small. He was an active participant in the prestigious Association of American Universities, representing the university, and would soon be elected president of the National Association of State Universities. In the spring of 1928, Chase was asked to join the board of directors of the Julius Rosenwald Fund,[7] the foundation created by a founder of the modern Sears, Roebuck and Company that was building grade schools for African American communities all across the South. Chase was also on the General Education Board, whose members included the John D. Rockefellers (both Jr. and Sr.) and the presidents of Yale, Dartmouth, and the University of Chicago, among others.

In the early months of 1929, as the legislature was again trimming away the university's hard-won gains from the previous years, Chase sat quietly on his latest job offer, the presidency of the new Social Science Research Council, one of the latest creations of Beardsley Ruml at the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial. It was a plush job that came with pay at twice his state salary, an office on New York City's Park Avenue, national prestige, and millions of

dollars to give away. Chase turned it down, a decision that sent Gerald Johnson, who was then writing editorials at the *Baltimore Sun*, to the typewriter.

"Directors of foundations are the shiniest officials in all the pedagogical world; yet rather than be one, Chase preferred to continue as president of a State university in the South—to continue, that is to say, as the target for all the bricks, bottles and dead cats which the enemies of intelligence and civilization are able to hurl," Johnson wrote. His account of Chase continued for several pages in an issue of *American Mercury*. He recounted Chase's unlikely election as president in 1919, his stand for academic freedom, and other victories in support of the university. Chase, Johnson said, is "that curious anomaly, a State university president who is neither the servant nor the master of politicians, clerical or lay. It is an achievement of such magnitude that perhaps, after all, even the educational cardinalate is a minor thing by comparison."[8]

Johnson had every right to crank up the reputation of the man who had stood between him and an angry governor out for his job. Chase did not necessarily need Johnson's heroic buildup to enhance his standing nationally. In November 1928 he had played host to the nation's leading educators—more than thirty college and university presidents, twelve state superintendents, librarians, governors, and others—who came to the campus in Chapel Hill for a conference on education in the South.[9] It was a powerful event that connected leading educators from institutions all across the country. It also helped reinforce the university's new emphasis on training high school teachers, principals, and superintendents.

Some of Chase's closest friends were surprised when he declined the New York job. Writing Louis R. Wilson from Florida, where he was in the second half of his Kenan sabbatical, Howard W. Odum said he did not expect Chase to stay on as president. This was a plum job. "I shall not blame him," Odum told Wilson. "If he stays, I'll shout a bit; if he goes I'm too far off for you to see how much it hurts but we'll get on."[10]

Wilson was not sure what the man with whom he had shared so much—the early years of the extension program, the 1921 campaign, and, most recently, planning a new library—would do in the face of budget cuts inflicted by the 1929 General Assembly. The appropriation for operations had been reduced. Chase's plans to boost faculty pay to a competitive level were "demolished entirely," said the *Alumni Review*.[11] The university still made no provision for retired faculty. A. H. Patterson's brother Rufus wrote Chase to ask if there

was anything the university could do to aid his brother's widow, who was nearly destitute. Chase was helpless. "Sometimes I wish the fellow who invented this idea [for college professors] of 'plain living and high thinking' had had to live on his own diet for a while," he told Patterson.[12]

The legislature had made no money available for a physical education building, or improvements for the medical school, or a teachers college building. Wilson told Odum, "I think it has graveled him that the legislature has cut up as it has. At present nobody knows what it is going to do as it reverses itself within every twenty-four hours. They had already cut off about 3,500 school teachers, which makes the summer school look pretty sick this summer."[13]

While Chase's decision to decline the New York offer was met with relief in Chapel Hill, some in Raleigh were cynical. Word of the offer reached Raleigh as legislators were gnawing on the budget, and there were those who believed it was a bargaining tool on behalf of Chase and the university.[14]

Chase was working with a new governor now. O. Max Gardner had strolled into office without opposition in the Democratic primary. He was confident enough about his prospects against a Republican opponent in the fall of 1928 that he declared himself for Al Smith, the party's presidential nominee, at a time when many Democrats, especially those in the South, were running for cover from the Roman Catholic candidate who opposed Prohibition. Gardner did not go overboard in his remarks, and even begged off some rallies to avoid offending the anti-Smith forces that gathered momentum with a campaign against "rum and Romanism." Nonetheless, he declared, "I won't desert the captain of my ship."[15]

It was an election that tested the principles of politicians, as well as their party loyalty. Governor McLean, as steady a Presbyterian as any in the nest of Charlotte fundamentalists who bolted for Hoover, went on the stump for the party's nominee with a speech delivered in Bladenboro, a town deep in southeastern North Carolina. He undoubtedly raised his stock among the liberals miles away in Chapel Hill when he said, "Governor Smith is a Roman Catholic for the same reason that I am a Presbyterian, and for the same reason that many of you are Presbyterians, Methodists and Baptists, because it is the religion that was taught him by a God-fearing mother; and, further, because he has a right, under our constitution and laws, to profess that or any other religion he sees fit."[16] After the dust of the election had settled, and McLean was preparing to leave Raleigh for his home in Lumberton, Chase wrote an

admiring note and said, "You have made the office of governor far more important than ever before."[17]

The election was the beginning of the end for U.S. senator Furnifold Simmons, who turned his back on Smith. Republican Herbert Hoover carried the state, including Gardner's hometown of Shelby, but Simmons would never win another election after Democrats returned to the fold. Indeed, the political power held by Simmons for three decades shifted to Gardner and what was called his "Shelby Dynasty." He and his family would influence state politics for the next two decades. Chase seemed to warm to the new governor, who was no stranger to the university. He had degrees from both the North Carolina College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts (now A&E) in Raleigh and the University of North Carolina and had played football at both schools. Gardner's personal secretary, Tyre Taylor, had been a student leader in the great move forward in 1921.

Gardner was a rare politician with both the talent and the magnetism to bridge big divides. Cameron Morrison had defeated him in a gubernatorial campaign that turned vicious in 1920, but Gardner appointed Morrison to fill a vacancy in the U.S. Senate. Gardner actually talked to and took advice from organized labor even though his peers were small-town bankers and mill owners, a conservative lot to be sure. In his inaugural address, the governor promised progressive measures, including a secret ballot on Election Day and a workmen's compensation bill. Sixteen previous bills promoting no-fault insurance for injured workers had failed, but Gardner got one through the 1929 General Assembly. The governor's support for the bill probably kept the textile interests from making a fuss about the lobbying efforts of Frank Graham for a bill that he and Harry Wolf, an economics professor at the university, helped write.[18]

The counseling Graham had received from Chase the year before had done little to restrain the young history professor's enthusiasm for social causes. Graham was ending a term as president of the North Carolina Conference for Social Service—the same group his cousin Ed had led in the teens—just as the workmen's compensation bill became law. The conference promptly broke precedent and elected him to the presidency again, and he carried on with an agenda that rankled the industrial interests in the state. As interim director of the IRSS, during Odum's leave of absence, Graham was relieved of classroom duties, which released him to perform his own freewheeling blend of education and social activism.

David Clark at the *Southern Textile Bulletin* was not through with Graham or the university by any stretch, but he was relatively quiet in the early part of 1929 when the University of North Carolina Press published Harriet L. Herring's study of life in North Carolina's mill villages. It was the first systematized look at mill communities, and Herring introduces her work by saying it should be followed by a thorough examination of "larger topics which will require research more complicated: labor turnover, family mobility, and occupational mobility; cost of living and equivalents of compensation; social, education, and religious efforts and ideals; and economic backgrounds."[19]

Herring reports that over a period of two years or more she visited 322 of the approximately 500 mills in the state and found the owners and managers more willing to talk to her than Clark would have people believe. She spent hour after hour with owners, floor supervisors, social workers, teachers, and school superintendents, as well as workers and their families. Her chapters examine a social caste system that discriminated against mill workers, the quality and extent of mill housing, health care, recreation, and religious activities. She acknowledges that the study is not what she had hoped for when she first sought the aid of the mill owners in 1925, and she probably disappointed Clark by not indulging in sensational reporting. Her words are clear and her observations detailed in a way that make hyperbole unnecessary: "If there are any economic, social, political, or community problems in the mill village system in North Carolina and the South—and it is to be suspected that there are—they will hardly be solved by propaganda or denunciation."[20]

Chase mailed copies of Herring's book to all the leading textile men in the state before Clark had a chance to poison the wells. His accompanying letter was an affirmation of the IRSS and its ambitions. "I naturally am not competent to pass on the correctness of Miss Herring's conclusion, but I am interested in the spirit in which her work has been done," Chase told Charles Albert Cannon. His Cannon Mills Company owned street after street of identical wood-frame houses that surrounded a mammoth manufacturing complex in the company-owned town of Kannapolis, the state's largest unincorporated community. "I am sending it to you because it seems to me to be an admirable illustration of the spirit in which research in the social sciences should be conducted. I mean that here is a patient assembling of the facts and of reasonable statements and significant contribution to a field in which I know you are very much interested."[21] Agnew Hunter Bahnson, a mill man in Winston-Salem who had pounced on Chase over Koch's Playmakers' rep-

ertoire the previous year, sent his compliments and word that he was pleased that Chase was not leaving the state for another institution.[22]

Waiting in the wings at the university press was S. Huntington Hobbs's *North Carolina: Economic and Social*. It is an encyclopedic examination of North Carolina that uses every conceivable bit of data available at the time to measure the state's resources, the illiteracy and poverty of its citizens, industrial output, agriculture, health and welfare, banking, and transportation. It was the culmination of more than a decade of instruction and data gathering at the elbow of E. C. Branson, the father of such research. "The author feels that posterity will want to know what North Carolina looked like in 1929," Hobbs writes in his preface. Further, he says, "North Carolinians know so many things about the state that are not true. Various agencies, some of them official, have grossly misinformed the people about our economic and social conditions." Particularly galling for Hobbs was a promotional pamphlet on the state's virtues that was put out while McLean was governor. It was titled *North Carolina the Fifth State Today*.[23]

Hobbs believed that the state's people deserved an honest appraisal. "By no stretch of the imagination can North Carolina be pictured as the fifth state," Hobbs states. Data he had compiled showed North Carolina sixth from the bottom on most indices.[24] That harsh light of reality was no less than what other IRSS researchers had found in examinations of county government, chain gangs, and how North Carolina treated its poor. North Carolina's reputation as a leader in the New South looked rather frayed around the edges, once one got beyond Chapel Hill.

Chase's concern for the future of the university only deepened in 1929. It would take at least $2 million to make up for what had been lost in recent years, he told the governor. The General Assembly had just adjourned when Paul J. Weaver, the head of the university's music department, announced his departure from the university. He was leaving for the same job at Cornell University. While there were no wholesale departures, others would soon follow Weaver, including three highly rated men in the English department who resigned in 1930. Looking at another postsession budget cut, Chase told one department head to leave a vacancy unfilled to save money.[25]

It was a distressing time, and Chase commiserated with Gardner, who was being pressed by local governments for financial aid as the economy continued its decline. A crash in real estate prices had already devastated Asheville. Suburban development in the state's cities was at a standstill with no home-

owners on the streets where municipal bond money had paid for pavement and sewerage. A number of banks were in trouble, their thin resources often hidden behind shady dealings. At the same time, Chase wrote Gardner, "This state certainly ought to have grown up to a point at which it does not have to resort to . . . an appeal to the missionary impulse" to get men to stay in their jobs. "I am stressing [the] question of salaries merely as the major illustration of the fact that the University is not at the point which it can rest on its oars."[26]

Even the Kenan money that had helped Ed Graham reward faculty members a decade earlier had its limits. Used to its fullest extent, the money could only touch a dozen people, less than 15 percent of the senior faculty. The Kenan legacy had helped Chase retain men considering jobs elsewhere, but having the power to reward some faculty members and not others produced problems and no small amount of strain for the president. Faculty members expecting some recognition found themselves deeply disappointed when Chase did not respond as they thought he should. "The fund has poisoned the careers of one or two men here," he confided to Beardsley Ruml.[27]

Despite the tight circumstances, Chase was not ready to shelve everything. If he could not get the money he wanted from the legislature, then he hoped to find it at major foundations that during the 1920s had begun pouring millions of dollars into education. Odum's success with the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial had opened one door for Chase and the university. By the end of the decade, the president's connections in New York had helped him convert into cash the university's growing reputation as an academic leader in the South. At commencement that June, Chase secured permission from trustees to establish a school to train librarians at the new library and pay for the first five years of the program with a $100,000 grant from the Carnegie Corporation.[28]

Graduation day in June 1929 began with the skies threatening rain and a procession led by someone other than A. H. Patterson, who had served as faculty marshal for much of the decade. Governor Gardner was on hand to pass out diplomas, a chore that Chase said "was simple enough except that your arm gets tired before you get through."[29] Former governors Morrison and McLean were also in attendance. The speaker was the British ambassador to the United States, Sir Esme Howard, and the locals were hoping to hear something about a movement to prohibit alcohol at foreign embassies in Washington, D.C. They were disappointed. Chase scheduled the trustees to hold their annual meeting in a room at Louis R. Wilson's new library, which

Principals in the dedication ceremonies for the new library on October 19, 1929, included (front row, left to right) John Sprunt Hill, Andrew Keogh, Governor O. Max Gardner, and Chase, and (back row, left to right) Josephus Daniels, William D. Moss, Louis Round Wilson, and Arthur C. Nash.

would go into service over the summer with a formal dedication planned for the fall. The meeting was preceded by a luncheon at the Carolina Inn.[30]

The library was a grand addition to the campus. Its impressive dome, modeled after the one atop the library at Columbia University, rose high enough to offset the drop in elevation from South Building, which sat at the top of the hill. The building's white limestone exterior distinguished it from the other brick buildings on the South Campus, further emphasizing its significance to the institution. The front portico had tall fluted columns and doors that opened into a grand foyer with a marble and terrazzo floor and travertine walls. A dual staircase carried users to the second floor. It was a triumph for Chase and Wilson, who had begun talking six years earlier about the need for a replacement for the 1907 Carnegie Library. There was more than ample space for the university collection, large furnished reading rooms, seminar rooms, and administrative offices. There also was room to grow.[31]

Chase knew that the university was in for more hard times. He feared that the state's retrenchment could jeopardize further foundation grants, a concern he passed on to the governor in September when he asked for help in finding private money to support a new school of public affairs that would train municipal and county officials, public health officers, public safety officers, and others. "There is no such school in the South, and one is badly needed," he told Gardner. "We have most of the necessary courses; we would need funds for the salary of a director, two or three staff members, scholarships, etc., a total outlay of about $30,000 a year." (Law professor Albert Coates would soon organize his Institute of Government to accomplish the same mission. It would struggle for a decade on modest private support before being absorbed into the university in 1942.)

A few years back, Chase said, an agreement with the Rockefellers might have been worked out easily. Now, however, foundations were wary of the state's commitment to the university. "Their main question seemed to be, 'Was the interest of North Carolina in the development of the University a flash in the pan, or is the State really determined to build a first-rate institution at Chapel Hill?'" Chase wanted to be sure a foundation officer who was soon due in Chapel Hill for a visit could get on the governor's schedule as well. "These foundations can kill or make alive any institution in the region of research and advanced scholarship. They all interlock, the attitude of one spreads easily to others. Once we let it get noised abroad that it is possibly slipping, and our morale at home and our standing nationally both suffer; men no longer regard it as so desirable a place to stay or to come to." He hoped Gardner could offer some reassurance.[32]

With future state funds in doubt, even for operating expenses, Chase made an earnest appeal to alumni in late September 1929, asking them to throw themselves behind building an endowment to supplement taxpayer support of the university. It broke with precedent and unwritten rules that state institutions would not solicit private donors, thus leaving nonstate money for the denominational schools. Gifts to public education had been few. The *Durham Herald* endorsed Chase's appeal with an editorial that said even though hard times were upon the state there were those who had prospered in recent year. "The appeal is to them," the paper said, "to help their state by helping its institutions, and by helping its young people to reach the highest development of which they are capable."[33]

The plea for private money went largely unheeded, lost to the growing

realization that the downward slide of the state's economy was growing more serious by the day. One study found that half of the nation's textile mills were losing money. Considering the concentration of the industry in North Carolina, that accounting had to include the financial condition of many of the state's manufacturers as well.[34] Four weeks after Chase's call for help, the stock market crashed and introduced much of America to the economic woes that North Carolina's farmers, mill workers, and businesses had been dealing with for years.

It would have been easy for Chase to think the university was collapsing around him, almost literally. On Wall Street's Black Tuesday, Chase notified trustees that he had closed Memorial Hall, putting it off limits for any further use until an unusual bulge discovered in the slate roof could be investigated.[35] Freshmen were still required to attend chapel services held there, and it was the platform for most visiting speakers. While engineers conducted an investigation, Chase shifted chapel services to Gerrard Hall, with the freshman class attending in shifts. Organizations with visiting lecturers would have to make do elsewhere. Some took to using the facilities of nearby churches.

Inspectors from the State Department of Insurance examined the building, and they found the lower portion of the soaring wooden arches that supported the roof had shifted and were all but disintegrated due to dry rot. The damage had not been noticed before because the bases of the arches were enclosed in brick casements. Over the years, this brickwork had prevented sufficient air flow, which was essential to the preservation of the wood. University architect Thomas C. Atwood reported that the wood simply crumbled to powder in his hand. In a report to the building committee presented in late November, Atwood said the building could collapse at any minute. He warned that even passersby were in danger of injury if the arches failed and the building crashed to the ground. In short, the building designed in the 1880s to seat four thousand, at a time when the full complement of the university, faculty, and students was but a fraction of that, was doomed.[36]

Chase had given the old barn more attention of late in an attempt to find a home for a $30,000 organ that trustee John Sprunt Hill wished to donate to the university to enhance public occasions and music training. It was first planned for Memorial Hall, but Hill balked at installing such a delicate instrument in a building with so many environmental flaws. Hill finally decided on the gift of an additional $43,000 to expand and renovate the Carnegie Library with an auditorium addition where the organ would be put in ser-

Memorial Hall was declared unsafe in 1929. Early the following year, the trustees recommended replacing it with a modern, fireproof structure. Memorial Hall was razed soon thereafter.

vice for recitals and instruction in the School of Music. Chase announced these final arrangements in late January 1930, and in early February, Governor Gardner asked the council of state to release $150,000 in emergency funds for the construction of a new auditorium to replace Memorial Hall. Another $25,000 for the auditorium would have to come from private funds.[37]

As the trustees gathered for their winter meeting in Raleigh on January 28, Chase and his wife were preparing for a trip to Illinois, where that state's university was looking for a president to replace David Kinley, its president for the past ten years. Chase had been approached about the job in the fall and had put the recruiters off, just as he had four years earlier with the search committee at the University of Oregon. During the previous year he also had been on a short list of candidates for the presidency of the University of Michigan. The Illinois people came back to him in January with a tentative offer and invited the Chases for a visit and to talk further about leaving North Carolina.[38] This time, Chase shared his prospects with only those with a need to know. He could scarcely hide a two-week absence from Robert B. House, the university's executive secretary, with whom he shared an office.

The governor probably had notice of the Chases' trip to Illinois in early February, but it is not clear when Chase told Gardner he planned to accept the job. If the two talked, and Chase was not one to drop a surprise like this on the governor, Gardner had little to use to convince Chase to remain at Chapel Hill. Chase was reportedly being offered a salary of $20,000 a year, twice his pay in North Carolina, along with a large new presidential residence and retirement benefits, as well as the leadership of one of the top-ranked state institutions in the country.[39] If he remained at Chapel Hill, he could expect even deeper budget cuts—this time about 20 percent—that Gardner anticipated would be necessary to make up a $2 million shortfall in state revenue. Further, Gardner probably shared his thoughts about a planned overhaul of state government agencies that would, in time, include the consolidation of the state's leading institutions of higher learning. Chase had long been opposed to a merger of the university, State College in Raleigh, and the North Carolina College for Women in Greensboro.

There was a formal reception for the Chases at the Carolina Inn on the evening of February 19, 1930, ostensibly to celebrate the anniversary of the president's inauguration a decade earlier. A report of the event in the *Daily Tar Heel* did not give a reason for the midweek, full-dress affair with faculty members and their wives positioned in order of rank and seniority in receiving lines and behind punch bowls. The governor and his wife were there.[40] Gardner already had Chase's resignation in hand awaiting the action of the University of Illinois board of trustees, which was scheduled to meet and act on the offer to Chase the next day.[41] Come morning, Robert W. Madry, the university's public relations man, began chasing rumors of Chase's imminent departure.

Chase was not available to answer questions from Madry or anyone else. He was on his way to a speaking engagement at Hollins College near Roanoke, Virginia. House remained mum until he got word around midday from Illinois that the trustees there had officially elected Chase and he had accepted. Gardner announced Chase's resignation from Raleigh after he heard from House.

Taking the presidency in Illinois was a big step for Chase. The University of Illinois was among the top six universities in the nation with more than thirteen thousand students. That was more than twice the combined enrollment of Carolina, State College, and NCCW. Chase would be supervising a faculty and administrative staff of more than fourteen hundred, which was

two-thirds the size of Carolina's undergraduate population, and managing a budget of more than $8 million, nearly ten times larger than what North Carolina provided. Like North Carolina, Illinois had undergone major expansion during the 1920s.[42]

He would find an institution whose social conditions were far different from those at Chapel Hill. The campus in Urbana-Champaign was an amalgam of the entire system of higher education that Chase had known in North Carolina. Agriculture was as large a part of the instruction program at Illinois as the liberal arts. The student body was well populated with women, as well as with African Americans. Chapters of two of the leading social fraternities for African Americans had been founded on the Illinois campus. Daily chapel services, a staple at Carolina since its inception, had been abandoned long ago at Illinois to conserve the students' time.[43] Athletics had as strong a hold on the state as they did in North Carolina. The university opened a new football stadium that could seat sixty-seven thousand fans midway through the 1923 season.[44] At the homecoming game in 1924, Illinois met the University of Michigan and introduced the world to halfback Harold "Red" Grange, who scored three touchdowns in seven minutes for the home team.

One thing more. In what Louis Graves at the *Chapel Hill Weekly* observed as "Middle Western rectitude," smoking was prohibited in campus buildings and anywhere on the grounds, including the city sidewalks at the boundaries of the university property. The sight of Chase strolling across McCorkle Place with a plume of smoke trailing behind was a familiar one for folks in Chapel Hill. "Lady Nicotine has been with him to give comfort and inspiration," Graves wrote. "Now he is to be robbed of her companionship. . . . When a man of forty-six has for years been smoking whenever and wherever he pleased, with the full consent of his own conscience and the approval of his faculty, his students, his village, and his state, we should think it would be poor consolation to know that after a weary and smokeless day he could look forward to a cigarette after he had got home at nightfall and closed the door securely behind him."[45]

The public response to Chase's decision was much the same as Gardner's. The governor expressed regret over Chase's decision and wished him well. This time, however, there was no uprising of alumni to demand that he stay. The *Charlotte Observer*, which had never comforted Chase during his difficulties, gave the president high marks for his service: "Doctor Chase

leaves the University with a record of great accomplishment to his credit, and it may be said that he goes with the regret of all the state."[46]

Those closest to the campus, faculty and students and townspeople in Chapel Hill, seemed resigned to losing Chase to another institution. During the alumni luncheon at the commencement exercises in June, just a few weeks before Chase's departure, Josephus Daniels noted that "the state ought to be proud of its reputation as a nursery to make great men for other states."[47] Some suggested that Chase's departure was expected after he had turned down so many offers before. The governor was generous in his praise and observed that Chase "found the University of North Carolina a loosely bound together and inadequately equipped aggregation of individuals and departments. He leaves it a tremendously virile, effective, forward-looking university, secure in the confidence of all the people and undoubtedly but just entering upon the period of its greatest usefulness and service." In a note of levity, he said at least Chase had chosen a school with a fine football history.[48]

Speculation arose immediately about Chase's successor. The leading candidates were Frank Graham and R. D. W. Connor, who had recently been elevated to chair of the history department. Connor was eager for the job, having lost out to Chase a decade earlier largely on a legal technicality. Other names being mentioned were Howard Rondthaler, the president of Salem College and also a candidate in 1919; Ed Graham's classmate Archibald Henderson, the mathematician turned George Bernard Shaw biographer; Benjamin Rice Lacy Jr., the president of Union Theological Seminary; and Chief Justice Walter P. Stacy of the state supreme court.

Unlike the eager Professor Connor, Frank Graham was determined not to be a candidate and immediately mounted a campaign among his friends to keep himself out of the reach of the trustees. He openly endorsed Connor and went so far as to secure a promise from a trustee, his old chum Kemp Battle, that he would move the withdrawal of Graham's name if it were put up for consideration.[49] Despite his thin academic credentials, Graham was the popular favorite. He was the best known in the state of any of those being talked about. Over the years he had spent at least some time in virtually every community, where he had spoken in churches and schools, to civic clubs and alumni gatherings. His reputation had been enhanced most recently by his energetic prosecution of a statewide campaign to develop libraries in an effort to encourage reading and raise the rate of literacy among North Carolinians.

Moreover, the Graham name was synonymous with education in North Carolina. His cousin's record as president was still vivid for those who had known him, and that included a number of men who had been students before the war and who now populated the board of trustees.

At the same time, Graham was also the most controversial of any of those under consideration. This was especially true for the conservatives among the trustees. That group included such men as James A. Gray Jr., the man who had so often called Chase to account. Graham only raised his profile as a crusading liberal at a time when men like David Clark were complaining loudly about "radicals and communists" subverting students.

Graham seemed to be doing all he could to inflame Clark and his followers. In the weeks leading up to Chase's decision, the young professor had been circulating what he called "An Industrial Bill of Rights." The statement was his answer to the violence and deaths associated with the labor troubles in Gastonia in the spring and summer of 1929. Graham was not directly involved in the troubles there—in fact, he had declined a request from the American Civil Liberties Union to investigate on its behalf[50]—but the trials of those accused in the killings of Gastonia's chief of police and a textile worker named Ella Mae Wiggins had touched him deeply.

Shortly before the trial of those charged in the killing of the police chief was to begin the previous September, Chase had come to Graham's aid and defense after the *Southern Textile Bulletin* reported Graham had attended what was erroneously called a Labor Day rally for the Communist Party. An official of the Manville Jenckes Corporation, the company that owned the Loray Mill in Gastonia, wrote Governor Gardner to say Graham should be fired. Gardner sent the letter to Chase, who prepared a reply.

Chase told the governor's correspondent, J. A. Baugh, that Graham was in New York City at the time of the Labor Day meeting, which, in fact, was not a gathering of Communist Party members but something altogether different. He then went on to declare Graham was within his rights as an American citizen to say and believe what he wished and to work to change society within the bounds of the law and the Constitution. Faculty members should not be propagandists, he said, but "I conceive . . . that competent men have every right to form and express opinions about matters with which they are familiar under our American form of government, and that this right includes members of the university faculties as well as the rest of our citizenship." Continuing, Chase wrote, "I wish to say with equal definiteness that I should

resist on any occasion any censorship of the opinions and expressions of any member of the University faculty who advocates the consummation of more perfect relationships through the orderly processes of law by the individuals, or groups, or classes, in any fields."[51]

The letter does not suggest any of Chase's earlier alarm over political activism on the part of faculty members. Chase had not entered the public debate over the Gastonia strikes, but he was not disinterested. In the spring, a few weeks before the death of the police chief, he had driven through the mill village with a colleague when the two were in Gastonia on university business. Chase thanked Baugh for the opportunity to state "the University's general attitude for which it has stood throughout its history of 135 years of useful service to North Carolina."[52]

Graham all but blamed himself for the tragedy in Gastonia, especially the death of Ella Mae Wiggins, who was shot and killed by vigilantes while on the way to a union meeting. He poured out his thoughts to newspaper columnist Nell Battle Lewis, saying, "In default of the Americanism of us her rightful neighbors in this commonwealth, which had failed to guarantee an equal opportunity for her children, she looked to outsiders preaching alien doctrines yet promising answers to her aspirations for her children. Their promises were illusory and their preachments fallacious and it is we who are responsible for the void of leadership into which they came."[53]

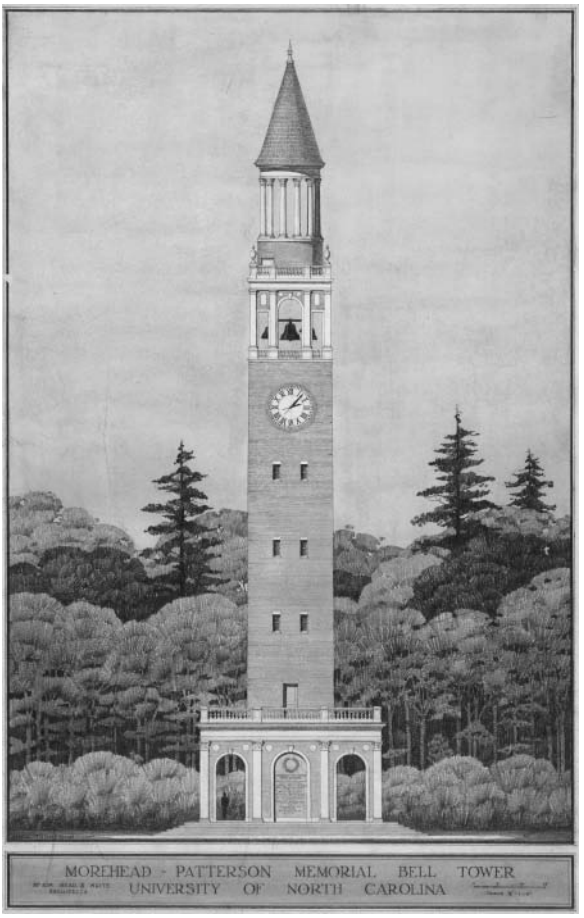
Graham gathered more than four hundred endorsements for his statement of concern from men and women all across the state. His list contained the names of current and former legislators, including the esteemed Walter Murphy, and academics such as William L. Poteat of Wake Forest College and Julius I. Foust at NCCW. Mrs. Thomas W. Bickett, the widow of the late governor who had expressed concern in his day about the impact of industrialization on people and communities, had signed his statement, as had Clarence Poe, publisher of the *Progressive Farmer*. Graham had the support of fellow faculty members Howard Odum and E. C. Branson, along with Maurice Taylor Van Hecke and Charles T. McCormick from the law school and old-timers such as Horace Williams, S. Huntington Hobbs Jr., Nathan W. Walker, and George McFarland McKie, who taught public speaking when Graham was an undergraduate. Missing from the list were the names of Harry Chase and three of the candidates for the presidency: Connor, Henderson, and Rondthaler. Rondthaler wrote Graham to say he was sympathetic but that the statement was an open invitation to organized labor in the South.[54]

The culmination of Graham's campaign came in mid-April 1930 at the annual meeting of the North Carolina Conference for Social Service. The trustees search committee had begun its work, and Graham was advised to turn his presidential address to the conference into something less controversial. He ignored those warnings and went ahead as planned, saying to do less would have been an insult to those who had signed his declaration. As he summed up his speech at the conference, the hurt and strain that had accompanied the previous year came through. "Jesus does not teach us to destroy the headquarters of those who agitate in an alien cause," he said. "He did not teach them to kill a Chief of Police, answering a call in the line of duty whose first words were those of friendliness. He did not teach us to shoot down on the public highway a woman who attempted to attend a meeting whose principles we oppose. He met fallacy with understanding and hate with his great love."[55]

As all this played out, Chase seemed to have a renewed dose of vigor and a new breath of freedom to speak his mind. Responding to yet another complaint about communists on campus, Chase said that since he was leaving the university there was no reason,

> except for regard for facts, for me to say that the temper of the institution has always struck me as, on the whole, rather conservative. I am speaking of the views of the great majority of its faculty and student body. It has stood, and I hope it always will stand, for the right of the man who differs to express himself, but that does not always or necessarily mean agreement. I think the University is hospitable to ideas and recognizes the necessity of the free discussion of ideas in an institution of university caliber. That has been the proud tradition of the University always, and I trust it will always continue.[56]

In Chase's final weeks in Chapel Hill, he concluded negotiations with John Motley Morehead, who for more than six years had been talking about his desire to leave a mark on the campus. In 1923, Morehead had offered to pay for a new bell tower on South Building to accommodate a clock and chimes costing $20,000. In a rather haughty letter, Morehead said the university could name the chimes for whomever it pleased, but he wanted the building renamed for his family. The trustees promptly declined the offer. Finally, in the spring of 1930, Chase worked out arrangements for a combined gift from Morehead and A. H. Patterson's brother Rufus, whose mechanical genius



An architect's rendering of
Morehead-Patterson Bell Tower.

had made him a wealthy man within the Duke's tobacco trust. Together, they would share the cost for a $100,000 bell tower to stand 167 feet tall on a spot just south of the new library, about midway to Kenan Stadium. In a letter to Chase, Patterson related a suggestion from Morehead that the largest of the twelve bells, which would weigh 3,500 pounds, be named "Governor Morehead" (for Morehead's grandfather, who had held office in the mid-nineteenth century) and that two or three others be named for Moreheads and Pattersons who had been associated with the university. "In the case of the More-

heads this would be simple, as they were all named John," Patterson wrote. The campanile was dedicated in November 1931.[57]

Chase also managed to find the private donations needed to pay for a replacement for Memorial Hall, which came tumbling down under the hand of a wrecking crew in February 1930. Salvaged from the old building were the marble tablets memorializing the names of Civil War dead and the wooden benches that had served for nearly half a century. Chase's scrounging within the university accounts produced enough to pay for the building, with the help of a $5,000 gift from John Sprunt Hill, but it was not sufficient to furnish it. When the building was dedicated in October 1931, the guests had to make do with the scarred and worn heart-pine benches, and they remained in use for some time.[58]

Chase's friends and neighbors in Chapel Hill were beginning to feel the pinch of hard times in the spring of 1930. The local bank remained sound, and the mills in Carrboro were still running, but the future was uncertain as orders for hosiery rose and fell. A small realty company had failed, leaving new homeowners liable to foreclosure.[59] In February, the *Daily Tar Heel* launched a relief fund to support Orange County poor, soliciting funds from students and townspeople. Contributions for January 31 through May 12, 1930, totaled $202.73. It was enough to provide forty-plus families with food that they otherwise would not have had.[60] Students also mounted a boycott of the Carolina Theatre to force the reduction of ticket prices from forty to thirty cents.[61]

Chase worried about the university's future. He was constantly looking for expenses to eliminate. The *University News Letter* had been reduced to a biweekly publishing schedule, cutting print and mail costs in half. Faculty positions, including Patterson's spot in physics, were unfilled.[62] Janitorial service and building repairs had been reduced to bare necessity, which could not last for long without causing permanent damage. At Chase's last chapel meeting, on Monday, May 5, he told the freshmen not to be discouraged by what was called "severe economizing." College training was an investment in the future, he assured them, and they should press on regardless of the difficulties.[63]

The following day, Chase's last meeting with students came at the tapping for the Golden Fleece. Its leader, or Jason, was Gordon Gray, a graduating senior. In Chase's remarks, he recounted his first days in Chapel Hill, then a remote village and a two-hour buggy ride from Durham. Streets turned to mud in winter. They were dry and dusty in summer. The village went dark

early. In two decades, the village, the university, and the South had been transformed, he said, by changes that defied those who told him when he arrived that the South would never conform. Now, he said, repeating his refrain for the last time, "The old tendency of the South living in self-contentment has been replaced by a heritage of independence and progress."[64]

Chase tried to remain optimistic; it seemed to be his nature. He did not join the discussion about a successor, but he knew whoever came behind him would have a difficult time. In mid-April, Chase wrote a candid report to Governor Gardner. "I do want to make it plain that we are at a crisis in the affairs of the University," he told Gardner. "The University has borne up well under the financial difficulties of the last year or two, but for the first time this spring I do see a very definite questioning attitude as to the future developing."[65] A month later, the university lost $175,000 out of its budget for the coming year, a 20 percent cut that was far more severe than anything Chase had seen during his years as president.

The chatter over Chase's successor had died to almost nothing on campus after the trustees' fact-finding committee made a visit and listened to what faculty members said they wanted in a new president. The consensus was that it should be a man from within higher education. Alumni stated their preference for a Chapel Hill graduate and North Carolina native.[66] These conditions generally precluded the election of another outsider like Chase, or even a state supreme court justice. With Graham steadfast in his refusal to be considered for the job, Connor appeared to be the favorite of the trustees. His academic credentials were no less than those of Graham, and his family was well known within the state. Chase had tried repeatedly to get Connor's father on the faculty at the law school. Connor's brother was a power in the state legislature. Some probably believed Connor's election would align the university with the more conservative elements in the state.

As the class of 1930 prepared for graduation, Chase offered one last word of advice to the graduates, and to the rest of the university community, in a letter that was published in the last regular edition of the *Daily Tar Heel*. The difficult conditions were temporary, he said. "There are fluctuations in the support of all state institutions from time to time," he wrote, not giving any hint of the dire consequences that he had expressed privately to the governor. "Every forward step of the University of North Carolina during the 136 years of its existence has been a struggle. Its upward journey will always be a struggle, but its reputation, its spirit and its courage have brought it through

crises beside which the present disturbance is but a temporary cloud passing over the sun."[67]

Memorial Hall was only a memory and a rough spot on the campus grounds as the faculty made arrangements for commencement to take place out of doors, as long as weather cooperated. If it did not, the university would borrow space from the Methodists, whose large church sat on Franklin Street, just across the green from the unfinished Graham Memorial. Chase undoubtedly disliked leaving that work incomplete, but two years of pleading had not produced the $100,000 necessary to make the building usable. It was closed and empty, a monument to disinterested alumni who easily had found three times the amount needed to build a football stadium. There would be 339 men and women receiving diplomas on June 10.[68] The faculty committee had recommended the awarding of four honorary degrees. One of them was for Francis P. Venable, the president who had hired Chase twenty years before. Another was for Governor O. Max Gardner.

Commencement week began on Saturday, June 7. On the Thursday before that Saturday's class reunions, thirty of Frank Graham's friends appeared before a meeting of the committee preparing the list of candidates for the presidency. They ignored all of Graham's pleading—even his mother had urged him to allow himself to be considered for the job—and they made a case for his election. It was all but a bootless exercise as far as Robert B. House was concerned. He believed Graham's statement that he was not available and considered that the end of it.[69] Nonetheless, Graham's name was one of the ten presented to the full board when it met on Monday in Howell Hall.

Watching all of this closely was the governor. Graham was Gardner's man. After eighteen months in office, and facing the most serious financial crisis in the state's modern history, the governor was convinced that the current system of independent state institutions, each with its own competing interests, was expensive and unwieldy. North Carolina could not long afford the political logrolling that had become a part of biennial legislative sessions, as one campus sought to outdo the other. Combining three institutions under one administration would be a difficult political challenge, but Gardner believed that "Graham, with his fair sense of justice and fair play, would be the ideal man to weld consolidation into an effective instrument of higher education." Without him, it probably would fail.[70]

None of those on the list of potential candidates was ever officially nominated when the election of a president came before the board of trustees.

Rather, after a dispassionate reading of the names of the men considered by the committee, Gardner proceeded with the balloting without discussion, thus relieving Graham's man Battle from having to announce that Graham wished his name withdrawn from consideration. Connor led the first ballot with twenty-six votes. Graham had twenty, and Henderson followed with ten. On a second vote, it was thirty for Graham to Connor's twenty-seven. Graham's lead widened on a third ballot, and on the fourth he received forty-seven votes, a majority. The election was then made unanimous, and Graham was elected.

A factor in his behalf was word from former president Edwin A. Alderman, who urged the selection of a man under fifty years of age. Graham, at forty-three, was the only candidate under fifty who had enough support among the trustees to be a viable contender. Josephus Daniels, writing later of the meeting, said Graham's election was the result of "what some folks call flaming youth. The bulk of the alumni and the bulk of the student body felt he was a 'buddy' and touched the life of the State and the University in a way that would insure deep interest and co-operation of youth."[71]

The problem was that the newly elected president was nowhere to be found. One of Graham's most steadfast supporters, William MacNider from the medical school, went looking for him in his Ford Model T. He first checked Graham's boardinghouse. Unable to find him there, he took Rocky Mount attorney Francis Winslow into his car, and the two continued the search. They spotted Graham strolling along the edge of Battle Park talking with his old Greek professor William S. Bernard. MacNider and Winslow pulled Graham into the car and were headed back to the meeting when they were met by Charlotte physician Otho Bescent Ross and the president of the alumni association, William T. Shore. Shore had been with Graham at the 1926 meeting in Charlotte, when they had disrupted the antievolutionists, and he had pressed Graham repeatedly to change his mind on the presidency. He shouted to Graham, "Frank, get out of that Ford, and get into this Packard. You've been elected President of the University."[72]

When Graham was brought in to meet the trustees, his face was "deathly white." In a voice so low that many sitting in the back of the lecture room could not hear him, Graham said, "I hardly know what to say. I trust you will believe me when I say I want to remain a teacher. I want Mr. Connor to be President. Isn't there anything that can be done now to make him President and leave me free to go back to the classroom?"

Gardner assured him there was not. "The vote for you is unanimous," he said.

Graham stared at the floor in silence and said, finally, "Well, with your help I will." If he said something further, it was drowned out by applause.[73]

The election results surprised more than Graham. That night, at the commencement ball, faculty members who had counted on Connor as their next president were still recovering from their loss. Tears had been shed. Arnold Kimsey King, a young faculty member who had backed Graham, said, "Here were the great dames of the University who had figured on their man winning, and their taking over the responsibilities around here, whose eyes were so swollen."[74]

The rain that had bedeviled the early events of commencement was gone on Tuesday morning, June 10. The benches from Memorial Hall were arranged in front of a stage set at the base of the Davie Poplar. Sunlight was creating dappled patterns of light on the assembled crowd by the time the academic procession arrived and those scheduled to receive their diplomas were seated. John Huston Finley, an associate editor of the *New York Times*, was the speaker, and he talked about extending the education found at the university beyond the confines of the campus. His voice was carried out across the lawn by a series of loudspeakers that hung from tree limbs. Seated among the alumni was U.S. appeals court judge John J. Parker, who had just failed to win confirmation of his nomination to the U.S. Supreme Court by President Herbert Hoover. The Negro Janitors Association of the University of North Carolina, forty-six in number, had supported his nomination.[75] The opposition to Parker was fueled, in part, by objections to his segregationist views expressed when he was a Republican candidate for governor in 1920.

Harry Chase's final commencement proceeded without a hitch. One of Chase's final duties was the awarding of honorary degrees. It had become a contentious issue internally among those who believed recent recipients too often had careers or lives that touched only lightly on the campus. Those selected by the faculty, and confirmed by the trustees, in 1930 were an affirmation of Chase's vision of the South. The first degree presented went to a Virginian, Ellen Anderson Gholson Glasgow, a novelist whose stories focused on the South. Another woman, Martha McChesney Berry, was then recognized for the self-help school she ran in the mountains of northern Georgia that helped lift rural children out of poverty and into useful and productive lives. Next, Chase made the presentation to Francis P. Venable, recognizing his fifty

years at the university. He then came to Governor Gardner, whom he said he greeted "as the loyal, capable upright leader who finds North Carolina in a moment of pessimism and who will leave her, I am sure, with revered faith in herself and in her destiny." It was a much warmer dedication than McLean had received four years earlier, despite the recent harsh treatment of the university by the state's director of the budget.[76]

Then, in a break with campus protocol, Gardner conferred upon Chase his own doctor of laws degree. The trustees had voted on the honor without consulting the faculty, who did not seem to mind the loss of their prerogative. According to Josephus Daniels, "The ovation given to Dr. Chase by the student body and the great audience as he stood under the ancient, towering, spreading oaks, hard by the Davie Poplar (the scene of many historic scenes in the history of Chapel Hill) touched his heart though it made his going all the harder."[77]

Chase left Chapel Hill a few weeks later. Traveling with him in his Oldsmobile were his wife, his teenage daughter, Beth, and a newly adopted son, a seventeen-year-old college sophomore named Carl. The Chases arrived on the University of Illinois campus on July 3. Two days later, the retiring president presented the keys of the campus to Chase in a brief ceremony.[78]

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

A Real University

AROUND THE TIME HARRY Chase announced his decision to leave the university, he prepared a memorandum that might have been useful to the committee considering his successor. He began by saying, "The ideal university president, of course, is not to be found." Do not hire an autocrat, he advised, a self-seeker or one who would run the place like a business. Find a person who does not play favorites, who can keep up outside contacts, and who can raise money, although he did not rank fundraising of primary importance, despite the difficult times. "The most important job of the president of the University of North Carolina is to keep the university itself running, without friction, with high morale, and with an adequate organization."[1]

Chase was largely describing his own style as president, and he would certainly have added that he was not perfect. Indeed, he would later say that he had been in the right place at the right time and everything just broke in his favor.[2] His self-deprecating appraisal went too far. Chase had taken command at an extraordinary time, and it all could have gone badly. He was an untrained and untested leader, with a faculty not sure of his abilities to fill the shoes of the beloved Ed Graham. Yet he had taken an opportunity and molded it with an innate confidence and diplomacy to achieve more than even he had imagined possible. He had grown in the job, supported by those seeking a leader on a campus still numbed by the loss of their champion. On his watch, the university entered the ranks of the leading state universities in the land, and more than a decade later Harry Chase was considered one of the great captains of those institutions. The trustees at the University of Illinois regarded him as the first "professional educator" to serve as its president.[3]

Chase left as few loose ends as possible before he departed for Urbana-Champaign. At the time of commencement, the trustees confirmed the hiring of George Raleigh Coffman from Boston University as a Kenan professor and the new chair of the English department. Coffman's first job would be rebuilding a department depleted by three recent resignations of men headed to higher-paying positions.[4] Chase left to Graham the selection of deans for the College of Liberal Arts—Addison Hibbard had resigned just before commencement—and the Graduate School. There was nothing Chase could do about the 20 percent budget cut imposed by the governor other than to wish Graham well. Looming over these challenges for the new man was Governor Gardner's plans for consolidation of higher education that would bring the campuses at Chapel Hill, Raleigh, and Greensboro under a single administration. Consolidation was probably the one thing that convinced Chase it was time for him to move on.

Gardner kept his plans to himself so Frank Graham had the summer and fall to fill vacancies and make his adjustments for the coming year. Graham relied heavily on Robert B. House, who became a steady companion and helpmate in the president's office. House had considered moving on with Chase, but thought better of it.[5] If anything, House would be needed all the more as Graham's peripatetic nature meant the university would require a strong executive secretary if the daily affairs were to be kept in order. Administration was not Graham's strong suit and was a real concern to some on the campus who loved him dearly but were fully aware of his shortcomings.

Graham moved out of his boardinghouse and into the official residence in September. It was the first home that he had known since leaving Charlotte for Chapel Hill a quarter century earlier. Graham was a bachelor, so his younger sister Kate moved in to serve as hostess. He had to hire a new cook and a chauffeur (Graham did not drive). Their predecessors, along with a maid, had gone with the Chases to Illinois. With several empty rooms, Graham filled some of them with impoverished students in need of a place to stay.[6]

Graham and Gardner were riding together from the Duke-Carolina football game in early December 1930 when the governor told Graham he planned to ask the 1931 General Assembly for the legislation necessary to effect consolidation. "I felt him shudder," Gardner later said, "but with his characteristic frankness and integrity, he told me that he would look at it with an open mind, but that he seriously doubted if it would ever be accomplished."[7] Con-

solidation and further reduction in the university budget would occupy Graham's time for many, many months to come. Scaffolding around unfinished work projects would become commonplace on the campus. Scholarship remained strong in the thirties, but the years of expansion were done.

Graham was inaugurated on November 11, 1931, Armistice Day. The legislature had decided on consolidation the previous March, but the particulars were still in the hands of a commission deciding how it should be carried out. The ceremony was a full-dress affair held in Kenan Stadium with visiting representatives from the nation's campuses. The president's address lasted more than an hour and a quarter, overly long for some, but Graham held his audience seated in the stands of Kenan Stadium with him until the end.[8] It would be the last such occasion for the Chapel Hill campus. Going forward, after consolidation, the chief executive on the Chapel Hill campus would be called a chancellor. House would be the first to fill that position, although he did not assume the title until 1945.

One of the issues bearing on Graham's mind that day was the attacks on the university that had been directed at him as a professor and also at his predecessor. Shortly before concluding his talk, he made the same declaration of academic freedom that Chase had articulated and that he himself had defended in 1925. The university was a place that protected the freedom of students to think, of teachers to teach, and of researchers to study and report their findings, no matter if the results may be opposed by "powerful lobbies. . . . The University will stand by the right of the state to enlist the scholar and the freedom of the scholar to make the report, whatever be the consequences." He added, "These conceptions of the various forms of the freedom of the university are stated for the sake of fairness. The only recourse for changing such conceptions is to change the university administration. This is not said defiantly but in all friendliness and simply as a matter of openness and clearness."

He then remembered Chase as the man "under whose leadership came the greatest material expansion and intellectual advance, whose administration gathered up the momentum and values of the past, added high values of his own, and worked a synthesis of all, champion of the freedom of scientific inquiry in testing times, genial leader and friend, now President of Illinois but always at home in Chapel Hill."[9]

Chase's own inauguration at the University of Illinois had taken place about six months earlier, on May 1, with more than four thousand people attending. The day was marred by the death of Edwin A. Alderman, who died

en route from Charlottesville, Virginia, to Urbana-Champaign, where he was to deliver an address on behalf of the state universities. Chase spoke that day on the importance of great state institutions and their duty to serve the taxpayers who pay their bills. Alderman had said as much when he was president in Chapel Hill with words that had inspired a young Ed Graham, who would later put them into practice. Chase also spoke of the need for the university to build character and confidence in its students. "Out of that community ought to come people with habits of self-reliance and with a willingness to assume responsibility," he said.[10]

Chase was well into an overhaul of affairs at Illinois by the time of the formal ceremony. He had taken not only the staff of the president's residence with him to Illinois, but some of the traditions of the university as well. His first academic year was under way when he met with students at a campus "smoker," which was a bit of a misnomer as smoking was prohibited on campus. He talked about the need for students to show more initiative and learned that Illinois students believed they could do more if they were unburdened from restrictive rules and regulations.[11] Chase took a look and was said to have observed, "The only document I know comparable to our regulations for the conduct of undergraduate students is the Book of Leviticus." By the time of his inauguration, he was whittling the eighty-page booklet containing 138 regulations down to one of about sixteen pages with 39 rules.[12]

Some of these changes covered class attendance. Chase adopted the standard that had been in place for more than fifteen years at Chapel Hill. Class attendance was a matter between the student and the professor or instructor, not the university's top administrators. When word spread about the state of Illinois of a relaxation of campus regulations, the president was criticized for letting students do as they pleased. When that criticism came to Chase's attention, he referred those who complained to his inaugural address, in which he said, "State Universities must reinterpret and reassess their work in the light of their new obligations. They must not be afraid to experiment with new ideas."[13] Later, speaking at the University of Chicago in 1932, he said, "There ought to be enough determination in the individual to make him do some things for himself or he ought not be a member of a community which is devoted to education."[14]

Chase also endorsed a student movement to create a student union. The university's campus was filled with many buildings, but not one of them was adequate to support the wide range of student activities for such a large stu-

Graham Memorial, still unfinished when Harry Chase left Chapel Hill, was finally completed and dedicated in January 1932. The monument on the right of the photo is the Confederate Monument, erected under the auspices of the North Carolina Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy with assistance from university alumni. It was dedicated on June 2, 1913.

dent body.[15] This, too, was a familiar cause. One of Chase's regrets in leaving Chapel Hill was that Graham Memorial remained unfinished after more than a decade of bold promises and unfulfilled pledges from the alumni. The building was finally opened for use in the fall of 1931, shortly before Frank Graham's inauguration. L. Ames Brown, one of Ed Graham's students who became a close friend and confidant, guaranteed the money necessary to finish construction and furnish the building. It was dedicated in January 1932.[16]

Chase also set about streamlining the Council of Administration at the University of Illinois, handed him by his predecessor David Kinley, who had been a fixture on the campus since the 1890s. The council was chaired by the president and met weekly, when it considered an agenda clogged by everything from the important to the mundane. Chase determined that the president did not need to rule on the schedule of fraternity dances and replaced the Council of Administration with two committees, one to handle discipline and the other student affairs, and the University Council, which was to advise the president as needed and help prepare the university budget. In addition, the deans of women and men were relieved of disciplinary duties

and devoted their full time to advising students. The changes were virtually the same as those he had put in place at the beginning of his administration at Chapel Hill, when he chose Frank Graham as the university's first dean of students.[17]

Chase rearranged the president's office, putting himself and his assistants in closer touch with visitors who no longer had to stand behind a counter and seek permission to enter. One of his closest assistants in the office was an African American who had begun work as an office messenger thirty-five years earlier and was the president's chief clerk when Chase arrived. Albert R. Lee was suspicious about this southerner and had asked retiring president David Kinley how Chase would regard "my Group." Lee later called Chase "a peculiar combination of Yankee and Southerner," and Chase became one of his favorites during fifty-plus years of service in the president's office.[18]

Chase's adjustment to the regulations unsettled some in the faculty, but it was circumstances beyond his control that led to a growing dissatisfaction with him at Illinois. Much of the criticism was the result of the extravagance of the board of trustees in spending $43,000 for furnishings in the presidential residence, which had cost about $164,000 to build, all but $50,000 of which came from nonstate funds. All of this had been set in motion before Chase was even hired.[19] Chase and his family lived in temporary quarters for more than a year before the new, multistory brick residence with flanking wings of rooms became available. The house had taken more than a year to build, and it was more befitting a grand estate than a state university. The Chases moved in near the end of 1931 just in time for the university's expenses to become a political issue.[20]

With banks failing across Illinois in 1932, including the one that was the university's main depository in Champaign, and with people out of work and standing in food lines, the finances at the university were prime fodder for the gubernatorial campaign season of 1932. Chase had never encountered bipartisan politics like the brand practiced in Illinois. He learned that it could be as difficult to endure as any assault by angry fundamentalists or a mean-spirited editor. In the fall, Illinois voters elected a new governor and three new board members, all of them Democrats.[21] By then, Chase was already entertaining the prospect of another job. On January 25, 1933, he resigned the presidency, effective July 1, to become chancellor of New York University.[22] It was a larger university, but it had not yet gained admission to the Association of American Universities. That would come under Chase's administration. Chase

looked forward to working at a privately endowed institution without the interference of governors, legislators, and other stripes of politicians.

Chase would spend the balance of his years in higher education in New York City, where he retired in 1951, ending a career of thirty-two years leading three major institutions. He was sixty-eight years old when he left office. Two years before he retired, Chase had found himself in familiar territory as he responded to an inquiry from the House Committee on Un-American Activities, which had requested a list of textbooks used at his institution. He sent the list along with a letter saying the university did not recognize the right of any governmental agency to interfere "with the freedom of this university."[23]

Chase considered moving to Chapel Hill for his retirement, but instead spent the years before his death in 1955 at a home overlooking Duck Island Harbor on Long Island and at a residence in Florida. "Harry loved Chapel Hill with an undying affection," his brother Arthur told Louis R. Wilson in 1958. "As he said so many times, it was his first love, and I honestly believe he wished many, many times he had stayed there."[24]

In January 1932, at the dedication of Graham Memorial in Chapel Hill, one of Ed Graham's former students, Charles Tillett Jr., quoted from a newspaper column written by Nell Battle Lewis. She had conducted a contest in the *News and Observer* asking readers to name the ten most beautiful things about North Carolina. The winning entry noted the fall color on the mountains in Jackson County, springtime in Chapel Hill, the rhododendron at Linville Falls, the oyster fleet at dawn on Pamlico Sound, and "the living spirit of Ed Graham, which here, there, and yonder in North Carolina may be glimpsed flaming in the souls of some of those who knew and loved this man."[25]

Edward Kidder Graham kindled a fire for the university, and it became a beacon for the people of North Carolina at a time when the state was just awakening to the possibilities of the twentieth century. Throughout his presidency, the institution remained largely a liberal arts college with a few professional schools—law, medicine, and pharmacy—appended to the campus in Chapel Hill. It was not an institution of distinction, other than its claim to being the oldest state university in the nation. Yet Graham knew that if it was to have a future more worthy than as a historical footnote, then it would need the people behind it to provide support, and he set out to make that happen.

In his history of the university, Louis R. Wilson calls Graham a "Merchant of Spirit."[26] Certainly no one knew Graham better, or worked more closely

at his side, during the creative years of his presidency. Wilson had organized and implemented the extension program that Graham had begun pushing for even before he became president. Though the program received no support from President Francis Venable, Graham had proceeded nonetheless, dead sure in his conviction that unless the university reached out to the people and became a part of their daily lives, the future was lost.

Through that early extension bureau, the university expanded its reach to the boundaries of the state. The extension program became one of Graham's lasting achievements. His real legacy was not in the curriculum changes, or in bricks and mortar. Only the campus power plant, paid for out of the legislative appropriation in 1917, was completed before his death; other buildings discussed during Graham's presidency, like the Steele Dormitory, were not completed until after 1918. Rather, Graham's lasting mark was in attitude and spirit, the intangible and essential ingredients that were part of the remarkable period of development that followed his untimely death. His efforts to recruit citizens to the aid of the university were not part of a shallow and contrived public relations campaign. They were the full expression of a relationship that Graham enjoyed with his native state and especially with the students who had filled his classrooms and taken in his words at chapel talks during the few years of his presidency. Those students were his emissaries as they carried his message across the land. They were ever willing and ready and eager to pick up the full challenge of his presidency. His cousin Frank was the best known of these disciples, and he transferred Graham's vision to more generations of students who became the progressive leaders of the state in the twentieth century.

"Ed Graham was somehow the embodiment in men's minds of a new liberalism, of the democratizing trend," a colleague later wrote.[27] Graham believed in Democracy with a capital *D*—just as his favorite professor, Thomas Hume, always spelled *literature* with a capital *L*—and there was no more forceful engine to bring it to his native state than education, with the university serving as the guiding beacon. Except for African Americans, who had been marginalized by Jim Crow, Graham attempted to bring every segment of the state into a relationship with the university. He extended a hand to farmers who were suspicious that the institution served only the elite, and he was working to increase the opportunities for women on the campus when the war intervened. Even the university's opponents across the denominational divide received welcome and acceptance in common cause from Gra-

ham, who kept to himself his impatience with those who continued their aggression toward the university.

Graham's death as the war was coming to an end, and with a new decade beckoning, was a loss felt deeply across the entire state. Graham had become more than the university's president; he was a voice for a new modern generation. He respected the past, but he could inspire undergraduates raised in sectionalism to see the world in new and exciting ways, not just as people of the South, but as Americans. His leadership was such that students and faculty members thought seriously about public service as an obligation to the state that had embraced them. Then, suddenly, when he was no longer there, many feared that the light had been extinguished and the moment had been lost.

That was not to be. As one trustee later put it, it seemed that God had a hand in the election of Harry Chase.[28] A hitch in the state statutes figured into it as well, but, clearly, a New Englander who had translated the words of Sigmund Freud was not the candidate that the trustees had in mind when they began looking for Graham's successor. Faculty members gave him the benefit of the doubt when they were offered the chance to speak their minds, but largely because Chase was a known quantity. They also liked the way he had handled himself during the months after the death of Marvin Stacy, when the campus was in stunned silence.

Even beyond the obvious differences in the backgrounds of the two men, Chase and Graham were cut from different cloth. Chase was a scholar with the credentials to prove it. He had been published in academic journals, not just in popular magazines. He had conducted research and translated that work into the instruction he presented in his classroom. Graham was an able public speaker, popular with audiences. Chase was an able writer, but not an orator. His words were clear and distinct, but they were best digested in print. Neither did Chase have Graham's feel for politics and his facility for dealing with difficult legislators. He would learn that skill, as he learned how to manage an institution that grew, stone by stone, into a real university during his years. He had a keen insight into his role as an administrator. "If a college president didn't have to find money for deans to spend on education," he once told his brother Arthur, "he might be able to enjoy life."[29]

Chase never tried to be another Ed Graham. Instead, he took the flame that Graham had ignited and used it to build a university and move it into the mainstream of American higher education. He willingly adopted Graham's unfinished agenda, never claiming it for his own but as a part of the legacy

that came with the job. The School of Commerce, Frederick Koch's Carolina Playmakers, the Departments of Music and Journalism, the Graduate School, the University of North Carolina Press, and better accommodations for women were all part of Graham's vision. Chase saw those through and went even further. He believed the South was trying to come into its own, as a full partner in America, and saw to it that the university prepared future leaders to be ready for their place in its progress.

Chase is remembered most for the changes that took place in the university's physical appearance, as an entirely new campus was developed to accommodate the growth in enrollment and expansion in the university's program. That obscured his appreciation for the value of research and scholarship that put the university well ahead of its peers in the South and on par with universities of national reputation. He always counted the hiring of Howard Odum and the creation of the Institute for Research in Social Science as an example of his best day's work. Most important, Chase understood the role of the state university and was always adjusting the model to extend the service to as many students as possible. Forty years before the state of North Carolina created community colleges and technical institutes, he saw them as part of an expanded system of education beyond the high school.

Always short of money to recruit for a growing faculty, Chase set about to train his own. He found money to send promising graduates off for further study. One of the young students he cultivated was Albert Coates, whom he brought back to the university from the law school at Harvard after he found alumni willing to help pay for his legal education. Chase believed Coates might be the Tar Heel native who would one day be dean of the law school. That was not to be, but Coates did launch the Institute of Government, a creative enterprise of service to public officials and law enforcement that eventually became the university's School of Government. Edgar W. Knight, a leading figure in the School of Education, was another whose career was made possible with help from Chase.

Chase was a pragmatist and chose his battles carefully. He balanced the energy and needs of the university with what was possible. For some, he became too cautious, unworthy of his reputation as a liberal won in 1925. Some scholars, writing years later, counted against him his warning to Frank Graham, Odum, and Dudley Carroll about political activism. There is no doubt that his recall of Robinson Newcomb's work did not reflect well on his defense of academic freedom. At the same time, Chase never attempted to restrain

Graham and others in 1929 during one of the most volatile periods in the state's social history. Indeed, less than six months before he left for Illinois, Chase defended Graham and the faculty's rights to be full American citizens and stood down calls for Graham's dismissal.

Unlike Ed Graham, Chase was never honored by the trustees with a named campus landmark, even though many of his contemporaries—Edwin Alderman, Francis Venable, Louis Wilson, William Morton Dey, J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, Frank Graham, Charles Woollen, and Robert House—had their names put on prominent buildings.[30] In some respects, Chase is the forgotten modern president and often viewed as little more than a bridge between the administration of the two Grahams. Yet during Chase's ten years as president the university experienced one of its most transformative periods, both physically and academically, in all of the twentieth century.

Shortly before Chase retired as chancellor of New York University in 1951, he returned to North Carolina for the inauguration of Gordon Gray as president of the Consolidated University of North Carolina. Gray had been chosen to succeed Frank Graham after Governor William Kerr Scott had appointed Graham to fill an unexpired term in the U.S. Senate. The program was the second for a president under a system created nearly two decades earlier, and it was a moveable feast. Part of the ceremony was held on the campus in Greensboro, another on the campus in Chapel Hill, with Gray taking his oath on the campus in Raleigh. Chase was reunited with Gray and Graham, both of whom had been on hand at his last commencement in Chapel Hill in 1930, when Graham was his successor and Gray was a graduating senior.

Soon after he returned to New York, Chase wrote Louis R. Wilson. He was in a reflective mood and told Wilson it was difficult in the middle of the twentieth century for a single individual to have an impact on a large institution. That was something he had missed during his nearly eighteen years at New York University, where he was in charge of more than a dozen colleges, some with their own campuses, and a student body of fifty thousand. What he remembered vividly were those days thirty years before, as a movement began to take shape in North Carolina.

"We had in Chapel Hill in the early Twenties in my judgment," he told Wilson, "a most exceptional situation. We had, as you say, a band of young men who were quite willing to stick out their individual necks and work together for the benefit of the University, and together we accomplished more than I for one had believed we could."[31]

NOTES

Chapter One

1. Francis P. Venable to Stephen B. Weeks, March 19, 1913, University of North Carolina Papers (President's Office [pre-1932]) (hereafter cited as Presidential Papers).

2. Wagstaff, *Impressions of Men and Movements*, p. 84.

3. *Venable Centennial*, p. 11, and Campbell, *Across Fortune's Tracks*, pp. 69–71.

4. Campbell, *Across Fortune's Tracks*, pp. 69–71.

5. "Nearly 800 Are at the University," *News and Observer*, September 13, 1912.

6. Edgar F. Smith to Francis P. Venable, September 16, 1912, Venable Papers.

7. Campbell, *Across Fortune's Tracks*, p. 52.

8. The incident was investigated by a faculty committee. It took testimony from about fifty students in the course of the preparation of a report that Venable delivered to the trustees. The testimony was transcribed and is part of a folder in the Presidential Papers entitled "Hazing Investigations, 1912."

9. Wagstaff, *Impressions of Men and Movements*, p. 96.

10. "Hazing Must End," *News and Observer*, September 14, 1912.

11. "The Demand Is to End Hazing," *News and Observer*, September 17, 1912.

12. "Pastor Scathingly Denounces the Crime at the University," *Greensboro Daily News*, September 17, 1912.

13. "Feeling at Wake Forest," *News and Observer*, September 15, 1912.

14. "No Hazing at Elon," *Greensboro Daily News*, September 18, 1912.

15. "Bishop Kilgo in Strongest Terms Condemns Hazing," *News and Observer*, September 21, 1912.

16. "Administration Makes Slam," *Tar Heel*, October 3, 1912.

17. "Let's Get Together," ibid.

18. "Dr. Venable Issues Statement," ibid.

19. "Mass Meeting Held for the Team," *Tar Heel*, November 27, 1912.

20. Francis P. Venable to Stephen B. Weeks, March 19, 1913, Presidential Papers.

21. Francis P. Venable to James S. Manning, May 14, 1913, ibid.

22. "Acceptance of the Monument," an address by Francis P. Venable, June 2, 1913, Venable Papers.

23. "University Men in the Confederacy," *Alumni Review* 1, no. 4 (April 1913).

24. Francis P. Venable to Mrs. Henry A. London, May 21, 1913, Presidential Papers.

25. Francis P. Venable to Edgar F. Shannon, July 25, 1913, ibid.

26. Francis P. Venable to Mrs. Henry A. London, April 3, 1913, ibid.

27. "Venable's Plans for His Absence," *News and Observer*, June 6, 1913.

28. Minutes, board of trustees, June 3, 1913, Board of Trustees of the University of North Carolina Records (hereafter cited as Board of Trustees Records).

29. Bursey, *Francis Preston Venable*, p. 89.

30. Francis P. Venable to James Sprunt, June 5, 1913, and Venable to Mrs. Julia Graves, June 11, 1913, Presidential Papers.

Chapter Two

1. The 1895 centennial celebrated the opening of the university to students. An earlier centennial in 1889 celebrated the chartering of the university. The 1895 celebration was held as part of the commencement exercises and included speeches, a song written by Cornelia Phillips Spencer, and a congratulatory telegram from President Grover Cleveland. An account of the event is found in volume 2 of Kemp Plummer Battle's *History of the University of North Carolina*, pp. 516–24. Battle makes no mention of a centennial celebration in 1893. When the university reopened after the Civil War, University Day was established to remember the laying of the cornerstone of Old East on October 12, 1793.

2. Leloudis, *Schooling the New South*, p. 111.

3. "A Reception in Honor of Dr. Winston," *Tar Heel*, March 21, 1895.

4. Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina*, pp. 466–67.

5. Leloudis, *Schooling the New South*, p. 117.

6. Faculty bio, *Hellenian*, 1895, p. 14.

7. This anecdote is told in MacMillan, *English at Chapel Hill*, p. 13n, and is also referred to in Henderson, *Campus of the First State University*, p. 296n.

8. Henry M. Wagstaff, unpublished portion of *Impressions of Men and Movements*, p. 8, Wilson Papers.

9. House, *Light That Shines*, p. 213.

10. Archibald Henderson, "College Days—and 20 Years After," *Charlotte Observer*, June 16, 1918.

11. Wilson, *University of North Carolina*, p. 32.

12. *White and Blue*, October 12, 1894.

13. Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina*, p. 510.

14. "Meeting of the Freshman Class," *Tar Heel*, September 27, 1894.

15. *White and Blue*, March 8, 1894.

16. "Mass Meeting," *Tar Heel*, February 22, 1896.

17. Williams, *Education of Horace Williams*, pp. 72–73.

18. "The University and the State," *Hellenian*, 1896, p. 16.

19. Williams, *Education of Horace Williams*, p. 74.

20. Course records, Office of the Registrar of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill Records.

21. E. K. Graham, "A North Carolina Teacher," *Alumni Review* 1, no. 1 (October 1912).

22. Wolfe, *Autobiographical Outline for "Look Homeward, Angel,"* p. 52.

23. Letter to the editor, *Tar Heel*, February 13, 1897.

24. Horace Williams to R. D. W. Connor, November 19, 1916, Connor Papers.

25. "The President's Address to the Students," *University Record* 2, no. 1 (October 1897).

26. Wagstaff, *Impressions of Men and Movements*, p. 74, and Madry, *Well Worth a Shindy*, p. 52.

27. Madry, *Well Worth a Shindy*, p. 52.

28. "President Alderman Addresses the People of Durham," *Tar Heel*, December 6, 1896.

29. Malone, *Edwin A. Alderman*, p. 56.

30. Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina*, p. 539.

31. "Pres't. Alderman Inaugurated," *Tar Heel*, January 30, 1897.

32. "Why Foot-ball Is Played at the University of North Carolina," *University Record* 2, no. 2 (January 1898).

33. Editorial, *Tar Heel*, November 28, 1896.

34. "Our New Building," *Tar Heel*, October 15, 1897.

35. Henderson, *Campus of the First State University*, p. 343.

36. Madry, *Well Worth a Shindy*, pp. 11–12.

37. Henderson, *Campus of the First State University*, p. 348.

38. Ibid., p. 349.

39. "The President's Farewell," *Tar Heel*, February 15, 1898.

40. "Dr. Alderman's Letter, On the Atlantic," *Tar Heel*, March 8, 1898.

41. "President Alderman's Return," *Tar Heel*, May 10, 1898.

42. "Dr. W. F. Tillett's Baccalaureate Sermon at the University Commencement," *News and Observer*, May 31, 1898.

43. Horace Williams to R. D. W. Connor, November 19, 1916, Connor Papers.

44. Graham, "Economic Man," pp. 8–9, 12. The excerpts are taken from Graham's senior thesis.

45. "A Great Occasion," *Durham Daily Sun*, June 2, 1898.

Chapter Three

1. M. C. S. Noble, "Edward Kidder Graham," *Teachers College Quarterly* 10, no. 1 (October–December 1922): 71–74.

2. Gregory P. Downs, "University Men, Social Science, and White Supremacy in North Carolina," *Journal of Southern History* 75, no. 2 (May 2009): 267–304.

3. Wilson, *University of North Carolina*, p. 181, identifies the school as Baird's School for Boys, while the Charlotte city directory for 1899–1900 lists Graham as a teacher at the Charlotte Military Institute, with J. G. Baird as superintendent.

4. Malone, *Edwin A. Alderman*, p. 67.

5. Daniels, *Editor in Politics*, p. 319.

6. Malone, *Edwin A. Alderman*, p. 96.

7. Williams, *Education of Horace Williams*, p. 80, and Tindall, *Springtime for Chapel Hill*, p. 2.

8. Bursey, *Francis Preston Venable*, p. 80, and Julian Carr to Francis P. Venable, January 20, 1913, Presidential Papers.

9. Bursey, *Francis Preston Venable*, p. 67.

10. Williams, *Education of Horace Williams*, p. 96.

11. Wilson, *University of North Carolina*, p. 57.

12. Francis P. Venable, "The President's Report," *University Record*, no. 24 (December 1903).

13. Francis P. Venable, "The President's Report," *University Record*, no. 40 (December 1905).

14. Francis P. Venable, "The President's Report," *University Record*, no. 32 (November 1904).

15. Francis P. Venable, "Annual Report of the President," *University Record*, no. 77 (December 1909).

16. "To the New Men" and "The Y.M.C.A. Rally," *Tar Heel*, September 29, 1905.

17. Wilson, *University of North Carolina*, p. 121.

18. House, *Light That Shines*, p. 76.

19. Williams, *Education of Horace Williams*, p. 97.

20. "Tillett Eulogizes E. K. Graham at Dedication," *Alumni Review* 20, no. 5 (February 1932).

21. Graham interview, August 13, 1960, Ashby Papers.

22. House, *Light That Shines*, p. 211.

23. "Odd Number Club," *Yackety Yack*, 1907, p. 302.

24. Edward K. Graham, "The Golden Fleece," *Yackety Yack*, 1908, pp. 213–14.

25. Luby, *One Who Gave His Life*, p. 91.

26. Williams, *Education of Horace Williams*, p. 77.

27. William Starr Myers to A. B. Andrews, February 21, 1928, Presidential Papers.

28. Graham interview, June 11, 1962, Ashby Papers.

29. Steelman, "Progressive Era in North Carolina," p. 462.

30. Wagstaff, *Impressions of Men and Movements*, p. 89.

31. Bursey, *Francis Preston Venable*, p. 75.

32. Henderson, *Campus of the First State University*, pp. 211–12.

33. Ibid., pp. 228, 213.

34. Edward K. Graham to Louis Graves, April 8, 1907, E. K. Graham Papers.

35. Nixon S. Plummer, "The Guardian of the Bell," *Yackety Yack*, 1910, pp. 330–31.

36. Edward K. Graham, "The Necessary Melancholy of Bachelors," *Putnam's Monthly* 4, no. 6 (September 1908).

37. Leloudis, *Schooling the New South*, p. 112.

38. Josephine Winston, "The Passing of the House of Seven Labels," *Carolina Magazine*, February–March 1925.

39. Edward K. Graham to Louis Graves, November 13, 1906, E. K. Graham Papers.

40. Edward K. Graham to Louis Graves, June 18, 1907, ibid.

41. Edward K. Graham to Louis Graves, June 30, 1908, ibid.

42. Edward K. Graham, "Culture and Commercialism," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, April 1908.

43. Hall, *William Louis Poteat*, pp. 109–10.

44. "Chapel Exercises," *Tar Heel*, October 30, 1909.

45. Winslow interview.

46. "Chapel Exercises," *Tar Heel*, October 30, 1909.

47. House, *Light That Shines*, pp. 76–77, 74.

48. Edward K. Graham, "Report of the Dean of the College of Liberal Arts," *University Record*, no. 77 (December 1909), no. 87 (December 1910), and no. 96 (December 1911).

49. Edward K. Graham, "Higher Education and Business," address delivered at a meeting of the Southern Educational Association, December 29, 1909.

50. Edward K. Graham, "Report of the Dean of the College of Liberal Arts," *University Record*, no. 87 (December 1910).

51. Minutes, faculty meeting, May 12, 1911, General Faculty and Faculty Council of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill Records (hereafter cited as Faculty Records).

52. Edward K. Graham, "Welcome to the Civil War Classes," address delivered before the alumni association, May 29, 1911.

53. House, *Light That Shines*, p. 116.

54. Bursey, *Francis Preston Venable*, p. 89.

55. "Senior Class History," *Yackety Yack*, 1910, p. 65.

56. House, *Light That Shines*, p. 29.

Chapter Four

1. Francis P. Venable, "The Educational Value of College Athletics," Venable Papers.

2. Francis P. Venable, "Annual Report of the President," *University Record*, no. 77 (December 1909).

3. "Getting Together," *Alumni Review* 1, no. 3 (February 1913).

4. Bursey, *Francis Preston Venable*, p. 78, and "Championship Is Carolina's," *Tar Heel*, November 30, 1898.

5. "Report of the General Athletic Committee of the University of North Carolina," November 24, 1915, folder 1085, Presidential Papers, and "Doggie Trenchard Signs Contract," *Tar Heel*, February 6, 1913.

6. Edward K. Graham to Susan Graham, August 7, 1913, E. K. Graham Papers.

7. W. A. Harper to Edward K. Graham, August 11, 1913, and Edward K. Graham to W. A. Harper, August 12, 1913, Presidential Papers.

8. Edward K. Graham to George Stephens, August 20, 1913, and George Stephens to Edward K. Graham, August 22, 1913, ibid.

9. Edward K. Graham to Louis Graves, September 6, 1913, ibid.

10. [T. G.] Trenchard, "The Athletic Situation at the University," *Alumni Review* 1, no. 4 (April 1913).

11. Walter P. Fuller, "A Post-Mortem," *University Magazine*, November 1913, pp. 91–95.

12. House, *Light That Shines*, p. 67.

13. "Good Wishes" and "The Acting President," *Tar Heel*, September 18, 1913.

14. "University Opens," ibid.

15. Lewis, "American Intercollegiate Football Spectacle," p. 157.

16. Julian Carr to W. P. Few, September 30, 1913, and W. P. Few to Julian Carr, October 1, 1913, Presidential Papers.

17. Edward K. Graham to Julian S. Carr, October 4, 1913, ibid.

18. "University Day," *Alumni Review* 2, no. 2 (November 1913).

19. Edward K. Graham to Francis P. Venable, October 13, 1913, Presidential Papers.

20. Edward K. Graham to George Stephens, December 19, 1913, ibid.

21. Edward K. Graham to George Stephens, November 24, 1913, ibid.

22. Edward K. Graham to George Stephens, January 21, 1914, ibid.

23. Louis R. Wilson mentions Graham's "want book" in his history of the university and notes that it did not survive a fire, but he does not say when or where the fire occurred. There was a fire in the upper story of Graham's home in 1923, and it may have been destroyed then, along with other of Graham's personal papers, few of which ended up at the Southern Historical Collection.

24. Bursey, *Francis Preston Venable*, pp. 83–84.

25. Wilson, *University of North Carolina*, p. 203.

26. "University Day," *Alumni Review* 2, no. 2 (November 1913). Graham used "co-extensive" in his remarks, and it was repeated later by others. I could not find that he ever used the word "co-terminus," which others later inserted into Graham's declaration.

27. "A Move Full of Promise," *News and Observer*, October 12, 1913, and "A University for the People," *Greensboro Daily News*, October 13, 1913.

28. S. R. Winters, "Advises Study of the County," *News and Observer*, October 12, 1913.

29. Edward K. Graham to George Stephens, September 23, 1913, Presidential Papers.

30. Edward K. Graham to Josephus Daniels, January 6, 1914, ibid.

31. Edward K. Graham to E. C. Branson, October 27, 1913, ibid.

32. "Civic Service Week Proposed," *Charlotte Observer*, November 8, 1913.

33. Stuart Willis, in Graham interview by Jones, Queen, and Willis, and "Y.M.C.A. Progressive," *Tar Heel*, March 11, 1915.

34. Edward K. Graham to Clarence Poe, December 8, 1913, Presidential Papers.

35. Edward K. Graham to Josephus Daniels, January 6, 1914, ibid.

36. Edward K. Graham, "Report of the Acting President," *University Record*, no. 114 (December 1913).

37. Edward K. Graham to George Stephens, April 2, 1914, Presidential Papers.

38. Edward K. Graham to Isaac Emerson, June 4, 1914, ibid.

39. Wilson, *University of North Carolina*, pp. 67, 248–49.

40. Edward K. Graham to C. Alphonso Smith, February 10, 1914, Presidential Papers.

41. Edward K. Graham to Susan Graham, March 3 and 4, 1914, E. K. Graham Papers.

42. Edward K. Graham to Francis P. Venable, April 17, 1914, Presidential Papers.

43. "Eight Arrested at Chapel Hill for Gambling," *News and Observer*, March 29, 1914.

44. "A Master Hand Is Guiding the Work of the University," *Greensboro Daily News*, April 6, 1914.

45. L. Ames Brown to Edward K. Graham, May 1914, E. K. Graham Papers.

46. Edward K. Graham to Richard H. Lewis, April 15, 1914, Presidential Papers.

47. R. D. W. Connor to George Stephens, March 4, 1914, Connor Papers.

48. Charles Tillett Jr. to R. D. W. Connor, March 10, 1914, and W. R. Edmonds to R. D. W. Connor, November 14, 1913, ibid.

49. Louis R. Wilson to Harry W. Chase, March 7, 1923, Wilson Papers.

50. Edward K. Graham to C. Alphonso Smith, April 14, 1914, Presidential Papers.

51. Thomas W. Lingle to Edward K. Graham, May 8, 1914, and Edward K. Graham to Thomas W. Lingle, May 11, 1914, ibid.

52. Francis P. Venable to the board of trustees, May 17, 1914, in minutes, board of trustees, June 2, 1914, Board of Trustees Records.

53. Edward K. Graham to Richard H. Lewis, May 30, 1914, Presidential Papers.

54. "From the Hill," *News and Observer*, May 30, 1914.

55. Richard H. Lewis to Edward K. Graham, May 28, 1914, Presidential Papers.

56. Edward K. Graham to Mildred Moses, July 13, 1917, E. K. Graham Papers.

57. L. Ames Brown to Edward K. Graham, May 1914, ibid.

58. H. A. Foushee to Edward K. Graham, June 3, 1914, ibid.

59. P. C. Whitlock to Edward K. Graham, June 5, 1914, ibid.

Chapter Five

1. Henry M. Wagstaff, unpublished portion of *Impressions of Men and Movements*, p. 8, Wilson Papers.

2. "Inaugural Address," in Graham, *Education and Citizenship*, pp. 3–25.

3. Berg, *Wilson*, p. 184.

4. Edward K. Graham to H. C. Cowles Jr., June 8, 1914, Presidential Papers.

5. Edward K. Graham to Rosa N. Scott, July 3, 1914, ibid.

6. Edward K. Graham to Susan Graham, July 31, 1914, E. K. Graham Papers.

7. William B. Phillips to Francis P. Venable, June 28, 1914, Venable Papers.

8. Edwin A. Alderman to Francis P. Venable, July 2, 1914, and Francis P. Venable to Edwin A. Alderman, July 14, 1914, ibid.

9. Bursey, *Francis Preston Venable*, p. 91.

10. Winston, *Horace Williams*, p. 115.

11. "Caught in Europe," *Alumni Review* 3, no. 1 (October 1914).

12. "Brightest Prospects Mark Opening of the University," *Tar Heel*, September 17, 1914, and "University Has Young Lady 'Med,'" *News and Observer*, September 18, 1914.

13. "The University Opens," *Alumni Review* 3, no. 1 (October 1914).

14. "College Night a Great Success," *Tar Heel*, September 17, 1914.

15. "The University Carries Its Work Afield," *Alumni Review* 2, no. 1 (October 1913).

16. Louis R. Wilson to Harry W. Chase, March 7, 1923, Wilson Papers.

17. "The News Letter," *Alumni Review* 3, no. 3 (December 1914).

18. Edward K. Graham, "Annual Report of the President," *University Record*, no. 124 (December 1914), and "Statistics as to Students, 1900–1901," *University Record* 6, no. 1 (October 1900).

19. Edward K. Graham to James A. Gray Jr., October 10, 1914, Presidential Papers.

20. N. W. Walker to Edward K. Graham, November 3, 1914, ibid. See other letters written during this period for other recommendations.

21. Louis R. Wilson to Edward K. Graham, n.d., folder 1032, and E. C. Branson to Edward K. Graham, n.d., folder 1033, ibid.

22. Edward K. Graham to Sam Farabee, January 15, 1915, ibid.

23. Edward K. Graham to Clinton R. Woodruff, December 21, 1914, ibid., and Community Service Week Committee, *Community Service Week in North Carolina*.

24. "University Students and Community Service Week," *University News Letter*, December 16, 1914.

25. E. C. Branson to Edward K. Graham, December 7, 1914, Presidential Papers.

26. Edward K. Graham, "Annual Report of the President," *University Record*, no. 124 (December 1914).

27. Steelman, "Progressive Era in North Carolina," p. 599.

28. Edward K. Graham to Josephus Daniels, February 17, 1915, Presidential Papers.

29. Edward K. Graham to Oscar Coffin, February 25, 1915, ibid.

30. R. D. W. Connor to Edward K. Graham, March 8, 1915, ibid.

31. "The University's Appropriation," *Alumni Review* 3, no. 7 (April 1915).

32. Edward K. Graham to James A. Gray Jr., March 15, 1915, Presidential Papers.

33. Bursey, *Francis Preston Venable*, p. 99, and Edward K. Graham to Ralph Graves, March 20, 1915, Presidential Papers.

34. Edward K. Graham to W. A. Harper, June 17, 1915, Presidential Papers, and "A Wireless Station for the Hill," *Alumni Review* 3, no. 6 (March 1915).

Chapter Six

1. Certificate of death, Susan Moses Graham, December 22, 1916, Orange County Register of Deeds; illegible correspondent to Edward K. Graham, November 7, 1916, Presidential Papers; Edward K. Graham to William Carmichael, November 22, 1916, ibid.; and Edward K. Graham to Charles Tillett Jr., December 1, 1916, ibid. The possibility of miscarriage arises from a reference in the November 7 letter by the writer, who had a name for "a little girl."

2. Edward K. Graham to Mimi Moses, July 11, 1917, E. K. Graham Papers.

3. Horace Williams to R. D. W. Connor, November 19, 1916, Connor Papers.

4. Edward K. Graham to Mimi Moses, July 13 and 17, 1917, E. K. Graham Papers.

5. Edward K. Graham to Mimi and Libby Moses, June 16, 1918, ibid.

6. Edward K. Graham to Louis Graves, February 1, 1915, Presidential Papers, and Edward K. Graham to Mary [Graham], n.d., E. K. Graham Papers.

7. Graham interviews, June 22 and August 13, 1960, Ashby Papers.

8. M. C. S. Noble, "Edward Kidder Graham," *Teachers College Quarterly* 10, no. 1 (October–December 1922): 71–74.

9. Mrs. F. P. Venable to Louise Venable, October 12, 1914, Venable Papers.

10. Edward K. Graham to Susan Graham, October 19 and 23, 1915, E. K. Graham Papers.

11. "Opinion and Comment," *Alumni Review* 4, no. 2 (November 1915), and Edward K. Graham, "Annual Report of the President," *University Record*, no. 124 (December 1915).

12. George Stephens to Edward K. Graham, January 5, 1915, Presidential Papers.

13. Edward K. Graham to W. P. Jacocks, December 3, 1915, and W. P. Jacocks to Edward K. Graham, December 30, 1915, ibid.

14. "Attend National Collegiate Athletic Association" and "Carolina to Meet Harvard," *Alumni Review* 4, no. 4 (January 1916).

15. Edward K. Graham to Louis Graves, December 7, 1915, Presidential Papers.

16. T. J. Campbell to Charles Woollen, August 12, 1917, ibid.

17. "Carolina Wins from Virginia," *Alumni Review* 5, no. 3 (December 1916).

18. Edward K. Graham to G. S. Ferguson, April 5, 1916; Edward K. Graham to Jerry Turner, March 1, 1916; Edward K. Graham to Sam Gattis, March 1, 1916; and Louis Graves to Edward K. Graham, April 1, 1916, Presidential Papers.

19. Quoted in Mims, *Advancing South*, p. 41.

20. Edward K. Graham to James A. Gray Jr., March 16, 1916, Presidential Papers.

21. Edward K. Graham to Clarence Poe, March 6, 1917, ibid.

22. "A Statement of Attitude," *Alumni Review* 5, no. 6 (March 1917).

23. Edward K. Graham to A. H. Patterson, March 20, 1916, Presidential Papers, and W. T. Bost, "General Assembly Convenes: Peace and Concord Spread All Over Its Early Hours," *Greensboro Daily News*, January 4, 1917.

24. Edward K. Graham to James Sprunt, October 15, 1915, and James Sprunt to Edward K. Graham, June 23, 1916, Presidential Papers.

25. "The University in Letters," *Alumni Review* 6, no. 7 (April 1918).

26. Robert Bingham to Edward K. Graham, October 6, 1915, Presidential Papers.

27. Edward K. Graham to Robert Bingham, October 7, 1915, and Edward K. Graham to Susan Graham, August 3, 1915, ibid.

28. Campbell, *Across Fortune's Tracks*, p. 168, and Robert Bingham to Edward K. Graham, October 6, 1915, Presidential Papers.

29. Edward K. Graham to Robert Bingham, October 7, 1915, Presidential Papers.

30. Edward K. Graham to Josephus Daniels, February 15, 1917, ibid.

31. "Urges Woman's Building on University Campus," *State Journal*, October 26, 1917, and Edward K. Graham, "A Woman's Building—A Magnificent Opportunity," *Alumni Review* 6, no. 1 (October 1917).

32. Edward K. Graham to William Starr Myers, February 18, 1916, Presidential Papers.

33. Edward K. Graham to Louis R. Wilson, March 24, 1916, ibid.

34. A. B. Andrews to Edward K. Graham, November 4, 1914, ibid.

35. Joslin, *Essays on William Chambers Coker*, p. 78.

36. Ibid., pp. 95–96, and Edward K. Graham, notes on visiting committee meeting, April 16, 1916, Presidential Papers.

37. Edward K. Graham to Louis R. Wilson, June 2, 1916, Presidential Papers, and "Commencement Day," *Alumni Review* 4, no. 9 (June 1916).

38. Edward K. Graham to Walter Murphy, August 22, 1916, and Edward K. Graham to George Stephens, March 23, 1916, Presidential Papers.

39. Edward K. Graham to Walter Murphy, August 22 and 24, 1916, ibid.

40. Edward K. Graham, letter to returning students, September 2, 1916, ibid.

41. "An Eventful Year Begins," *Alumni Review* 5, no. 1 (October 1916).

42. Louis Graves to Edward K. Graham, June 4, 1916, and Francis Bradshaw to Edward K. Graham, August 3, 1916, Presidential Papers.

43. "Carolina Responds to the Call to Arms," *Alumni Review* 5, no. 7 (April 1917), and McDaniel Lewis to Edward K. Graham, July 19, 1916, Presidential Papers.

44. Edward K. Graham to Newton D. Baker, January 11, 1917, Presidential Papers.

45. "William Jennings Bryan Speaks," *Alumni Review* 4, no. 3 (December 1915).

46. "The Presentation of the Plate," *Alumni Review* 5, no. 2 (November 1916), and "Newspaper Men Hold Institute," *Alumni Review* 5, no. 3 (December 1916).

47. Edward K. Graham, "Annual Report of the President," *University Record*, no. 142 (December 1916).

48. "Cost Comparison" and "Is the State Too Poor to Pay for What It Must Have?" *Alumni Review* 5, no. 4 (January 1917).

49. "Postgraduate Course in Medicine Begins," *High Point Enterprise*, July 1, 1916; "Lecture Here Today in Extension Course," *Greensboro Daily News*, July 3, 1916; "First of Lectures in Extension Course," *Greensboro Daily News*, July 4, 1916; "The State-Wide Campus of the University of North Carolina in 1916," *Alumni Review* 5, no. 4 (January 1917); and minutes, board of trustees, January 25, 1917, Board of Trustees Records.

50. Report of legislative visiting committee, February 12, 1917, Presidential Papers.

51. "Despite Many Epithets of Criticism by the Opposition Governor Bickett Fights for Three Million Bond Issue," *Greensboro Daily News*, March 2, 1917.

52. "Justice to the Colored People," *Charlotte Observer*, March 7, 1917.

53. "Enters Objections," *News and Observer*, March 2, 1917.

54. C. E. McIntosh to William P. Few, June 7, 1916, Presidential Papers.

55. "President Graham's Letter," *News and Observer*, March 3, 1917.

56. Edward K. Graham to Stahle Linn, March 8, 1917, Presidential Papers.

57. Edward K. Graham to R. D. W. Connor, March 17, 1917, ibid.

58. Edward K. Graham to L. Ames Brown, March 29, 1917, ibid.

Chapter Seven

1. John A. Parker to Edward K. Graham, February 23, 1916, Presidential Papers.

2. Biographical note, Bluethenthal Collection, and Lemmon, *North Carolina's Role*, p. 8.

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3. H. W. Chase, "Annual Report of the President," *University Record*, no. 171 (December 1919).
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17. Harry W. Chase to Angus W. McLean, January 8, 1929, Presidential Papers.

18. Ashby, *Frank Porter Graham*, p. 69.

19. Herring, *Welfare Work in Mill Villages*, p. 4.

20. Ibid., p. 3.

21. Harry W. Chase to Charles A. Cannon, February 12, 1929, Presidential Papers. Agnew Bahnson, Stuart Cramer, W. A. Erwin, C. W. Johnston, Bernard Cone, Julius Cone, P. H. Hanes, James G. Hanes, and James A. Gray all received the same letter from Chase. Together these men represented the heart, soul, and pocketbook of the state's textile industry.

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68. "New High Record Set in Number of Degrees Awarded," *Alumni Review* 18, no. 9 (June 1930).

69. R. B. House to Francis O. Clarkson, June 5, 1930, Presidential Papers.

70. Morrison, *Governor O. Max Gardner*, p. 96.

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72. "Frank Graham Is Chosen President," *Chapel Hill Weekly*, June 13, 1930, and Ashby, *Frank Porter Graham*, p. 86.

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74. King interview.

75. "Negro Janitors Endorse Parker," *Daily Tar Heel*, April 29, 1930.

76. "Honorary Degrees Bestowed upon Five," *Alumni Review* 18, no. 9 (June 1930).

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78. Albert Lee, "University of Illinois Presidents I Have Known," August 1942, pp. 106, 108, Lee Papers.

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1. Harry W. Chase, "Memorandum on the University Presidency," February 1930, Presidential Papers.

2. Arthur S. Chase to Louis R. Wilson, December 15, 1958, Wilson Papers.

3. Albert Lee, "University of Illinois Presidents I Have Known," August 1942, p. 107, Lee Papers.

4. "Changes in Faculty Personnel Announced following Commencement," *Alumni Review* 18, no. 9 (June 1930).

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6. Ashby, *Frank Porter Graham*, pp. 99–100.

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15. "Chase to Help Student Plan for New Union," *Daily Illini*, March 17, 1931.

16. Wilson, *University of North Carolina*, pp. 403–4, 420.

17. Albert Lee, "University of Illinois Presidents I Have Known," August 1942, pp. 110–11, Lee Papers, and Wilson, *Harry Woodburn Chase*, pp. 22–23.

18. Albert Lee, "University of Illinois Presidents I Have Known," August 1942, pp. 107–8, Lee Papers.

19. Wilson, *Harry Woodburn Chase*, p. 28, and Albert Lee, "University of Illinois Presidents I Have Known," August 1942, pp. 97–98, 121, Lee Papers.

20. Albert Lee, "University of Illinois Presidents I Have Known," August 1942, p. 123, Lee Papers, and "New Urbana Mail Route Is Announced," *Daily Illini*, October 6, 1931.

21. "Latest Election Figures," *Daily Illini*, November 10, 1932.

22. Wilson, *Harry Woodburn Chase*, pp. 29–30.

23. Richard H. Parke, "Head of Colleges for Last 30 Years," *New York Times*, July 1, 1949.

24. Arthur S. Chase to Louis R. Wilson, December 15, 1958, Wilson Papers.

25. "Tillett Eulogizes E. K. Graham at Dedication," *Alumni Review* 20, no. 5 (February 1932).

26. Wilson, *University of North Carolina*, p. 290.

27. Henry M. Wagstaff, unpublished portion of *Impressions of Men and Movements*, p. 8, Wilson Papers.

28. Perrin Busbee to Harry W. Chase, February 27, 1926, Presidential Papers.

29. Arthur S. Chase to Louis R. Wilson, December 15, 1958, Wilson Papers.

30. The university did name one building for Chase. Chase Hall, home to a cafeteria, stood on South Campus from 1965 to 2005, when it was demolished. A new building erected near the spot, on Rams Head Plaza, officially bears the name Chase Hall, but few students or faculty refer to it as such. See Blake Hoarty, "10 Years Later, Dining Hall Gets Its Real Name on Sign," *Daily Tar Heel*, August 18, 2015, and Jacob Hancock, "UNC Wants to Bring Back the Old Name of Rams Dining Hall," *Daily Tar Heel*, March 29, 2017.

31. Harry W. Chase to Louis R. Wilson, November 1, 1950, Wilson Papers.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am indebted to Gladys Hall Coates, whose legacy presented the opportunity to write about the University of North Carolina in its formative years during the first quarter of the twentieth century. I say formative because when Edward Kidder Graham arrived on the campus as a student in 1894, two decades before becoming president, Carolina really was just on the cusp of becoming a *real* university under his successor Harry Woodburn Chase.

It is daunting to follow in the footsteps of a university legend such as Louis R. Wilson, whose own history of the university during this period is thorough, insightful, and complete. I often referred to his *The University of North Carolina, 1900–1930: The Making of a Modern University*. Wilson's history was especially helpful when it came to settling on the correct spelling of certain names and keeping track of the order of construction during as busy a period as the university had known.

My wish is that this book will complement the heavy lifting that Wilson applied in setting the stage for those of us who have come along later. With so much territory to cover in his encyclopedic work, Wilson could not dwell on just two of the leaders, although they figure prominently in his book. It is my hope that this biography will bring Graham and Chase more fully to life and help readers better understand the world in which they lived and worked.

Other writers of this period were helpful. Robert B. House's *The Light That Shines: Chapel Hill, 1912–1916* is a wonderful study of some of the characters who inhabited Chapel Hill during the early days. Henry M. Wagstaff's *Impressions of Men and Movements at the University of North Carolina* carried the study even further, especially in the case of Graham. Readers should be sure to find the portions of Wagstaff's study held in the Southern Historical Collection that did not make it into the bound volume published by the University of North Carolina Press in 1950. Archibald Henderson's *The Campus of the First State University* became my source for architectural and financial details of the university's building program.

Edwin Mims's *The Advancing South: Stories of Progress and Reaction* contains a complimentary report on the university that captures Chapel Hill and the institution midway through Harry Chase's eleven years as president. More recent appraisals of the university's leaders were helpful for their insight. I recommend Daniel Joseph Singal's *The War Within: From Victorian to Modernist Thought in the South, 1919–1945*, and also Charles J. Holden's *The New Southern University: Academic Freedom and Liberalism at UNC*.

The archival record was essential, although it is incomplete in many respects. Throughout Graham's years, the president's office was woefully understaffed. The president had one self-help student to assist with his correspondence, and scant attention was paid to preserving the correspondence that came into, and went out of, the president's office. Graham apparently used the reverse side of some letters he received as a place for reminders to himself or notes for a chapel talk. The archives include replies to letters, but often the other side of the conversation is missing. It was not until after World War I that the president was given a full-time assistant, and later a stenographer, to help with the running of his office. With these improvements, more of the president's correspondence made it to the archives and secure storage.

One interesting footnote, perhaps instructive in this era of transition from letters to e-mail. The telephone was not available to most faculty members during the Graham years, so even casual notes and other informal forms of communication were written. During the Chase years, the telephone was used much more often in the transaction of business. That, too, accounts for some of the difficulty in reconstructing conversations.

The archive is very thin for Ed Graham. Only remnants of his personal correspondence survive, and what is available came from the recipients of Graham's letters. Most of his personal papers were lost about five years after his death when a fire destroyed the upper floor of his house. Wilson refers to the loss by fire of the president's "want book," in which he kept notes of his ambitions for the university. That notebook apparently was destroyed along with other correspondence and records stored in the attic of his home at the edge of the campus.

Late in life, Harry Chase lamented to Louis R. Wilson that he never kept a diary during his years as president. That regret is shared by any who wish to understand this remarkable leader who stepped into a demanding job at a difficult time when the shadow of his predecessor loomed large across the campus and the state. Chase left behind many reflections on education, es-

pecially the role of state universities, but the only expression of his personal hopes and frustrations comes through in a selected number of letters to close friends.

I am grateful for the help of those who maintain the archives of the university and the Southern Historical Collection as well as the resources of the North Carolina Collection under the careful hand of Robert Anthony. I was ably assisted by Steven Wade, whose enthusiasm and curiosity of this period gave me confidence in his thorough research. He was a most willing, able, and conscientious partner in this enterprise.

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