THE STRENGTH OF THE HILLS

Middlebury College, 1915–1990

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PART III

A SOCIAL HISTORY OF CAMPUS LIFE, 1915–1990

The great majority of us had come from small towns or relatively small-city high schools—good, sound educational institutions but without the trappings and social "advantages" of exclusive, more expensive, more liberated prep schools—and we tended accordingly to overlook the fact that we had matriculated in a rather provincial college.

—W. Storrs Lee '28, "In Retrospection," *Middlebury College News Letter*, 52 (summer 1978): 14

Our victory over UVM marks an EPOCH. It is significant because we have proved to our own satisfaction, as well as to the world at large, that Middlebury has entered again upon her own right. The place of honor which we once held but lost among the New England colleges is once more ready for us to go in and take possession.

For eight long years our beloved president Thomas has labored unflinchingly and with the deepest devotion to secure for Middlebury and her alumni this coveted and rightful glory. We as students will never know what has been the cost in the way of personal sacrifice, and his reward must ultimately consist largely in the knowledge of having served well his alma mater and humanity, for this has not been a slavish and prejudiced elevation to a one-sided cause. Our rejoicing and his does not consist in the mere fact of having won a long desired football victory, but in all which this victory symbolizes. Under his leadership, Middlebury has been preparing for the manifestation of her power.

—*Middlebury Campus*, November 22, 1916

> The strength of the small college is in the unity and solidarity of its community life. The whole argument of the personal relations between the faculty and student has by no means lost its force. There is no exercise which does so much to bring the college together and enable the institution to exert its deep and valuable personal influence as a daily assembly, and I feel very strongly that it must be maintained.
>
> —John Thomas to James P. McNaboe, June 1, 1917, Thomas Papers, Middlebury College Archives

Between 1915 and 1990, campus life at Middlebury was transformed. Until 1945, social activity revolved around the powerful fraternities, and class traditions were a significant part of college existence. The women's college, whose students were generally superior in academic ability and economic status to the men, was dominated by sororities, circumscribed by tight parietal hours, and characterized by a lack of social and political power in an unequal (and unrealized) coordinate educational system. Required daily chapel and intercollegiate athletics helped unify the predominantly unsophisticated white, Protestant, middle-class students, most of whom came from New England and New York, into a tight-knit, fairly homogeneous community.

The college was fundamentally altered after World War II. The changes were gradual at first, but in the 1960s the pace accelerated, and by 1990 college life bore little resemblance to that of forty years earlier. The reasons were varied but often related: the increased enrollment from 800 to 1,900 under Presidents Stratton and Armstrong, the growing emphasis on academic quality and a concomitant increase in costs, the commitment (particularly under Armstrong and Robison) to equal social facilities and opportunities for women, and the changing social mores and growing privatism of students. These factors contributed to the decline of the fraternities after 1965, the end of required chapel in the 1950s, the lessening of interest in class traditions, a growing student involvement in college governance, the increasing wealth and continued homogeneity of the student body, the disappearance of sororities and women's parietal hours, and the creation of a more truly coeducational college. Concerted efforts to diversify in the 1980s led to the matriculation of a growing number of African-American, Hispanic, rural, and foreign students.

This section is focused on the changing nature of the student body (chapter 10) and student life, particularly fraternities (chapter 11); athletics (chapter 13); student involvement in college government and "outside world" issues (chapter 14), and other extracurricular activities (chapter 12). The final chapter, "... And a Cast of Thousands," examines some of the changes in other Middlebury constituencies: the activities of faculty, staff, and administration; student-faculty relations; the contributions of Middlebury alumni; and, returning to a major theme of the first volume, town-gown relations.

CHAPTER 10

THE STUDENT BODY

We have been too cheap. Our low rates have given a wrong idea of the character of the college. Many people judge colleges by their prices, just as they do other things. Dartmouth increased its tuition to $200 and had a Freshman class of 700 the next year.

—John Thomas to Carson H. Beane, April 19, 1920, Thomas Papers, Middlebury College Archives

With increased tuition and board and room charges, one of the urgent needs of the college is for increased sums available for loans or scholarships if we are to preserve opportunities for deserving and capable men and women students. During these post-war years, there has undoubtedly been a trend in the direction of accepting a larger proportion of students who can finance their education without college aid. I see no way of changing this trend unless our endowment is increased or annual gifts for scholarships and loan make more aid available for deserving students.

—Samuel Stratton, President's Report, September 1, 1950, p. 8, MCA

This institution has committed itself to the diversity that is critical to a rich intellectual community. We have tried to build upon each new program and each success with an ever more heterogeneous student body and faculty. Whether this involves students from a Bronx high school, who along with their faculty regularly visit Middlebury and receive our students and faculty in return; whether it has to do with students from junior colleges throughout the country who demonstrate great promise and have places reserved for them at Middlebury; whether it is students from rural areas around the Northeast for whom a college like Middlebury was not even a dream a year ago; whether it is a Pakistani youth or a Soviet exchange student, or a 45-year-old artist from the People's Republic of China, Middlebury has

> become a diverse institution where the mix of students is a pillar of strength on which to build the future.
>
> —Olin Robison, "An Open Letter to the Middlebury College Community," *Middlebury College Magazine*, 64 (spring 1990): 30

The Middlebury student body changed markedly between 1915 and 1990. Before World War II the students came primarily from white Protestant lower-middle- or middle-class homes in New England or the upper Middle Atlantic region. Most of them needed financial aid or jobs, or both, and a strong, self-conscious democratic feeling existed on campus. The admissions pool of women at Middlebury, since there were so few private coeducational colleges to which they could apply, was far superior to that of the men; the college could be more selective in its choice of female students, who tended to be wealthier and abler than their male classmates. The college was relatively unknown before World War II, and those students who entered from outside Vermont often had heard about the place only because an alumnus (or a teacher who had attended one of the summer schools) had recommended it. The influx of veterans after 1945, many of whom might never have attended college without the GI Bill of Rights, reinforced the democratic ethos of the prewar years; and the presence of older, more worldly men (some of whom were married) had a strong and salutary effect on campus life.

After midcentury an increasing number of students came from well-to-do backgrounds. Presidents Thomas and Moody had initiated this process years before by raising tuition and asking more students to pay their way, but it accelerated sharply after 1945 as efforts to improve academic quality and reputation drove tuition costs upward. Indeed, in the postwar years, Middlebury consciously sought upper-class students, particularly males, who could afford the rising costs. At the same time, Middlebury's isolated and rural character, once considered a major handicap, became a positive attribute. The beauty of the mountains and the pristine quality of the campus and the Champlain Valley impressed a growing number of predominantly well-to-do Americans who sought to escape crowded urban and suburban environments. The postwar skiing boom helped to attract the very students the college desired—those who could pay their way. The enhanced tuition revenues eventually allowed Middlebury

to offer a higher-quality education, which, in turn, began attracting abler students, especially in the 1960s and after. The result was a more academically talented and wealthier student body; relatively few required financial aid. The poor man's college of the nineteenth century had been transformed; by the late twentieth century, Middlebury was drawing an increasing number of students from some of the wealthiest homes in America.

While the student body remained fairly homogeneous, Middlebury displayed increasing diversity after 1965. As more colleges became coeducational and the options for women multiplied, male and female students at Middlebury became increasingly equal in background and academic ability; indeed, by the 1980s they were admitted in almost equal numbers. The minuscule number of African-American and Hispanic students slowly increased, and more aggressive measures to diversify—such as "aid-blind admissions"—were inaugurated in the 1980s. And as the college consciously attempted, under Presidents Armstrong and Robison, to become a truly national and international institution, a greater proportion of students matriculated from regions outside the Northeast. By 1990, although it remained difficult to attract middle-class and lower-class applicants, the growing numbers of women, African-Americans, Hispanics, and students from abroad, from rural areas, and from every region of the United States made Middlebury a much more diverse and exciting school than it had been in the early twentieth century.

By the 1960s the great majority of Middlebury students—in sharp contrast to the profile in 1915—could be classified as upper-middle- or upper-class.[1] This striking change took place gradually, indeed almost imperceptibly until after World War II; and although implemented consciously, it was often done with regret, for it flew in the face of one of the college's primary missions in the nineteenth century: to train people of modest means for the clergy and other noble pursuits. Only the desire to improve quality and keep pace with rival schools finally shaped the decision to attract wealthier students and more income. Middlebury, of course, did not move on this track alone; many of the best liberal arts colleges in the Northeast and Midwest felt impelled to do likewise.

The story of Middlebury begins with President John Thomas, who discovered in the first year of his presidency (1908) that cash tuition

payments from his 203 students (many of whom paid little or nothing) amounted to barely $1,000, and general income from students accounted for less than 20 percent of total college income. Thomas demanded that students begin to pay their own way. Between 1908 and 1915, while enrollment rose from 203 to 348, income from students increased more than fivefold.[2] In 1920, after raising tuition from $100 to $150, Thomas predicted that the new increase would probably not hurt enrollment either: "We have been too cheap. Our low rates have given a wrong idea of the character of the college. Many people judge colleges by their prices, just as they do other things. Dartmouth increased its tuition to $200 and had a Freshman class of 700 the next year."[3] The editor of the *Campus* agreed that "it has been recognized for some time that such a change was both inevitable and desirable."[4] (What Thomas and the editor did not say was that, whereas poor applicants might judge Middlebury more favorably if tuition rose, they might also be unable to afford to attend.) Thomas attempted to entice more affluent students with the construction of the modern Hepburn residence hall in 1915, which contained some relatively large and expensive rooms.[5]

President Moody continued these efforts by raising tuition several times and increasing the rates charged at Hepburn and other residence halls. He rationalized one increase (from $200 to $250 in 1929) by reminding the trustees that most comparable schools charged more than Middlebury did and that since an increasing number of male graduates were now entering business, the higher cost of education was a small investment for such students to pay in thus preparing themselves for a financially secure future.[6]

Indeed, according to an unusually candid and perceptive report by Dean of Men Burt Hazeltine in 1929,[7] the fact that a number of rival schools charged higher tuition was a major reason for Middlebury's relatively low position among New England private colleges. Hazeltine argued that low rates attracted students who were not only poorer in wealth but also in academic abilities and the social graces.

> In those colleges which had raised their tuition it was unanimously agreed that the type of student was much better than it has previously been. . . . In every case the colleges were very much gratified in the improvement in the student body following the increases. This brings up at once the relative position of Middlebury. . . . From the number of interviews which I have had this year it is apparent that our own Freshman class is poorer financially than is ordinarily the case. Does this mean that we are getting those who are not able to go elsewhere? Are we getting the leftovers? Shall we continue to keep our own tuition in the low class and cater to that type of student? . . . We are at present in the very lowest line of New England Colleges as far as tuition charges are concerned. . . . Are we to try to maintain the standing of Williams, Amherst, Wesleyan and such institutions having tuitions of $400, or shall we content ourselves with the standing of Colby, Bates, and similar colleges? This is an important question for the future of Middlebury College and it is one that the Board of Trustees has got to meet.

Hazeltine understood that higher tuition would mean a smaller student body in the short run. But it would enable the college to attract better students and eventually eliminate those "from the lower rank of society" who "are outcasts among the fraternities and with the women of the other Colleges because of their insurmountable crudities and background." Second, more tuition income would allow the hiring of better faculty, which Hazeltine called "absolutely essential for the progress of the college."

> At the present time the number of inspirational teachers on the faculty could be numbered on the fingers of the two hands. This is a serious state of affairs. But it is such a state of affairs that cannot be helped until we are able to pick and choose our faculty members in competition with other colleges of the type that we desire to become. This also is going to cost money. But it must be done if our scholastic prestige is to be maintained, if we are going to draw real students, and keep them contented after we have obtained them. Since the opening of college at least a dozen men have sought me out to complain that practically none of their instructors had the ability to interest them, or to keep them busy. Several members of the Freshman class have told me that they had dreamed of college as a place where one had to work to keep one's place in class but that here it was not necessary and they felt that they were wasting their time. Almost at the same time I had occasion to call in others who were failing. They said that their preparation had been such that it was almost impossible to adjust themselves. The first are the type we want, and the type we must keep if we are to be in the same class with the Little Three, but we must have a faculty that will appeal to them and make them happy, or they like many of last year's list will transfer elsewhere.

Hazeltine also recommended that Middlebury improve its admission process by hiring at least one officer who would travel widely to interview prospective students and "investigate the character of

the candidate, his environment, and determine whether or not he has the qualifications to make him a desirable citizen in the college community," thereby ensuring that "the riffraff [are] discovered before enrolled, the standard of the college raised by just that amount and the mortality correspondingly lowered." The college duly hired an assistant admissions officer and raised tuition again, to $300 in 1931 and to $350 in 1939.[8] Between 1920 and 1941, while the average cost of living actually declined by nearly 20 percent, the basic price of a Middlebury education doubled—from less than $400 to $800.[9]

Notwithstanding these higher costs, the less affluent students still came in large numbers between the wars. W. Storrs Lee '28, who attended the college during Hazeltine's first years as dean, agreed that the student body lacked sophistication. "The great majority of us had come from small towns or relatively small-city high schools—good, sound educational institutions but without the trappings and social "advantages" of exclusive, more expensive, more liberated prep schools—and we tended accordingly to overlook the fact that we had matriculated in a rather provincial college."[10]

The relative homogeneity of Middlebury students was reinforced by an almost studied effort to create a "democratic" ethos at the college. Hazeltine wrote this florid paean to democracy on campus in 1932:

> Within a comparatively short time elections will be held to determine the new President of the Undergraduate Association and candidates are being discussed throughout the student body. Who will it be, and upon what will the election depend? Is Middlebury bound by its traditions to hold the chance of birth, position and inheritance sacred and hence to pick only those so chosen by Fate to fill its positions of trust and loyalty?
>
> The answer to this last query is one sonorous "NO" sounding simultaneously from the lips of every Middlebury man even from the oldest alumnus down to the youngest freshman. For everyone who has ever come in contact with the Spirit of Middlebury has been imbued with one never-to-be-forgotten lesson, that of Democracy.[11]

As W. Storrs Lee '28, Sam Guarnaccia '30, David K. Smith '42, and others have recalled, there were not many wealthy students on campus before World War II, and even those rarely put on airs. For example, only a handful displayed two of the most common symbols of upscale collegiate life in the 1920s and 1930s—the raccoon coat and the automobile.[12]

The majority of Middlebury students in this period required financial help, and many—perhaps three-quarters of the men and half of the women—sought employment at school and during vacations in order to pay their way.[13] During and right after World War I, jobs were fairly plentiful. Ray Mudge '18 apparently turned his college employment—four jobs at least—into a profitable venture, as he was able to deposit $12 each week into his bank account.

> I entered in September, 1914 with $40.00 plus some change, and graduated in 1920 with a substantial bank account. . . . As I recall Beany Parke and I were janitors at Chemistry Building (Oh! that Middlebury clay mud in the spring). I waited table at the A.S.P. House for my board, took care of the furnace for the Steam Laundry for spending money and term bill at one point. I was campus night watchman, turning out the lights at 1 a.m. . . . I milked Mr. Fletcher's cow and shoveled his paths (he was College Treasurer, I believe) for extra "ticket money" to Rutland to see my best girl.[14]

Students occasionally complained when ambitious men such as Mudge took on extra jobs just to earn spending money while "more worthy ones who are compelled to work their way" were seeking employment.[15]

Apparently, however, most students in the 1920s who needed work could find jobs, particularly as janitors, clerks, and waiters. Storrs Lee '28 recalled how students performed almost all of the menial work on campus.[16]

> Students were the janitors of the various buildings, and the choicest jobs they were—after table waiting, which was reserved for athletes, potential Phi Betes or the totally impoverished. . . . The toughest janitorial assignment was the Playhouse on Weybridge Street. The ancient furnace had to be stoked about midnight in winter and again before dawn, and it was a long trek down there.

For two years, Lee held the janitorship of Mead Chapel, a position he considered "the most coveted job on campus."

> It paid ten dollars a week, as I recall, and included snow shoveling of the portico, the steps and a wide area in front, sweeping the entire floor from choir loft to back balcony and vestibule (this was before the side balconies were added), dusting, scraping up the gobs of Addison County clay, safely stowing away the scarves, hats, textbooks, rubbers, class papers left behind by students, ventilation, turning on the portico lights at 5:30, though usually the chimes carillonneur could be counted on to do that, and double duty after every concert or eve-

> ning week. . . . Assignment to jobs like this was considered something of an honor and fellow students were much more likely to be envious than disdainful of indulgence in such menial work.

Students sometimes stayed on campus during vacations to earn extra money:

> An elderly town handyman, Billy Farrell, was in charge of buildings and grounds—a one-man post. With a part-time assistant or two, he supervised everything from a plumbing and janitorial service to snow plowing and campus mowing—with horse-drawn plow or mowing machine.
>
> I assure you, the campus under Farrell was not very "kempt." The grass was mowed, like a farm field, for Commencement, and occasionally during the summer. The vast accumulation of maple leaves on lower campus was not raked in the fall. They remained matted on the ground until Easter vacation, when a dozen students or so were recruited to clean up the expanse. It was a major undertaking, for the compact drifts of leaves created perfect insulation, retaining the frost, and in places virtually had to be chopped off the frozen surface. Competition for this Easter vacation employment was keen, paying probably as much as 35 cents an hour.

Lee, Hazeltine, and others have claimed that students who worked were not looked down upon by their wealthier peers.[17] Indeed, letters and editorials in the *Campus* occasionally expressed the view that the experience of working one's way through school was an advantage in that it molded character.[18]

During the Great Depression, raising enough money to attend college became more difficult, and the demand for jobs on campus and in the community increased. Of the 132 men who applied for admission to the class of 1938, 107 asked for a scholarship or employment.[19] Student jobs were scarce until the government initiated several programs that directly benefited Middlebury; a number of students obtained part-time work in 1934 under the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. As part of that program, thirty men worked on the new ski jump, and others worked in the library or on special research projects. In 1935 the National Youth Administration (NYA) provided part-time jobs on campus for about 12 percent of the student body.[20]

Although these programs were helpful, there were never enough jobs or money to go around, and some students were unable to make

ends meet. So many were in arrears on their bills by 1934 that Middlebury began requiring a $100 deposit from entering freshman, and demanded that upperclassmen pay all past balances and deposit $50 before they would be allowed to attend classes. Everett S. Allen '38 recalled that although he had done some NYA work, he ran out of money in his senior year and had to live in a "linen closet." He and his equally penurious roommate, Edward B. Haywood '38, lost out on social occasions. "In spring," he wrote, "through the open gymnasium door, we observed with envy those of our peers who could afford tickets to the formal ball, deriving penniless comfort from each other's situation."[21]

To make matters worse, the college began turning over some of the more dangerous or critical campus jobs to regular employees, a process that accelerated during the Stratton administration.[22] With campus jobs disappearing and enrollments rising, students found it harder and harder to obtain work, and dependence on direct financial aid increased markedly.

Middlebury had always offered scholarships (or waived tuition and fees) for poorer students in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[23] Thomas and Moody modified that practice, but the continued influx of less affluent students in the interwar period put a continual strain on the small amount of scholarship aid available. Moody reported to the board in 1926 that the college had provided about $20,000 in scholarships—$7,000 more than was actually available from funds designated for that purpose.[24] The college announced in January 1930 that it would grant four-year scholarships of $1,000 to ten Vermont men to cover the cost of tuition. These Vermont scholarships were highly sought after and attracted excellent students, including Professor David K. Smith '42.[25] By 1932, 171 of the 372 male students were receiving annual scholarship aid ranging from $100 to $250, which, combined with employment income, was sufficient to pay for a Middlebury education during the Depression.[26] As one student who had managed to finance another year at the college wryly put it, "So for us the depression is over and we are assured of 3 meals a day."[27]

The fact that many individuals received financial aid and held campus jobs in the interwar period supports the observation that there were still numerous less affluent students at Middlebury. But,

according to one student of that era, the increases in tuition and fees during these years had begun to change the character of the student body and the image of the college as well.

> Moody brought to Middlebury the first element of modern intellectual and social sophistication. Before him, it was a country—rustic—college; under him, it became a socially and intellectually accepted college in a country setting. There's a big difference. . . . Under his administration, it became a college that was difficult to get into, particularly for women, and a desirable, popular, growingly sophisticated college for the sons and daughters of parents of means and social prowess.[28]

When tuition was raised from $300 to $350 in 1939, the editor of the *Campus* feared that the college might no longer be able to accommodate less affluent students.[29]

Middlebury in the 1920s and 1930s enrolled large numbers of lower-middle-class men and a preponderance of middle-class or even upper-middle-class women.[30] The reason was quite simple: few private liberal arts colleges accepted women, and those who wanted to attend a good coeducational school had few options.[31] They therefore applied to Middlebury in fairly large numbers. Since the college always reserved fewer places for women than for men, the result was a much more selective group of women students—in terms of both academic ability and socioeconomic status.[32] In a normal year, anywhere from 50 percent to 75 percent of the female applicants would be rejected, whereas two-thirds of the male applicants would be accepted.[33] The admissions goal in the early 1920s was a class of one hundred men and sixty women. While these numbers were usually attained, the poorer quality of the male students resulted in a much higher attrition rate, and by junior and senior year, the gender breakdown was more nearly equal.[34] Although some men may have resented the superior status and academic abilities of their female classmates, others took advantage of this and married into a higher social class.[35]

As we have seen, President Stratton was well off the mark with his predictions that few veterans would attend schools like Middlebury after the war and that the college would therefore have to take extraordinary measures to attract men.[36] Instead, applications poured into the admissions office in 1945–1948 from veterans who were sup-

Women made up two-thirds of this class in vertebrate anatomy in the period between the two world wars.

ported by the GI Bill and anxious to make up for lost time. In the fall of 1946, 85.7 percent of the male students were veterans. College officials were overjoyed at this unexpected development and accepted as many as they could fit in; when they ran out of room, they found places to house students all over Addison County. Over 1,100 students were enrolled by 1948, about 300 more than before the war.[37]

Fred Neuberger '50, director of admissions from 1964 to 1990 and a veteran himself when he attended the college, recalled that the men who entered after World War II comprised some of the most diverse classes in the college's history.[38] Certainly, they brought with them experiences and circumstances that were without precedent. Many were older, married, and far more intellectually curious than the eighteen-year-olds to whom the faculty were accustomed.[39] Many had faced death and the privations of war, and they had emerged as more mature and focused than the ordinary college freshman. One veteran, when asked on his application to give a few highlights or colorful incidents in his service experience, answered:

> What would you consider a "colorful incident" anyway? Going four days and four nights with about four hours sleep, marching through rain and climbing mountains through sleet and launching an attack afterward? Cowering in the goo in the bottom of your foxhole while the very earth quivers under the fury of an enemy artillery barrage? Dragging a steel assault boat through a mine field under mortar fire? Walking across an open field to draw enemy machine-gun fire and cause them to give away their positions? Watching four cold G.I.'s crowd into one hole to make a cup of coffee and staying there because a shell lands in the same hole? Returning to your own lines with a sense of relief because the night's work is nearly over only to see the red tongue of machine-gun fire lashing out of the shadows and feel hot bullets tearing through your body? To lie in an Italian ditch and gaze up at the stars and feel the warm blood trickling down your legs and think "It doesn't look like I'm going to make it back home after all"? The decorations I received don't mean anything. I can think of a dozen men more deserving of them.[40]

The great postwar influx of veterans allowed Middlebury to reduce women's admissions and ensure once again a substantial male majority in the student body.[41] The effect of this sudden drop in female acceptances was dramatic. To make up for the loss of men during the war, the college had accepted an unusually large number and percentage of female applications—an average of 158 freshman women from 1942 to 1945, compared with an average of 103 in 1937–1941. The war had therefore established a new level of expectations among those secondary schools that liked to send their female graduates to Middlebury. In 1946 and 1947, however, when only 88 and 98 freshman women students enrolled (respectively, out of 834 and 864 applicants), these schools were upset that many graduates who would have been admitted during the war years were being rejected.[42] Although female enrollment rose to 153 in 1948 (out of 875 applicants), President Stratton admitted that "in view of the very fine qualifications of our women applicants and the relatively few places available in next year's entering class, it is inevitable that many disappointments and some hard feelings will follow upon our decisions."[43]

Not surprisingly, the quality of the postwar women was extraordinary. The large number of veteran applicants allowed the college (for the first time in its history) to be somewhat selective in choosing men as well, and the quality of male students improved markedly after 1945.[44] But by 1949 the number of veteran applications had declined to a trickle, and Middlebury once again faced its perennial problem of finding good male applicants. Moreover, due to postwar cost increases (tuition rose from $350 in 1941 to $425 in 1946 and to $600 in 1951, and other costs escalated at a similar rate) and the lack of scholarship funds to serve a larger student body, Stratton informed the trustees in 1950 that most Middlebury students would have to pay their own way.

> With increased tuition and board and room charges, one of the urgent needs of the college is for increased sums available for loans or scholarships if we are to preserve opportunities for deserving and capable men and women students. During these post-war years, there has undoubtedly been a trend in the direction of accepting a larger proportion of students who can finance their education without college aid. I see no way of changing this trend unless our endowment is increased or annual gifts for scholarships and loans make more aid available for deserving students.[45]

Stratton determined, therefore, that it was necessary to go out and find people who could afford to attend Middlebury. The man he picked in 1947 to carry out this plan was Stanley Wright '19, who had directed the Memorial Field House fund drive of 1946–1947. Now director of admissions for men, Wright attempted to increase the pool of potential applicants by visiting schools Middlebury had rather neglected in the past; he called on a total of 164 schools in 1950–1951, compared with only 67 in 1949–1950.[46] He particularly courted preparatory schools that enrolled the type of wealthy students the college desired. Many of these prep school graduates did not have strong academic credentials, but the college accepted them anyway with the hope that they could attract better students from those schools in the future.[47]

As these academically inferior males appeared in increasing numbers in the early 1950s (some only briefly before they flunked out), the faculty was outraged, and Wright became a highly controversial figure.[48] Stratton, however, stood solidly behind him:

> Mr. Wright cannot be praised too highly for his achievements as Director of Admissions since 1947. Statistics give evidence of the sustained increase in applications and of the much larger number of schools from which men apply for admission. Statistics cannot, however, tell the story of the good will we have gained among parents, school principals, and headmasters as the result of Mr. Wright's

> friendly but direct and honest handling of the affairs of the admissions office.[49]

Walter Brooker '37, Fred Neuberger '50, and Gordie Perine '49 have agreed that it was Wright who opened the doors of key preparatory schools to Middlebury's admissions efforts; and while the college did initially accept some students who were academically unprepared, better men enrolled from those schools in later years. "Wright, by sheer salesmanship and perseverance got Middlebury back on prep school lists," Brooker wrote. "It's ironic that for this he was hounded and pilloried by the faculty."[50]

The college indeed began to attract better male students during the 1950s and 1960s. Male applications increased consistently, from 628 in 1952 to 856 in 1958 to 1,127 in 1967, while enrollment of male freshman went up only from 227 to 306. SAT scores for men rose (as they did nationally at this time) from 1016 in 1952 to 1072 in 1956 and to 1279 in 1965.[51] Still, Middlebury women (who continued to apply in greater numbers than men) remained superior students, as *The Harvard Crimson* pointed out in 1954.

> The scholastic averages of two-thirds of all the girls at Middlebury fall within 93.8 and 80.4 points. Out of the 502 girls and 693 boys in the undergraduate body, there are 162 women on the Dean's List and 58 men. This is practically a three to one ratio, and in a small community it has powerful effects.
>
> Part of the problem can be traced to the atmosphere on both sides of the Middlebury campus. It begins with the fact that girls who apply to Middlebury apply to it as a first choice. Many are turned down who are accepted at Radcliffe, Wellesley, Vassar, Smith, and Bryn Mawr. But boys apply as their second or third choice, and if they end up there, it is generally because they were turned down elsewhere.[52]

On the other hand, due to Wright's efforts, the socioeconomic differences between men and women were less significant than they had been before the war. Indeed, as Stratton pointed out in 1956, Middlebury lacked the resources to attract academically talented but less affluent men, and this was a major reason for the gender disparity in academic ability:

> Our records again show a great difference in the academic standing of men and women students. . . . At Middlebury from approximately the same number of applications, we select 140 women but 220 men. Also we continue to lose many men students we have accepted because of higher scholarship awards offered to them by other colleges. I feel strongly we can narrow the academic gap between men and women students only by a substantial increase in scholarship awards for men students.[53]

By the late 1950s, Stratton and the board were ready to do whatever they could to attract better male students, even if it meant tuition increases. Tuition cost $650 in 1953–1954 and had more than doubled to $1,400 in 1962–1963, and Stratton urged these increases not only to "stay in line with colleges of its own kind on faculty and staff salaries" but also to increase financial aid.[54] In 1958, arguing for a tuition hike of several hundred dollars, he reasoned as follows:

> The increase to $1,200 envisions a dynamic and dramatic new program of financial aid for entering freshman men and women students. Under the proposed program, Middlebury will be able for the first time to compete effectively for academically superior students of great financial need by offering a limited number of scholarships for more than full tuition in the freshman and sophomore years, which in the junior and senior years will be converted in substantial part to loans.[55]

By 1963, Middlebury students were receiving $212,130 in various forms of aid, compared with $80,090 ten years earlier. Men got the lion's share of the aid, receiving $29,500 in college scholarships in 1957–1958, whereas women were granted only $10,725.[56]

The efforts to attract better men and thereby reduce the disparity in academic ability between the sexes were somewhat successful. The difference in SAT scores narrowed markedly in the 1960s, but observers still bemoaned the lack of good male applicants.[57] As Fred Neuberger remarked, coeducational Middlebury in the era of all-male Eastern colleges was not quite masculine enough for some applicants, and the college therefore continued at a disadvantage in recruiting men.[58]

The traditional gender characteristics of the student body—superior women but more men admitted and enrolled—were not completely altered until outside circumstances changed dramatically. It was only after a number of Middlebury's major competitors—Dartmouth, Williams, Yale, Amherst, Princeton, and other all-male schools—began admitting women in the late 1960s and after that Middlebury began to consider gender equality in admissions. Free at last from the old nagging fear that if 50 percent or more of the student body were women, the school would inevitably turn into

TABLE 7
Enrollment, by Gender, 1972–1990

Year	Men	Women	Total
1972–1973	1019	798	1817
1974–1975	1028	850	1878
1976–1977	1006	860	1866
1979–1980	995	919	1914
1981–1982	1013	911	1924
1983–1984	1012	935	1947
1985–1986	1022	916	1938
1986–1987	1039	1003	2042
1987–1988	1041	973	2014
1988–1989	991	986	1977
1989–1990	1045	986	2031

SOURCE: Reports of the Dean of the College, Middlebury College Archives.

a women's college, the administration slowly (and without much fanfare) moved toward a 50–50 male-female ratio between 1972 and 1990 (see Table 7). It was one of the most important changes in the nature of the Middlebury student body since the advent of coeducation a century earlier.[59]

The Stratton–Wright effort to enroll more men from affluent families was successful and changed the makeup of the student body. The number of students from preparatory schools jumped. The percentage from outside the Northeast also increased. Middlebury could not yet be called a national institution, but it was moving in that direction; Walter Brooker '37 recalled that when he returned in 1956 as an administrator, one of the major changes he noticed was a greater geographical diversity of the student body.[60]

In the nineteenth century, Middlebury had drawn a majority of its students from Vermont. Not until the early twentieth century did the number of Vermonters fall below 50 percent, and even then, 95 percent of the students came from New England and New York.[61] That figure gradually changed between the wars as the college became better known, but as Table 8 indicates, it was only after World War II that the percentage of students from areas outside of New England and the Mid-Atlantic states began to grow.

In the late 1970s, American colleges faced the dismal demographic truth that fewer eighteen-year-olds would be available to them in coming years. Middlebury was justifiably concerned, particularly since the decline was particularly steep in the Northeast. To counter

TABLE 8
Home Regions of Middlebury Students, 1915–1985

Region	1915–1916 (%)	1941–1942 (%)	1965 (%)	1985 (%)
New England	80.7	46.0	35.4	31.9
Middle Atlantic	16.9	49.1	39.6	33.2
Midwest	0.5	3.6	7.5	9.1
South	0.3	0.6	3.1	6.7
West	0.3	0.1	8.4	12.2
Abroad	1.1	0.6	6.0	6.9

SOURCES: *Middlebury Annual Catalogues*, 1915–1916 and 1941–1942; and *Report of the Admissions Long-Range Planning Committee, May 1, 1987.*

this potential shrinkage in its admissions pool, Middlebury began to tap the populous "Sun Belt." As Robison pointed out, "the demographic and financial center of the country has been moving away from the Northeast, toward the South and West."[62] The college therefore initiated a program (termed "Westward Ho!" by admissions director Fred Neuberger) that targeted several cities in the Midwest and Far West for special recruiting efforts.[63] The Admissions Office greatly expanded the Alumni Admissions Support Program, in which over one thousand alumni in thirty-eight cities across the country identified and interviewed prospective Middlebury students[64] These efforts were successful (see Table 8), and increasing numbers of western students enrolled after 1975.

Although the increase in geographic diversity after World War II was notable, many of the newcomers from California, Washington, Canada, and even England were quite similar in social and ethnic background to those from New York and Massachusetts. A major college goal in the late 1980s was not only to attract students from all over the country and the world but also to "increase diversity among its applicants, particularly economic and ethnic diversity," and "to attract the most able students from lower income and middle income families, and from black, Hispanic, Asian, and other minorities."[65]

The attempt to enroll and retain African-American students, in particular, had hitherto proved quite difficult. The story of the college's efforts in this regard began in 1963–1964, when students led by David Riley '64 formed a small civil rights group and held the first civil rights conference on campus.[66] Still, the *Campus* criticized Middlebury students in the fall of 1964 for lagging behind other

Fred F. Neuberger '50 benevolently guarded the gates of admission to Middlebury for thirty-two years.

schools in responding "to the major social and political developments of the last decade," as "only a handful of Middlebury students have been participants."[67] Later that fall, the pace of activity on campus picked up. Students began to urge that more blacks be admitted, the Student Life Committee suggested an exchange with a historically black college, nine hundred students joined in the fast (sponsored by the National Student Association) to raise funds for poor blacks in Mississippi, and, over Christmas, twenty-five students visited thirty largely black high schools to acquaint them with Middlebury.[68] These efforts prompted twenty blacks to apply for admission to the fall of 1965, and a small exchange program was arranged with Talladega College for 1965–1966.[69]

In the spring of 1965 twenty-six students and faculty members participated in the march from Montgomery to Selma, Alabama, and another group of "deeply concerned" students and faculty held a sympathy march in Middlebury from Mead Chapel, where a short ceremony was held.[70] The students who had traveled to Alabama were deeply affected by white hatred, black poverty, and the oppression of blacks by whites. As one dean commented, the participants "will never be quite the same again."[71] After the marches, some students formed a seminar during the last eight weeks of the term to study the civil rights movement; several others entered the Peace Corps after graduation to fight poverty and oppression in third world countries. It was also at this time that the sororities and Alpha Tau Omega fraternity took steps to end discriminatory clauses in their constitutions.[72]

The concern over civil rights was growing, but it encountered both opposition and restraint. Some criticized the "Self-Civil Righteous Group" for their "extreme" attitudes and "intolerance" of other viewpoints.[73] The administration was extremely wary of any militancy, trying, for instance, to persuade student leaders in 1963–1964 not to invite Malcolm X to campus.[74] President Armstrong and Dean Reynolds went to some pains to assure worried trustees in 1965 that the students had gone to Alabama as individuals, not as representatives of the college; that the students' interest was "orderly," "healthy," "affirmative," and constructive; and that the college had anticipated student actions and was thus fortunate to be in the position of leading rather than resisting.[75] Black enrollment grew very slowly, from three students in 1960 to twenty-three in 1967–1968—still only 1.7 percent of total enrollment and somewhat lower than most comparable schools.[76]

The death of Martin Luther King, Jr., in April 1968 spurred a renewed interest in civil rights. At a memorial service for King on April 8 in Mead Chapel, President Armstrong announced that he would appoint a committee of students, faculty, and administrators to study and recommend the most appropriate role for Middlebury "in the national effort to seek remedies for the grievous problems of the urban ghetto, poverty, and racist discrimination."[77] The fourteen-member committee (quickly labeled the King Commission), chaired by Dean O'Brien, spent most of that spring discussing the possibility (and finally advocating) that the college help fund and administer a new summer program for underprivileged boys from Bedford-Stuyvesant, called Youths Opportunity for Understanding (Y.O.U.).[78]

The committee reported its recommendations to Armstrong in January 1969. They called, among other things, for "a much higher and more immediate priority" for admitting disadvantaged students

(including "risk" students whose board scores were in the 300s) and finding funds to pay for their education; broadening the curriculum to include the study of race, poverty, and urban problems; offering precollege and freshman-year programs to aid in the transition to regular college work; and a larger financial commitment to the Y.O.U. program.[79] Black students met with Armstrong and O'Brien in March 1969 and with the trustees in April to urge speedy implementation of the King Commission recommendations. They also asked that the director of special programs be a minority group member and that black students be provided a room or an office as an organizational base.[80] After discussing at length the issues raised by the King Commission and the black students, the trustees approved "in principle" granting financial aid for disadvantaged students, funded Y.O.U. at a higher level, and approved the appointment of Arnold McKinney '70, a black junior, to be special assistant to the dean of the college for two years.[81]

Fifteen black freshmen entered Middlebury in 1969, raising the number of blacks on campus to a new high of thirty-six, and black enrollment continued to rise during the next few years.[82] Nevertheless, many of them had difficulty with their course work, and their attrition rate was generally two to three times higher than that of white students.[83] The college acceded to a request to set aside the main lounge in Adirondack House (the old Battell Cottage) for use by black students, who named their new social facility the Coltrane Lounge in 1973.[84] Many of the blacks felt more comfortable there, and white and black students, for the most part, kept a certain social and psychological distance from one another during these years.[85]

The goal of many liberal students and administrators in the 1960s had been to bring more blacks to campus because it was one way to lessen racial injustice in the United States and because it would be good for all Middlebury students to enjoy a greater cultural diversity on campus. Yet after the upsurge in black enrollment in the early 1970s, the number of blacks during the rest of the decade remained at about sixty, or 3 percent of the student body. Many of the other goals of the King Commission were still unrealized. In the fall of 1980, students, faculty, staff, and trustees began a two-year process of discussing and analyzing the problem of race relations at the college. The faculty concluded in September 1981 that Middlebury should attempt to "improve the quality of life for minority students and to increase racial awareness in the College community."[86]

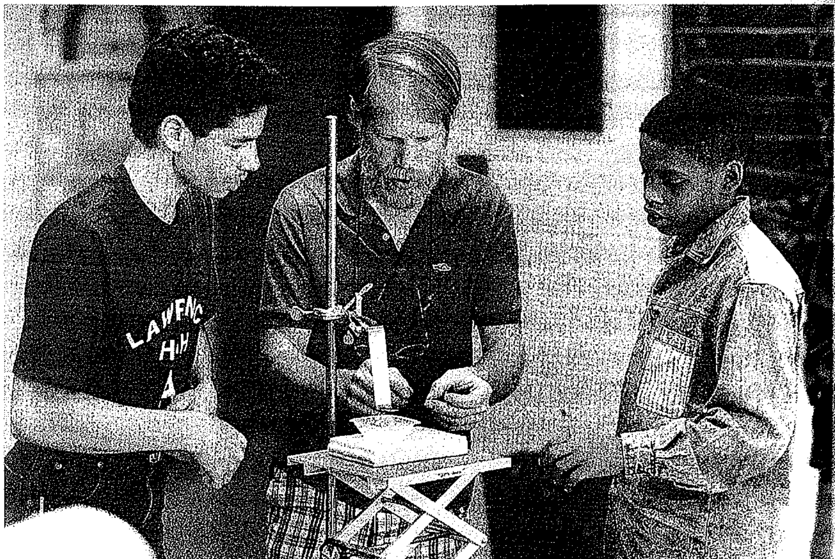
President Robison appointed an ad hoc Committee on Minority Concerns (dubbed the Twilight Committee, after Alexander Twilight, class of 1823) to make recommendations. Their report, issued in October 1982, applauded the college for the progress it had made: it had hired a black staff member, increased black enrollment through intensive recruiting efforts and substantial financial aid packages, implemented a preenrollment program for minority freshmen, made efforts to hire more black faculty, increased curricular offerings in relevant areas, and elected a black alumnus to the board. But another series of recommendations stressed how far the college still had to go to meet the goals of the King Commission.[87]

Although the Twilight Report urged rapid and fundamental changes in some areas, relatively little change occurred until 1987, when the path-breaking *Report of the Admissions Long-Range Planning Committee* stated that race relations seemed to be on the back burner and that the college was failing in its mission to recruit and retain minority students. The report offered a wide range of recommendations, many of which were later approved and implemented.[88]

Several faculty, staff, and administrators who had been involved in the Long-Range Planning Committee's research formed a Minority Advisory Group and met almost weekly for two years in an effort to implement the goals that the report advocated. Perhaps its biggest accomplishment was organizing the successful Minority Advisory Workshops in the summers of 1987 and 1988. Eleven high school counselors attended the first workshop and made a series of suggestions about how to create programs to improve retention and recruitment of minorities.[89]

The college followed through on many of these recommendations in 1987–1989: the hiring of a black counselor, aggressive recruitment of minority faculty members, the implementation of a black studies concentration, the establishment of a Racial/Ethnic/Religious Harassment Policy, the creation of a summer science program for minority high school students (SCIENS), the opening of a Writing Center (later to be a Learning Center) and the hiring of a Coordinator for Academic Support Services to run it, and the development of an improved financial aid package for less affluent families that would include more grant and less loan funds.[90]

Another college group, the Human Relations Committee, also helped to improve the racial climate through a series of initiatives in 1987–1989, including organizing the popular Racial Awareness Lec-



Crispin O. Butler, laboratory supervisor, helps two students in the Sciens program demonstrate the Meissner effect, in which a small permanent magnet is levitated above a disk of high-temperature superconducting material that they made.

ture Series and a well-coordinated Martin Luther King, Jr., birthday celebration in January (jointly sponsored with the Winter Term Faculty Seminar, "Teaching the Black Experience"). The Black Student Union (which changed its name in 1990 to the African American Alliance) also organized programs promoting racial awareness.[91]

In January 1989, President Robison announced a goal of increasing the percentage of minority students to at least 10 percent of all graduates.[92] To reach that objective the college began to implement several other ideas that had emerged from the workshops, including recruiting more black and Hispanic students from urban high schools and community colleges. With the assistance of the New York Diversity Task Force, Middlebury established a partnership with DeWitt Clinton High School in the Bronx in 1988–1989. Middlebury faculty, students, and administrators regularly visited Clinton (which is 98 percent black and Hispanic), and Clinton students traveled to Middlebury for programs. The partnership sought to raise the interest of Clinton students in attending college and to assist those interested in enrolling. It also greatly increased the Middle-

bury community's understanding of minority high school students. The partnership was perhaps the first such liaison between an urban high school and a rural college.[93] Middlebury also developed articulation agreements with a number of community colleges from New York to Florida in an attempt to attract minority students.[94]

These innovative programs and aggressive recruiting techniques began to pay dividends. In the spring of 1989, 225 minority students (blacks and Hispanics) applied to the college; the largest previous number had been 138. When it entered in the fall of 1989, the class of '93 included 36 African-Americans and 26 Hispanic-Americans out of 500 members; in 1990, 258 minority students applied, and 47 blacks and Hispanics matriculated. These represented significant strides toward improved race relations and better minority recruitment and retention. The college had thus begun to meet one of its most important and difficult goals. As Dean of Students Karl Lindholm '67 put it: "If Middlebury is to survive in a competitive world, we can't be an all-white, upper-middle-class enclave."[95]

Middlebury also increased its efforts to attract international students. The number of individuals from foreign countries enrolled at Middlebury had been growing for two decades (see Table 8), and by the 1980s an average of 6 percent of the students were foreign nationals or international students holding American citizenship.[96] Their presence was highly desirable, according to the *Report of the Admissions Long Range Planning Committee*: "It is appropriate that Middlebury College, with its substantial international orientation, strive to be the home of significant numbers of international students."[97]

Until 1987–1988, the college required most foreign students to provide a minimum family contribution of $3,000 each year. In that year, however, Robison accepted the recommendation of the Admissions Long-Range Planning Committee and asked such students to pay the $3,000 only in their first year. Soon afterward, the number of applications from third world international students rose significantly.[98]

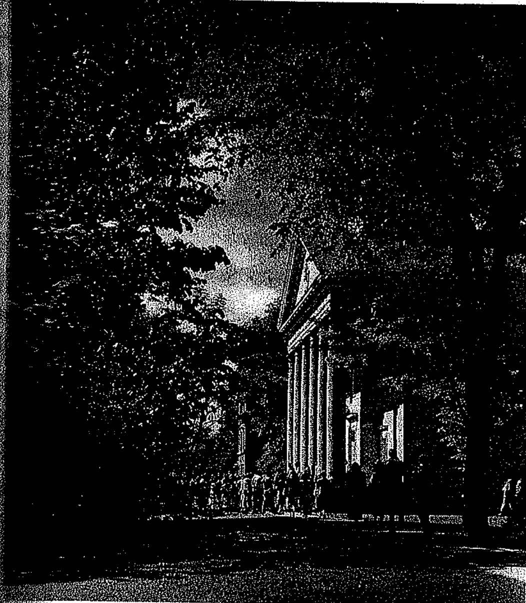
Middlebury took the lead in arranging for a path-breaking exchange of Russian and American undergraduates. Representatives of Middlebury and twenty-three other colleges, which had formed the American Collegiate Consortium for East-West Cultural and Aca-

demic Exchange, negotiated the exchange in March 1988 with the Soviet Ministry of Higher Education in a ceremony at Middlebury. In August, fifty-two Russian students arrived on campus for a month-long orientation program before leaving in groups of two or three to attend one of the member colleges. Three remained at Middlebury. More Russian students came to America in 1989, and sixty-four Americans went to Russia, including six from Middlebury.[99]

When these students returned from Russia, they brought back an international outlook that helped make the campus a more exciting place. They were not alone. By the 1980s nearly 40 percent of Middlebury students studied abroad at some point, one of the highest percentages in the country. This might have played havoc with the budget, except for the innovative and highly successful device (inaugurated in 1971–1972) of accepting approximately one hundred students as so-called February freshmen and delaying their matriculation until the spring semester each year.[100]

The increasing number of international students led to a greater cultural and religious diversity on campus. In 1988–1989, ten Islamic Middlebury students strictly observed Ramadan and attended an Islamic Symposium, and Chaplain Walsh helped them form a prayer group.[101] This was a remarkable change from the homogeneous religious community of earlier years. In 1920, out of 319 students, there were only 5 Catholics and 2 Jews. All of the rest of those who listed their religion (76 wrote "none") were Protestants.[102] Life for Jewish students in the interwar period was difficult at Middlebury but no different from that of Jewish students elsewhere. They were allowed social privileges in fraternities but could not be members, and they faced the normal antisemitism of that era. (At the annual halftime Homecoming "P-rade" in 1930, third prize for costume went to James Fish "who was made up as a Jew."[103])

By 1950 the percentage of Catholics (165 out of 1,193 students) had risen to almost 14 percent, and there were 18 Jewish students (1.4 percent). Still, the other 79 percent who identified their religious preference were Protestant (only 6 percent wrote "none").[104] Student religious preference by 1970, as Dean O'Brien wrote, tended to be determined by the proportion of those from affluent families; there were large numbers of Episcopalians, Congregationalists, and Unitarians; Baptists, Methodists, Lutherans, and Catholics (up to 18 percent) were underrepresented. Although the Jewish population



Daily chapel services were a fixture of Middlebury's life until the 1960s.

had risen to 5 percent, which was about the national average, it was well under the percentage at several other top colleges.[105] The percentage of Catholics and Jews had increased markedly by the 1980s; there were active Hillel and Newman Club organizations and a small but active Muslim group.[106] In short, the homogeneous white Anglo-Saxon Protestant campus of the prewar era had gradually changed over the years and was greatly altered by the college's recent concerted effort to attain a more diverse student body.

Many of the African-American, Hispanic, Asian-American, and international students who entered in the 1980s were not wealthy, and their enrollment allowed Middlebury to move closer to the goal of attracting more lower- and middle-income students. The Stratton and Armstrong administrations put more and more money into financial aid grants, but only 20 percent of the students received aid—this during a period (1962–1975) when tuition charges more than doubled, outstripping a 78 percent increase in the consumer price index. The college was increasingly perceived as a place for the wealthy, and academically able middle-class students were often drawn to other institutions.[107]

When Robison took office in 1975, only 18 percent of the student body was on financial aid, and he announced a determination to increase that percentage substantially and thereby diversify the socioeconomic mix. Two years later the situation had not improved, and Robison was frustrated: "We don't believe it's healthy for any college to attract only the affluent. But right now, we don't have the resources we need to help large numbers of middle class students to attend Middlebury."[108] As late as 1979, when the class of 1983 entered with only 18 percent receiving financial aid grants—compared with 43 percent at Bates, 31 percent at Colby, 37 percent at Bowdoin, 28 percent at Connecticut College, 33 percent at Trinity, 38 percent at Wesleyan, and 27 percent at Williams—the dean of the college expressed his concern: "We are behind our competition to the point where we hear that many high school guidance counselors are telling their less affluent students not to bother applying to Middlebury. I know you agree that this is exactly the reputation we do not want to get, but the comparison between us and colleges in our category is disquieting."[109]

Robison approached the trustees in December 1980 with a proposal to move toward an aid-blind admissions policy. Existing policy had been to admit some students but deny them financial aid even though they might qualify for it; Robison wanted to drop the admit/deny category completely and meet the full financial need of every admitted student. "Middlebury could thus take the final step," he argued, "to be recognized, without questions, as one of the half-dozen finest schools in the country."[110] The college implemented aid-blind admissions by the spring of 1982, and the number of entering students receiving aid quickly rose to more than 30 percent.[111] By 1989–1990, 37 percent of the student body was on financial aid, the average grant had increased to $9,000 (from $1,950 in 1976), and there were hopes of increasing the percentage on aid to 40 percent.[112]

In order to attract less affluent students, the college had to do more than promise sufficient financial aid. To overcome its reputation as an upper-class preppy college, Middlebury had to recruit students who might not otherwise attend. The innovative new programs to attract minority students helped in this regard. Another creative and successful effort to increase economic diversity was the Admissions Outreach Program, organized in 1987–1988 and brilliantly staffed by Caroline Donnan '75 of the Admissions Office. Just as Dean Walter Howard had scoured the hills and small towns of Vermont to find students in the early twentieth century, Donnan searched in the rural areas of northern New England (and other out-of-the way places across America) for gifted students who might otherwise not even think of attending a college like Middlebury. As she put it, she was looking for "diamonds in the rough" in rural Mississippi, Alaska, North Dakota, Vermont, and places such as Bullfrog Junction, Maine.

These students were often the first in their families to attend college, and there was sometimes little support (financial or psychological) at home for attendance at a selective, fancy, upper-crust school—a venture that, from the family's point of view, might result in unhappiness for a child who could not fit in or, worse, a radical change in the child that could lead to a permanent separation or estrangement from the family's values. Donnan talked to ninth- and tenth-graders as well as juniors and seniors ("talking to seniors is way too late in a rural school"); and once they were accepted and matriculated (approximately thirty-two students per year), she was there on campus, along with other members of the staff, to help orient, advise, and counsel them through the often difficult early period. This was essential; although Donnan's students were academically prepared (nearly half were valedictorians, and their SAT scores were usually higher than the Middlebury average), a number of them found the wealth and experience of some of their classmates intimidating at first and the general campus atmosphere a bit foreign.[113]

Another striking initiative, designed to induce more applications from minority, rural, Midwestern, and international students, was the decision in 1987 to allow admission applicants to submit achievement tests or the ACT in lieu of the SAT. As one of the first selective colleges to drop the SAT as a requirement (it was still recommended that most students submit their scores), Middlebury attracted much attention. Its seriousness regarding the issue of diversification could no longer be doubted.[114]

The remarkable changes in the student body in the late 1980s were the result of a genuine commitment. As Robison pointed out in 1990, it was a commitment driven both by the desire to do what

was right for the betterment of American society and the world and by the need to improve the college by making the student body more diverse and interesting.

> This institution has committed itself to the diversity that is critical to a rich intellectual community. We have tried to build upon each new program and each success with an ever more heterogeneous student body and faculty. Whether this involves students from a Bronx high school, who along with their faculty regularly visit Middlebury and receive our students and faculty in return; whether it has to do with students from junior colleges throughout the country who demonstrate great promise and have places reserved for them at Middlebury; whether it is students from rural areas around the Northeast for whom a college like Middlebury was not even a dream a year ago; whether it is a Pakistani youth or a Soviet exchange student, or a 45-year-old artist from the People's Republic of China, Middlebury has become a diverse institution where the mix of students is a pillar of strength on which to build the future. The face of the College has changed in the past decade and it will continue to change. It is the best kind of growth and development.[115]

Dean of the College John Emerson reminded the trustees in 1987 that Middlebury "is now considered, in many ways, in the same league as Dartmouth, Brown, Princeton, Amherst, and Williams" but that "the major challenge for the next five years is to bring greater diversity, both ethnic and economic, to the College."[116] The marked increase of minority, international, middle-class, and rural students was a critical development, one that helped move Middlebury even more firmly into the ranks of the finest (and most interesting) small colleges as it entered the twentieth century's final decade.

This rosy picture of increased economic and ethnic diversity was clouded by growing parental and student concern over rising costs. Concomitant budgetary difficulties threatened to affect adversely some of the programs that had helped achieve the new diversity. As Table 9 indicates, Middlebury's comprehensive fee rose at an average annual rate of 10 percent during the 1980s. As we have seen, decisions such as the 16 percent increase in 1981–1982 were implemented primarily to raise faculty salaries.[117] But the college also needed funds to renovate the physical plant, mount new programs, and hire additional faculty and staff.[118] In short, Robison argued, as had his predecessors, that additional tuition income was needed for

TABLE 9

Comprehensive Fee Increases, 1979–1990

Year	Fee	% increase	% inflation rate
1979–1980	$6,900		
1980–1981	$7,800	13.0	13.5
1981–1982	$9,300	19.2	10.3
1982–1983	$10,800	16.1	6.1
1983–1984	$11,800	9.3	3.2
1984–1985	$12,600	6.8	4.3
1985–1986	$13,500	7.1	3.6
1986–1987	$14,500	7.4	1.9
1987–1988	$15,500	6.9	3.6
1988–1989	$17,000	9.7	4.1
1989–1990	$19,000	11.8	4.8

SOURCES: Middlebury College Trustee Minutes; and Office of Institutional Research, Franklin and Marshall College.

the improvements that would enable the college to compete successfully with its rivals. Although inflation was often cited as a major cause of fee increases, the consumer price index (CPI) rose only an average of 4.65 percent during much of the 1980s. On the other hand, most institutions were increasing their fees at a rate well above that of the CPI, and college officials often maintained that their costs were different from those considered in the CPI. Indeed, a study of twenty comparable liberal arts colleges reveals that the median increase for those schools, 9.9 percent, was only a bit below that of Middlebury.[119]

After 19.2 percent and 16.1 percent increases in 1981–1982 and 1982–1983, the annual rise in the Middlebury comprehensive fee averaged a relatively moderate 7.4 percent through 1987–1988. But in 1988–1989 the increase jumped to 9.7 percent and in the spring of 1989, when Robison announced an 11.8 percent rise (from $17,000 to $19,000) for 1989–1990, student and parental discontent boiled over.[120] Many parents were concerned that they could no longer afford the college and that Middlebury was pricing itself out of the middle-class market.[121] Students demanded an explanation, and Robison and Treasurer David Ginevan attempted one. They pointed out the marked advances in quality at the college—a lower faculty-student ratio, more competitive salaries and benefits, twice as many students on financial aid, renovated buildings, and much more—all of which cost money. They also noted that only 66 percent of the operating budget came from fees, so even students who were not on

financial aid were, in a sense, receiving a large subsidy to attend the college.[122]

A number of students were not impressed, and they formed a group called STARTUP (Students Against the Rise in Tuition and Unjust Policies). STARTUP leaders David Milner '90 and Rob Gray '90 called for a boycott of classes on May 4, and approximately half the student body complied. There was a sit-in on Old Chapel steps, and Gray and Milner met with Robison to present the STARTUP demands: a reduction in the comprehensive fee increase to 7 percent, placement of an undergraduate as a voting member of the board and its budget committee, an itemized account for parents of how tuition dollars were spent, and a guarantee specifying tuition increases over a student's four-year residence.[123]

Robison and Ginevan promised to consider the proposals, and a committee was formed (composed of Ginevan, Gray, Milner, and Residential Life Director Frank Kelley) to look into ways to cut costs. The *Campus* gave the boycott and the general problem of rising costs a good deal of play in 1989, and officials were sensitive to the need to moderate costs and tuition increases in the future.[124] Indeed, the 1990–1991 fee was set at $20,300—up 6.8 percent, the lowest percentage increase since the 1970s.[125] Furthermore, as we have seen, the college asked each department to reduce spending by 6 percent in an attempt to cut costs.[126] There was some concern that budgetary difficulties might jeopardize the programs that had enabled the college to begin to diversify the student body.[127] If that were to occur, one of the greatest accomplishments of the Robison years would be negated.

CHAPTER 11

FRATERNITIES

Fraternities are the most powerful and partisan groups on the Middlebury campus. . . . They are the social center, the eating center, and, in varying degrees, the thinking center. The life of the average Middlebury man is focused upon his fraternity. There he eats and drinks and sleeps and lives. There he makes lasting friends and enemies.

—*Campus* editorial, October 21, 1954

With the increased emphasis on College level work in high school and ever widening attention to graduate school, the four years of college are becoming a compact and intensive time of study. Courses and study programs are demanding more and more of the student's time. The fraternity system, rather than being a thorn in the side of scholastic work must begin to make extensive contributions to the academic role of the college.

—*Campus* editorial, October 18, 1962

It is to be hoped that in the relatively near future fraternities may be removed from their present limbo. They should either be more encouraged as a vital part of the institution or done away with. If merely tolerated, they will, in the long run, be sources of constant disruption in student life.

—Dean Thomas Reynolds, Dean of College 1964–65 Annual Report, in President's Files, 1965 Folder, Old Chapel Attic

For many students who attended Middlebury during the twentieth century, fraternities were important, even critical campus organizations. The social life of the college often revolved around them. Even though the college attempted several times and in various ways after 1965 to abolish, reform, or deemphasize the Greek system, frater-

nities generally retained their prominence. Although by 1990 their future seemed in doubt, their historical significance remains.

In the period 1915–1941, fraternities continued to dominate the college's social and extracurricular scene, as they had since the 1870s. As enrollment rose from 343 to 803, the number of fraternities expanded from five to eight (with the addition of Sigma Phi Epsilon, Theta Chi, and Alpha Tau Omega), and the percentage of men who were fraternity members varied from 55 percent to 80 percent.[1] Their popularity is not difficult to understand. Fraternity activities were at the center of campus social life.[2] They offered men a congenial atmosphere for living, socializing, eating, intergroup competition, and even studying.[3] Furthermore, as one Chi Psi member wrote in 1939, the fraternity "enmeshes every member with a network of personal relations. They are friendships and more; they deserve the name of 'brotherhood.'"[4] They taught men how to coexist with others and within a group and provided certain practical experience:

> Fraternity life also gives valuable training in administrative affairs, since the offices of president, chairman, treasurer, steward, committee member and the like, all call for skill in dealing with men and things. Practical responsibility is a most efficient school, and the task of engineering a fraternity may help to prepare one for managing the business of a corporation.[5]

Fraternities could (and often did) utilize this energy and cohesiveness to serve their school and community by supporting college enterprises and participating in social welfare projects.[6] Nonfraternity men (also called neutrals or independents) were looked down on. W. Storrs Lee '28 recalled that he was not a member of a fraternity until his sophomore year, and during the unaffiliated period he "felt keenly the superiority of the fraternity class."[7] Indeed, neutrals frequently formed groups similar to fraternities in order to take part in athletic competition and organize social activities.[8]

Competition among fraternities for control of campus activities, indeed their absolute dominance in all extracurricular affairs, created problems. There were constant complaints that fraternities controlled the outcome of elections in organizations of any consequence and that, in some cases, "positions of responsibility are handed out to fraternity yes-men of distinct mediocre ability."[9] Although these fierce interfraternity battles for campus offices and influence may

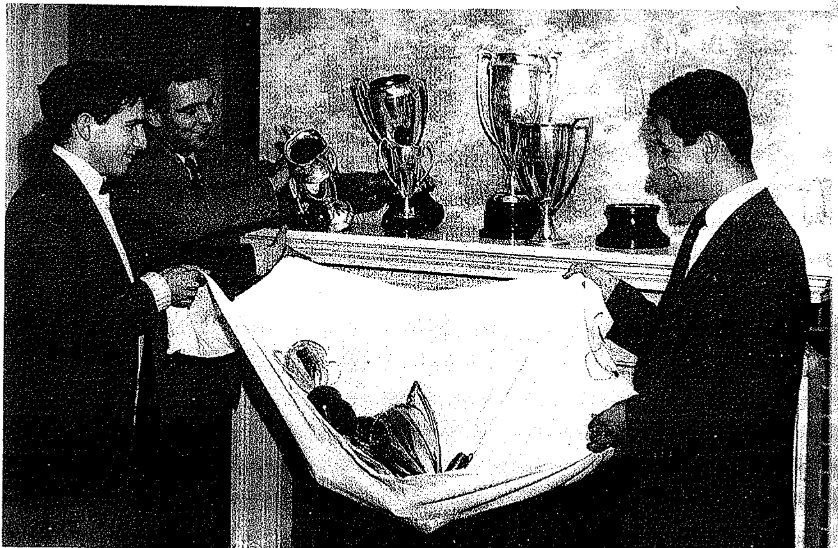
have sharpened the participants' political skills and understanding, the results were not always salutary.[10]

Rushing—the annual interfraternity competition for new members—could dominate the extracurricular life of the college for weeks at a time.[11] During most of the interwar period, the fraternities debated whether to rush freshmen immediately in the fall, halfway through the first semester in November, or during the second semester. Such a seemingly mundane matter caused Delta Upsilon to resign briefly from the Interfraternity Council (IFC) in 1925–1926, when their resolution for immediate rushing was vetoed.[12] Although rushing was often a painful and bruising experience, some argued that it could help train men for the world after college.

> Rushing is a competitive game. Think of it that way and you will find it to be an enjoyable experience. You are selling yourself and your fraternity in competition with other men and their fraternities. . . . Honestly concentrate on your rushing and you will find it an open sesame to a stronger and more effective personality. Today the art of selling yourself over as an individual at first notice, is a rare, and valuable possession. Through the practice of applied rushing it can be your possession.[13]

If rushing taught valuable lessons to members, some freshmen who were not chosen by their favorite fraternity were deeply hurt. For many, one member recalled, "rushing was traumatic, leaving deep emotional scars."[14]

Fraternities also were accused now and then of placing themselves first, before the welfare of the college. At such times, attempts were made to lessen their influence, restrain interfraternity competition, and encourage cooperation.[15] Two disgruntled fraternity men told Provost Collins in 1919 that it was "time we turned things around and ran the fraternities for the interest of Middlebury, and stop trying to run Middlebury for the interest of the fraternities."[16] Some complained that fraternities tended to limit student friendships because members failed to "realize that fraternity brotherhood does not necessarily make friendships and that friendship can exist just as well between men who do not wear the same badge."[17] Others claimed that men were classified by the type of fraternity they pledged so that by senior year, a man "was judged not on his own merits and qualifications but on the standards of those with whom he was affiliated."[18]



In November 1942 the men of Kappa Delta Rho fraternity scrapped their trophies and cups to support the war effort.

Although fraternities were occasional targets of criticism in the interwar period, expressed, sometimes by large numbers of students, the existence of the system was never "seriously questioned."[19] Indeed, as male enrollment rose from 187 in 1915 to 429 in 1940, it was correctly assumed that new fraternities would be formed to ensure that the majority of men could be members and that the system would continue its dominance.[20]

The fraternities closed during World War II, and the houses were used as women's dormitories. After the war, many of the returning veterans were not terribly interested in reorganizing the fraternities, and W. Storrs Lee '28, who was dean of men at the time, believed they, "could easily have been abolished in 1945–46."[21] There had been a spate of antifraternity articles in various periodicals during the war; at Middlebury, a "large proportion" of students were opposed to fraternities in principle, and several fought quietly for their removal. As Lee wrote: "Members of fraternities whose education had been interrupted for several years, in many cases, were ready to agree with the opponents of fraternities, unless their organizations were ready to take an immediate and strong stand to abolish the hokum, the campus politics, and some of the juvenile customs, remembered from pre-war days." Indeed, as one alumnus recalled, the returning veterans were in no mood to endure fraternity hazing. "How do you induce a man who is 27 years old and has just gotten out of a German prison camp to go through wearing a beanie or getting a paddling across his fanny?"[22] In the winter of 1945–1946, Dean Lee and the fraternity leaders set up a revitalized interfraternity council, which promised to end hazing, promote democratic membership practices, encourage scholastic achievement, and pursue other progressive policies. Under these arrangements, student opposition abated, and fraternities were officially back in operation by the fall of 1946. The administration was not unhappy with the continuance of the system: "The men's college has developed during the past quarter of a century with the assumption that the fraternities are to supply room and board for a majority of the upperclassmen. If they were to disappear as organizations and if the College did not take over the facilities as housing and dining units, a considerable economic readjustment would be necessary."[23] At the same time, Lee reminded the societies that they were on trial:

> Fraternities can be a significant adjunct to an educational institution, if the emphasis is educational as well as social. Fraternities cannot continue indefinitely if they return as social organizations intent on furthering their own interests on the campus rather than the interests of the college. The business of a college is education, and fraternities must fit themselves sensibly into the pattern.[24]

While the administration and faculty wanted emphasis on scholarship as well as social activities, some students were more concerned about racial or religious restrictions on membership. Near the end of the war, Phi Mu sorority members tried to pledge a Jewish woman but were told by their national leaders that they could not. June Brogger Noble '46 wrote searingly about the ugly contradiction involved:

> We find ourselves in an Alice-in-Wonderland situation, on the one hand fighting a madman who advances a theory to the superiority of a master Aryan race and on the other being party to schoolgirl bigotry. Schizophrenia does not prevail; Phi Mu chooses not to rush *anyone*, and it is only a matter of time before the oldest sorority in the nation leaves our campus.[25]

The same question faced the Alpha Delta chapter of Alpha Sigma Phi after the war.[26] J. David Hunt '49 and A. Gordon Miesse '20, representing, respectively, the group reactivating the Middlebury chapter and the fraternity's Middlebury alumni, met in December 1945 with Ralph Burns, executive secretary of the national Alpha Sigma Phi (ASP) fraternity. Hunt was interested in the attitude of the national "on the matter of initiating a Jewish boy into the chapter—something not permitted in the ritual."[27] Four years earlier, Robert E. Reuman '45 had asked the national for permission to initiate a Jewish student; that request had been denied on the grounds that only the convention of all the chapters could change the ritual. In 1945, Burns told Hunt again that only a vote of the national convention could change the ritual, which indeed was under review and would be reconsidered at the 1946 gathering.[28] Burns visited the chapter at Middlebury a few months later and was thought to give his "implied permission" to initiate a Jewish student.[29]

The chapter brothers were elated. They initiated the Jewish student and pledged twenty new members that winter, including two more Jewish students. But in January 1947 they received the revised ritual from the national with restrictions on Jewish and black membership still in effect, and they were "shocked and ashamed" when they read the pertinent section of the ritual: "Our requirements rigidly exclude members of the negroid and hebrew races. In this regard do you qualify for membership?" Chapter President George H. Booth '47 sent off a stinging letter to Burns, angrily reminding him that intolerance, prejudice, and bigotry were fascist and un-American and that if the section of the ritual pertaining to race and creed was not expurgated, "we will immediately take whatever steps are necessary" to drop from the rolls of the national fraternity.[30]

Burns restated his position that only a national convention could amend the ritual and urged Booth and other active members to consult with the more than two hundred alumni of the Middlebury chapter before doing anything hasty. He also defended the right of a social fraternity to select its members and reminded them that the rituals had been in effect for over a century.[31]

The Middlebury chapter was not satisfied by the response. They petitioned the national to poll other chapters across the nation and learned in May that the other chapters, by a vote of 41–26, did not favor the idea of a local option on racial or religious restrictions.

"That forced the issue," one alumnus wrote. "Either the chapter had to take a stand, or had to lose a valuable pledge class and its much more valuable integrity."[32] Several ambivalent alumni urged the local leaders to stay in the national and fight for reform from within. Booth, Reuman, and the others, however, decided that withdrawal was the right thing both morally and tactically.[33] A hurried vote of some of the chapter's alumni yielded a nearly two-thirds majority (29 out of 44) in favor of breaking with the national over the issue.

The chapter reorganized as a local fraternity on May 19, 1947, and, under some pressure from alumni, changed its name to Alpha Sigma Psi.[34] The Middlebury ASP chapter was apparently the first local in the nation to break with its national over racial and religious discrimination; members received some attention in the *New York Times* and were dubbed "Sluggers for Democracy" (later shortened to "Slug," which remained the fraternity's nickname into the 1980s).[35] In 1948, they invited Charles James, a black student who had earlier been granted house privileges, to be a member.[36]

The Middlebury fraternities maintained a somewhat better record in this area after the ASP controversy. When swollen postwar enrollments led to the formation of a new fraternity in 1949—a chapter of Phi Kappa Tau (PKT)—it was discovered that the national PKT allowed only white members, and the Middlebury IFC rejected a PKT chapter on campus by a 6–2 vote in May 1949. The PKT national soon voted to delete the discriminatory clause from its constitution, and PKT was approved that fall as a legitimate fraternity at Middlebury.[37] Ten years later, Sigma Phi Epsilon pledged a black student, Ron Brown '62 (later a college trustee, chairman of the Democratic National Committee and secretary of commerce). The local chapter was placed on probation by its national in the fall of 1959 for supposedly unrelated reasons. The local members, however, were sure that probation had resulted from their intent to recruit a black member. After Brown was initiated, the national eliminated its "white, Christian" restrictive clause but refused to reinstate Middlebury, and the chapter apparently operated as a local fraternity—Sigma Epsilon—until 1982, when it rejoined the national. It was not until 1964, when Alpha Tau Omega broke with its national (and became Delta Tau Omega) after failing in its attempt to end discrimination, that all of Middlebury's fraternities had discarded their discriminatory clauses.[38]

The World War II veterans in the Middlebury chapters were seri-

ous about democratic principles, their academic work, and minimizing fraternity traditions. But they did desire an active social life, and the fraternities once again became the heart of the campus social scene, a position they maintained for two decades. The 1950s and early 1960s were a heyday of fraternity dominance and popularity.[39] A tenth body, Phi Sigma (later to become Zeta Psi), was established in 1955 to accommodate the growing percentage of men who were joining. Only 11 freshmen out of 235 in 1960 did not wish to pledge.[40] The popularity of fraternities was not surprising, since the social life of a neutral at Middlebury was usually bleak to nonexistent.[41] As the *Campus* editorialized in 1954:

> Fraternities are the most powerful and partisan groups on the Middlebury campus.
>
> Middlebury may not be a fraternity school as such; there is not the bitter rivalry between houses such as on some campuses. Nevertheless, it is evident that frats at Middlebury are the center of college life.
>
> They are the social center, the eating center, and, in varying degrees, the thinking center. The life of the average Middlebury man is focused upon his fraternity. There he eats and drinks and sleeps and lives. There he makes lasting friends and enemies.[42]

Hazing also returned in this period. Paddling at initiations varied in intensity, and "brandings" were also used, as Karl Lindholm '67 recalled:

> In a pitch-black house, each pledge was blindfolded and led up from the cellar to the living room by a candlebearing brother. In the living room he was surrounded by members clad in white robes who chanted Greek words and DU [Delta Upsilon] songs. At this point, he was made to kneel in front of the fire place.
>
> When his blindfold was removed . . . he looked straight up at the largest, most muscular brother in the house, whose body was covered in shiny grease, reflecting the flames of the fire and accentuating every muscle. In his hands, he held the burning ΔΥ brand and asked the pledge to pull down his pants so as to take the brand. As each pledge complied with his orders, he was touched by the hot object and sent back down to the cellar. Only later did he learn that he was touched by the candle, and not branded.[43]

Although fraternities were dominant in the postwar period, important developments were already working to undermine them. Indeed, between 1960 and 1990, a combination of fraternity mismanagement, administrative pressure, and the decline of student interest led to the near-demise of the system.

The fraternities helped immensely in their own downfall. Before the war, members took pride in their chapter houses and kept them in relatively good repair.[44] The houses began to deteriorate in the 1950s, even more so in the 1960s.[45] Here the fraternities were to some extent victims of the changing nature of the student body. Wealthier than their predecessors, students in the 1960s and 1970s were perhaps less likely to take pride in the condition of their quarters or care whether unsightly houses offended townspeople, college officials, or parents. These students were also less loyal (and thus less willing to sacrifice themselves) to institutions and large groups and more likely to form very small and intense circles of friends.[46] The results were obvious. The poor condition of most chapter houses embarrassed the college, damaged town–gown relations, and forced the administration to demand that the chapters install expensive safety equipment in their houses (some of which were deemed dangerously unsafe and unsanitary) and keep them in better repair.[47]

The faculty was becoming increasingly concerned about the negative educational influence of the Greek organizations. The younger professors who had arrived after the war, eager to improve the academic life of the college and involve students more closely with it, took an especially dim view. Yet the fraternities made only desultory efforts to modify their antiintellectual image. They only reluctantly stopped the practice of keeping files of old term papers to be used by members for last-minute plagiarizing.[48] They sponsored few, if any, educational, cultural, or intellectual programs, and thereby placed themselves outside the increasingly academic environment of the late 1950s and 1960s.[49] The *Campus* editor in 1962 urged them to improve in this area:

> With the increased emphasis on college level work in high school and ever widening attention to graduate school, the four years of college are becoming a compact and intensive time of study. Courses and study programs are demanding more and more of the student's time. The fraternity system, rather than being a thorn in the side of scholastic work must begin to make extensive contributions to the academic role of the college.[50]

In short, the not unrealistic image of fraternities as unkempt, antiintellectual anachronisms owed much to their unwillingness or in-

ability to adapt meaningfully to the radical changes underway at Middlebury.

They did, however, effect some positive changes in the postwar years, in response to both administration demands and changing student desires. They gradually ended discriminatory practices in pledging, as we have seen. They occasionally replaced "hell week" with a "help week" during which pledges engaged in helpful projects around town.[51] After a thorough review in 1961–1962 by an evaluation committee composed of faculty, alumni, trustees, and administrators and chaired by Dean of Men Thomas Reynolds, the fraternities agreed to alter their rushing practices to alleviate two glaring problems: the rushing of freshmen, which arguably limited their early academic progress; and the exclusion of the 20 percent or more of men who wished to join.[52] Some of these neutrals (or "non-selected individuals") had formed the Jeremiah Atwater Club in 1955, with the assistance of Professor Paul Cubeta, so that they could enjoy social and athletic activities.[53] But the rejection by fraternities, according to Dean Reynolds and Professor Munford, continued to cause grave hurt to individuals and the transfer of good men.[54]

The evaluation committee recommended that most of the men who would not normally receive bids be offered membership or some sort of affiliation by at least one fraternity. They also recommended that students not be rushed until the beginning of their sophomore year.[55] The trustees approved both measures—sophomore rushing and "increased opportunity rushing"—and their adoption helped the fraternities appear less dominant and elitist than previously. Dean Reynolds even asserted that sophomore rushing in 1962 "has gone a long way in removing the stigma associated with fraternities."[56] The IFC, painfully aware of the need to improve the image, asked the faculty in 1963 to propose changes in the system and, at the faculty's suggestion, pressed individual chapters to destroy their old term paper files and improve the chaperoning system. The *Campus* applauded the IFC's action, and hoped that this was the beginning of a process that would elevate fraternities to "a position of social and academic usefulness complementary to other organizations within the college."[57]

Nevertheless, after Armstrong assumed the presidency in 1963, the fraternities had to fight for their place in the expanding college. The decision in 1964 to increase enrollment from 1,350 to 1,800 by

1975, in line with the Ford Profile, necessitated careful long-term planning on how those new students would be housed and fed and what arrangements would govern their social life. The Armstrong administration was not convinced that the fraternity system should remain the dominant social force. Indeed, Armstrong favored the action of President Sawyer at Williams, who had banned fraternities there in 1962.[58] Armstrong told a group of Middlebury chapter presidents in 1964 that he had "misgivings about the attitudes nurtured in fraternities toward the academic center." He called their tendency "centrifugal rather than centripetal" and worried that loyalty to fraternities was not consistent with loyalty to the college. Finally, he told them that he was concerned about the nonfraternity men's social life.[59]

By 1965, Dean Reynolds, too, had formed an increasingly negative view. "It seems to this observer," he wrote, "that the fraternities, as fraternities, are no longer providing their members with the emotional, or even physical outlets which once were their raison d'etre." He acknowledged that they still provided an important social service "which would have to be replaced were they to be eliminated or to disappear by their own default."[60] But fraternities, he told the trustees in 1966, were an inimical influence on the educational environment:

> Young men come to a college at a time when they are begging for information and orientation to the world around them. The fraternities have tended to teach them quick generalizations, sometimes in a superficial and detrimental way. They have given quick answers when they should be opening the student up to questioning at this time of his life. The fraternities have tried a number of cultural and academic programs with some success. Most fraternities have run study programs, sometimes for sophomores and at other times for the whole house; but this has not been a natural part of their existence and has tended to occur only when the fraternities were under attack.[61]

The new dean of men, Dennis O'Brien, who would replace Reynolds as dean of the college in 1966, also found the Middlebury chapters too antiintellectual for his tastes.[62]

Finally, there was growing concern about the negative effects of fraternities on the social experience of Middlebury's female students and on the development of a truly coeducational college. Fraternities controlled most social life and therefore denied women an active role

in planning activities and consigned them to a secondary status. This obvious inequality bothered increasing numbers of students, faculty, and administrators during the 1960s and after.[63] Coeducational dining, which had been increasingly popular since its inception for freshmen around 1960, was an impossibility for upperclass students as long as most men ate at fraternities. A *Campus* editorial in 1965 raised the major issues that worried Armstrong and Reynolds:

> Yet Middlebury's students don't even receive exposure to the limited cross-section of national and international opinion already offered on the local campus. The present system of dining leaves the student body unfortunately fragmented by sex, by class and finally by fraternity. . . . Worse yet, the fraternity has become a refuge from the academic life of the college. Middlebury's ten houses play an important role in providing students with social facilities where they can "let off steam" without damage to college property. Yet when the fraternities define their function solely in terms of social life, each meal becomes an escape from the routine of thought associated with the classroom.
>
> The rigid antithesis drawn between Middlebury's academic and social life is a false one and prevents the growth of the atmosphere so necessary in a residential college. For learning in this small community, and in others like it throughout the country, is a continuous process. Mental development is not restricted merely to the classroom, and education can, and must, extend into both the extracurricular and social life of the college.[64]

In late 1964 the college considered the options available for housing and feeding the additional 450 students expected during the next decade and the role of fraternities in that process. Armstrong, Reynolds, and Dean of Women Elizabeth Kelly presented three possibilities to the board's prudential committee at its meeting in New York in January 1965: abolish fraternities, foster their expansion in proportion to the expansion of the college, or take over the feeding and housing of students completely and let fraternities continue in a social capacity. Armstrong and his staff favored the third option, and after much discussion, the committee agreed.[65] From that day until 1980, when the fraternities were finally forced to give up their dining function, the college's ultimate aim was to implement the third option. It would not be easy, and the fraternity controversy was heated and acrimonious for the next twenty-five years.

Armstrong knew that various constituencies, particularly many alumni and chapter members on campus, would strongly oppose

his plans to ease fraternities out of the center of social life. Still, he wanted to include the entire community in the decision-making process and appointed the Ad Hoc Committee on Student Life in 1965 to make recommendations concerning ways of providing housing, dining facilities, and a proper social, cultural, and educational environment for the new expanded college. "Clearly," the president added, "the deliberations of this group will involve the future role fraternities will have at Middlebury."[66]

The committee, chaired by Reynolds, was composed of six alumni, four students, three deans, and one faculty member. They met frequently between November 1965 and the fall of 1966, when they sent their final report to Armstrong. They also issued two interim reports, which revealed the three major options they were considering: (1) expand the fraternities to house and feed upperclassmen; upperclasswomen would continue to eat and live in residence halls, and all freshmen would eat together in Proctor Hall; (2) house and feed all students in college facilities, with freshmen continuing to dine together in Proctor Hall and upperclassmen and women in coeducational "societies" designed around separate social and dining units, each with a capacity of about one hundred; and (3) a compromise plan in which 50 percent of the upperclassmen would live and eat in fraternities, while the rest would live in dormitories and eat with the women in coeducational societies; the freshmen class would continue to eat together in Proctor.[67] During the year in which the committee met, the college watched its progress carefully. As the *Campus* pointed out on March 31, 1966: "The quality of social life at Middlebury College from now to God-knows-when is being determined this semester. Everybody here knows this."[68] Not surprisingly, various constituencies made strong lobbying efforts to persuade the committee to see things their way. The IFC, whose president was a member of the committee, proposed alternative (3) above when it appeared that an expanded fraternity system was neither popular nor feasible.[69]

Indeed, the ad hoc committee's final recommendation, "that as soon as practicable the college undertake to house and feed all students in college facilities," was based in part on their belief that lack of funds prohibited an expanded fraternity system. Moreover, a system that allowed only half of the men to join fraternities would force the college "to relinquish the long established concept of equal op-

portunity for men; and not only relinquishing it but relinquishing it with the sure knowledge that a considerable number of men could not participate in an important and regular part of college life." The report also recommended "that fraternities be continued at Middlebury, and, if necessary, supported financially by the College through interim difficulties caused by loss of revenue from board and rent."[70]

After Dean Reynolds presented the report to the prudential committee on November 12, 1966, President Armstrong released it to the college community in December. The response from the fraternities and their supporters was one of anger and disgust. The chapter presidents argued that if the recommendation to end dining and living in fraternities were implemented, the fraternity system at Middlebury was dead. Another student wrote: "I believe that the Ad Hoc Committee's report should be exposed for what it is. It is an attempt by the college to secure control over fraternities by destroying them. This is no compromise report."[71] The IFC announced that it would urge the trustees to accept the 50 percent compromise plan rather than the ad hoc committee's recommendations. The Ad Hoc Alumni Interfraternity Committee also prepared a report, supporting the idea that fraternities and coeducational societies should coexist on campus with both offering eating and dining facilities.[72]

The board meetings in March and April 1967 were emotional affairs, with several members expressing deep positive convictions about fraternities and their place in the college. Armstrong replied that there was strong faculty support for the committee report.[73] But the board, perhaps because it did not want to alienate important segments of the community, rejected Armstrong's recommendations and voted: (1) to allow fraternities to continue to feed and house students as long as their facilities conformed to standards approved by the college and (2) to build social-dining units with which every student would be affiliated (although they could also join fraternities or sororities).[74]

Armstrong has said that the trustees' decision was "the great day of defeat for him" during an otherwise successful administration. He recalled that many trustees, while well-meaning, "were out of touch with the fraternities and the times in various ways."[75] In any case, the board had breathed new life into the system, and although the fraternities and the social dining units were to be coordinate, not competitive, students would choose between the two and their pref-

erences would determine the fate of the fraternities. Neither Armstrong nor the trustees would have guessed that, in the next three years, students would not only completely reject the societies but also, increasingly, turn away from fraternities.

The social-dining units (or SDUs, as they were called) never caught on with the students. President Armstrong called it a "failure of concept not a failure of facilities";[76] and Dean O'Brien argued that student tastes were changing so rapidly in the late 1960s that, by the time the units were completed in 1970, the concept of eating and socializing in groups of approximately one hundred had become outmoded. "There is considerable question," O'Brien wrote, "about whether facilities with the concept of 'sociality' can sustain themselves in the current student mood of privatism. A much heavier direction from administration and faculty fellows is necessary if the units are to be more than 'facilities' or 'BOG North.' "[77] Since most students were forming small groups based on intense friendships, they had little need for membership in large organizations such as dining units.[78]

Lack of student interest also caused the decline of the fraternities. Ninety percent of the sophomore men were in fraternities in 1960, and 85 percent were members in 1965. But by the fall of 1969, only [illegible] percent of that class had pledged, and by 1973, only 20 percent of Middlebury men (including freshmen) were "brothers."[79] The change in student values was, of course, a major factor here. Students had become less interested in "frivolous" activities and tended to reject organizations that encouraged or even condoned selectivity, inequality, and antiintellectualism.[80] The *Campus* reported in 1973 that a common student image of a fraternity man at Middlebury was a jock with a six-pack under one arm, a girl under the other, and with a football helmet on his head."[81] The change in Vermont's legal drinking age from twenty-one to eighteen and the liberalization of parietal hours (see chapter 14) ended the fraternity's near-monopoly on liquor and popular coeducational activities: students could now party and enjoy sexual intimacy in private rooms and engage in social drinking in town bars.[82]

The administration also played an important role. Its insistence that fraternities bring their facilities up to college standards placed heavy financial burdens on them. Expensive sprinkler systems were

required after fires destroyed the Theta Chi annex in January 1968 and the Delta Kappa Epsilon house a year later.[83] Delta Tau Omega closed in early 1969 because it could not make the necessary financial investment, Theta Chi folded in 1970 due to heavy indebtedness, Phi Kappa Tau went bankrupt and disbanded after losing membership rapidly in the early 1970s, and Delta Kappa Epsilon did not reorganize after their fire because the cost of rebuilding was prohibitive.[84]

The administration continued to fight attempts by the more viable fraternities to enlarge their dining or housing capacity. As early as 1961, President Stratton and the trustees were on record as opposing any plans to build better facilities for the weaker chapters (ATO and PKT) if they included dining facilities.[85] In 1967–1968, Armstrong persuaded the trustees (over strong objections from some members) not to approve new or enlarged fraternity capacity that would "appear at the time to interfere with the College's own dormitory space and dining facilities, either existing or committed for."[86] Fraternities, whose ability to house and feed students was increasingly unrealistic, were seen as standing in the way of rational planning for college-wide dining and housing. To save money and encourage dining in its own facilities, the college returned only about one-half of the dining fee as a rebate to students who chose to eat off campus. Fraternity members vehemently protested this policy.[87]

The administration carefully kept the trustees informed of the slow collapse of fraternity housing, behavior, and morale. Armstrong told the board in 1969 that the fraternities were displaying "seriously vulgar and distasteful conduct recently, and the housekeeping conditions are still a grievous problem." He went on to state that "the whole question . . . may have to be reopened if the fraternities continue to act irresponsibly."[88] O'Brien also showed increasing impatience, noting in 1970 that most of the houses "continue to slide into ungenteel shabbiness," that there was a "[g]eneral demoralization and discouragement of fraternity life," and that fraternities were merely a "dive away from home."[89] Changing student values and administrative opposition hurt them, but the fraternities often damaged their own cause. Some of the houses were increasingly unsightly and maintained in a messy condition. Drug and parietal rules were constantly violated.[90] When the Delta Kappa Epsilon house burned down in the middle of the night, four Green Mountain College coeds were forced to flee the building along with the brothers. "There

was no doubt as to what the girls were doing in the building at that hour of the morning," Dean Bruce Peterson commented.[91]

Fraternity members tried to convince their fellow students that the houses had changed over the years, and that they were no longer selective, elitist, or interested in the traditional hazing and secret hocus-pocus involved with pledging and initiation. "The pledge system has died," one officer claimed in 1970. "We're just a bunch of guys living together and trying to get out from under college rule."[92] A fraternity announcement in the *Campus* in 1971 made a similar argument:

> The trend is away from hazing, beer blasts, and isolation to community involvement, closer ties with the hill, and a variety of social activities. . . . The structure of a fraternity offers one the alternative of living within the general structure of the college yet being able to decide for himself exactly how he wants to live and what he wants to eat. It is only in the fraternity that self-governance exists totally.[93]

While most of this was undoubtedly true (and indeed, the 1971 rush successfully netted eighty-nine new members), students still remembered that rumors ran rampant after a Delta Kappa Epsilon pledge was hospitalized in 1968 for getting "detergent in his eyes."[94] The fraternities were never able to shed their old image completely.

By 1972–1973, Armstrong and O'Brien were determined to bring the weakened and unwieldy chapters under college control. Armstrong told the trustees in December 1972 that "the president of the IFC submitted his resignation stating that in the past few years the fraternities have lacked the leadership and maturity to act as independent entities and that the college must supply direction."[95] Armstrong agreed, emphasizing that the chapters remained independent and were not really accountable to the college although they continued to feed and house students. O'Brien supported Armstrong's position.

> Moreover there is the problem of fraternities not living up to standards set. Five years of vigorous efforts have led to the conclusion that without college control it is an unrealistic approach. Insofar as fraternities serve a positive social function, it would seem wrong to force them out of existence. Dean O'Brien was also of the opinion that fraternities at Middlebury have never been the deeply negative influence as on other campuses, but are as good or bad as the current house leadership. He sees the issue as being one of independence

cited by the President, and stated that if fraternities are going to continue, their housing and feeding facilities need to become the college's responsibility.[96]

The administration had concluded, Armstrong told the board in April 1973, that the time had come "for the college to end the ambiguous relationship with the fraternities and acquire all their properties."[97] O'Brien informed the board in May that the fraternities had "sought to broaden their financial base and attractiveness by admitting women."[98] They had also asked for a "fair deal" in the distribution of room and board income collected by the college under the comprehensive fee. "In effect," O'Brien said, "the former men's selective fraternities seem about to be turned into coeducational, non-selective independent residences and dining halls. The notion of fraternities as they existed in the past is not a reality at Middlebury today. They are not used in the most efficient way and are financially in need of help." O'Brien recommended "that the college take over the legal and financial responsibility of the current houses, that the facilities continue to function as College residences and that they function as non-selective, coeducational houses, vacancies to be filled on a self-selecting basis rather than rush." After much discussion, the board agreed that "the college should proceed to bring the fraternities under college control and this meant in effect the end of fraternities at Middlebury College." Armstrong was authorized "to negotiate and conclude arrangements for control and/or ownership of all fraternity properties."

Armstrong sent letters to fraternity presidents and alumni boards that summer indicating the trustees' decision and his desire "to negotiate control and/or ownership of fraternity properties and to seek new ways of proceeding in small group living and eating for men and women."[99] The fraternities were shocked and angry, and many alumni were equally upset. During homecoming weekend that fall, the Alumni Council met at Bread Loaf with a large number of students and alumni. There was a long discussion of the fraternity question, and "considerable objection expressed . . . regarding the manner in which the administration had proceeded."[100] The fraternities were especially miffed that they had not even been consulted—merely presented with a fait accompli.[101]

Even many students not affiliated with fraternities came to their

defense. Robin Cruise '73, an excellent student who had graduated several months earlier, expressed a widespread view in a letter to the *Campus*. "Somehow those occasional blowouts served a purpose," wrote, "and proved to be a lesser of two evils when pitted against the prospect of spending another Friday night lost in the labyrinth of Egbert Starr [Library]. There was a lot of what you might call local color emanating mysteriously from Sig Ep, DU, and the other Greek houses. A little local color at Middlebury is not to be sneezed upon."[102] Many students who were not particularly fond of the fraternities resented the college's seeming desire to "control" student life and, as Cruise intimated, to homogenize it in the process.[103]

In response to this flurry of criticism, the Community Council suggested that a fact-finding committee look into the matter. This was done, and to the administration's surprise and disappointment, the committee reported that the six fraternities still operating on campus were in decent financial shape and (in its opinion) should neither be taken over nor abolished. Given the findings of the com- and the strong opposition to closing the fraternities, O'Brien told the trustees, it was "prudent and practical not to press for full ownership of the fraternity properties."[104] He did persuade them to authorize him to work on making contractual agreements with the fraternities that would allow their properties to revert to the college should a fraternity cease to function. Still, after months of wrangling, the fraternities refused to sign any agreement.[105]

Armstrong was upset that the issue of "control" had been misinterpreted. The college, he insisted, had only wanted "long-term control" of the properties so that planning for housing and dining facilities could be more rationally accomplished; it had not sought proximate" control (i.e., curtailment of student independence).[106] Most students (particularly fraternity members), who were always a wary of the administration, could not see that distinction. Thus, the policies for which O'Brien and Armstrong had pressed for nearly a decade—ultimate college control of the fraternities—would have to wait another five years, when Olin Robison's administration finally accomplished their aim.

The change of presidents in 1975 did not alter the desire to bring fraternities under college control. Treasurer Carroll Rikert, Jr., in particular, desired a change in the relationship with the chapters,

because their independent existence was costing Middlebury valuable money and planning capability.[107] Dean Wonnacott predicted in 1977 that fraternities would probably "die out" within a few years and be replaced, perhaps, by college-controlled "independent alternatives to living on the hill."[108] The administration had possibly helped this prediction along by raising the room and board rebates to fraternity members at a much slower rate than the increase in the comprehensive fee everyone paid after 1974. The IFC charged that the college was trying "to abolish fraternities gradually through a conscious policy of 'economic strangulation.'" Without an "equitable rebate," they argued, the cost of joining a fraternity would be so high that they would be forced to close."

Arnold McKinney '69, resigning as assistant dean of students in 1977 after five years on the job, agreed that the fraternities could not exist "with the present support they are getting from the college. The way it is now, there's no way they are going to survive." He called on the college to make up its mind—either treat the fraternities as integral members of the community by granting them a fair rebate or abolish them. "I think the fraternity situation at Middlebury is potentially so divisive that if it's not solved," he warned, "it's going to be very bad for the whole college."[109]

In September 1977, President Robison asked Judge Albert W. Coffrin '41, a prominent trustee, to head the Special Committee on Campus Social, Residential and Dining Arrangements with Special Attention to the Fraternities.[110] The committee met twenty-three times during the next year, gathered information from many sources, and, in the spring of 1978, revealed that they favored (by a 9–3–[illegible] vote) the end of fraternity dining at the college.[111] Soon afterward five hundred to one thousand students demonstrated in front of Old Chapel in an attempt to change the administration's mind. During the fall of 1978 chapter members, alumni, and students generally continued to lobby (as they had in 1966 and 1974) for a decision more favorable to the fraternities.[112]

This time, however, they failed. Ironically, the profraternity forces appeared to be in a much stronger bargaining position than in 1974. The houses had shed much of their poor image and had even successfully invited women to eat and live there (although the national organization forbade full membership for women).[113] Delta Kappa Epsilon had been reorganized, and fraternity rushing had been suc-

[illegible]ful.[114] The campus had taken on an increasingly more "conserva-[illegible]" tone since 1969–1971, when the fraternities had reached their [illegible] in popularity, and general student support was strong.[115] On [illegible] other hand, the administration was convincing in its arguments [illegible] fraternity dining was costing Middlebury a lot of money. The [illegible] committee admitted that, on its merits, fraternity dining was [illegible] thing; it was only *after* discussing financial matters that they [illegible]mended discontinuing it.[116]

[illegible] trustees agreed with much of the report and voted in Janu-[illegible] 1979 to end fraternity dining as of June 30, 1980. In addition, [illegible] authorized the renovation of Proctor Hall to accommodate fra-[illegible] members who had formerly eaten off-campus and mandated [illegible] Robison negotiate with the houses to bring fraternity property [illegible] programs up to college standards.[117]

[illegible] Coffrin Committee report and trustee decision angered many [illegible] members. Several chapters constructed manifestly hostile [illegible] particularly vulgar snow sculptures in 1979 as part of Win-[illegible] Carnival activities. DU's contribution was entitled "shafted," [illegible] Chi Psi's entry was named "half moon." Townspeople report-[illegible] complained about the sculptures as "disgusting and obscene," [illegible] when the fraternities refused to remove them, the college bull-[illegible] them.[118]

[illegible] faculty, most of whom had grown increasingly hostile toward [illegible] fraternities, were enraged at the behavior of the members who [illegible] protesting the trustees' action. On March 5, 1979, the faculty [illegible] two resolutions. The first asked the dean of the college to in-[illegible] and identify those responsible for "intimidation of guests [illegible] college and also of members of the College staff while they at-[illegible] to carry out their duties; flagrant violation of College rules; [illegible] vandalism and thefts in the College library." The resolution [illegible] almost unanimously. The second resolution, which passed by [illegible] majority, asked the dean to initiate disciplinary action against [illegible] chapters that had "threatened the peace of the college" and, if [illegible] threats and disruption continued, to "begin procedures to close [illegible] down." (An attempt to strike this latter section was defeated.) [illegible] the faculty voted to delete a passage supporting the Cof-[illegible] Committee statement that "fraternities are an important part of [illegible]bury College life."[119]

[illegible] intensive negotiation, the dean of the college published

Document of Understanding: Fraternities in May 1980, which spelled out their new relationship with the college. The six major points were stated at the beginning:

> As of September 1, 1980, the following will be the new situation affecting fraternities and the new responsibilities assumed by the College with regard to fraternities:
>
> A. The College will have assumed the responsibility for providing dining services on campus for all students including those formerly dining at fraternities. Fraternity dining will have ceased by Trustee vote, and the financial rebate for those who formerly dined in fraternities will have been discontinued.
>
> B. Following the directive of the Trustees, the College will have achieved the renovation of the six fraternities so that the fraternity buildings meet standards of physical safety and repair comparable to those used by the College in maintaining College facilities.
>
> C. The College will have assumed the responsibility for the operation and maintenance of the physical plant of the six fraternities on a yeararound basis. The room rebates to fraternity members living in fraternities will have been discontinued.
>
> D. The College will have worked out with each fraternity corporation either an agreement whereby at the option of the fraternity corporation it will have purchased the fraternity property or some arrangement pursuant to the mandate of the Trustees whereby College funds used to renovate non-owned fraternity properties are protected.
>
> E. The College will have the responsibility for endeavoring to achieve full occupancy during the academic year of all fraternity buildings which it is operating and maintaining, and, by virtue of agreement with each fraternity, it will have the responsibility to determine who will live in and use the fraternity buildings during vacations including the summer months.
>
> F. The College will have reached an agreement with those fraternities whose buildings it has purchased, whereby each of those fraternities will be given assurance of use of their house as a fraternity headquarters for a minimum of one year.[120]

In short, the fraternities had retained the privilege to live and socialize together in their houses. They had lost the right of dining there, and the college, which spent over $1 million to purchase and renovate all the fraternity properties in 1979–1980, would henceforth maintain them.[121]

Although the fraternities were somewhat weakened by the new arrangement, they did not die out. They tried instead to adapt, aided among other things by a change in the legal drinking age back to

twenty-one and a more conservative national ethos among college students that favored fraternity membership. Faculty and administrators continued to express displeasure with fraternity attitudes and behavior. Steven Rockefeller, dean of college, who like many of his colleagues disliked all-male social groups, attempted to turn the fraternities into coeducational organizations in the spring of 1980. The chapters balked, and Rockefeller finally agreed that the administration would not disband the all-male fraternities over this issue without a "call for action" from the Student Forum, the Community Council, and a significant number of women.[122] The administration, having just renovated and expanded Proctor Dining Hall to accommodate all fraternity men, was also irritated when Zeta Psi tried to set up a meal plan again in 1980–1981. Although Zeta Psi had a good deal of student support, the membership finally capitulated and stopped eating at the house in the spring of 1981.[123]

Fraternities grew in popularity in the early 1980s. Whereas only 17 percent of the men were members in 1979, affiliation jumped to 40 percent four years later. Large alcohol-centered parties were the rage at colleges across the country, and Middlebury chapters could offer them in an atmosphere that students obviously enjoyed.[124] The new success of the fraternities persuaded the Delta Kappa Epsilon alumni to forge an agreement with the college in 1985 by which they would build a new nonresidential house on the land where their former house had burned in 1969. A new undergraduate DKE chapter soon emerged.[125] When Vermont passed a law in 1986 that would raise the drinking age in gradual steps to twenty-one, fraternities (which pretty much ignored the new law at first) began to take the place of town bars as centers of the alcohol-based social life of underaged Middlebury students. In 1985–1986, there were some 20 registered fraternity parties; by 1988–1989, there were 240 such events. As one student wrote: "With the increasing role fraternities must play on this campus, it would seem healthy to have an administration more concerned with the preservation and not the destruction of fraternity life."[126]

As their popularity soared, their behavioral problems did likewise. Alpha Sigma Psi (Slug) was suspended indefinitely in 1983 for drug abuse at its annual dinner dance at Bread Loaf. That same spring, Delta Upsilon was placed on probation for the fall semester after members destroyed property, behaved obnoxiously in the din-

ing hall, and overturned a student's car that was parked too close to the chapter parking lot.[127] Most of these incidents were drug- or alcohol-related, and late in the decade the college and the IFC sought to decrease legal liability by implementing new alcohol regulations and "dry rush" to encourage better behavior and less drunkenness.[128]

But incidents continued to occur. Sigma Phi Epsilon was placed on probation in 1987 for lighting a bonfire, and Delta Upsilon was suspended for a year in 1988 after they displayed a mutilated female mannequin with bloodied breasts during their annual toga party on the weekend of May 7 and 8.[129] Many members of the community were appalled. The Women's Union was incensed and asked the Community Council to disband the fraternity "on the grounds that its actions blatantly disregarded the rights, welfare, and safety of all members in the Middlebury community."[130] The brothers apologized to the community and claimed that the incident was not a "premeditated sexist action."[131] Although a number of people, including Dean of the College John Emerson, called for termination of the chapter, the Community Council conducted a hearing and recommended that the chapter be suspended for one year and placed on probation for the year after. Robison accepted the recommendation, acknowledging that the incident had been "traumatic" and that "there was an extraordinary intensity of emotion surrounding it." He also told the trustees that the "adult community at the College is basically fed up with the fraternities, although they still enjoy substantial support among the students."[132]

Indeed, the DU incident so upset the community that several professors and key administrators were moved in the fall of 1988 to question once again the existence of fraternities. For years the faculty had been dismayed by what they saw as the fraternities' institutionalized sexism, and the mutilated mannequin—which hung uncontested all weekend—demonstrated to many that misogyny and sexism had become the norm. Professor Victor Nuovo moved in September 1988 that the faculty recommend to the president and trustees that fraternities be abolished.[133] The faculty agreed to debate the issue at their November meeting; the Faculty Council, in the interim, determined that "the fraternity system as it is currently constituted does not serve a useful purpose in the life of the College and that it must be radically altered or abolished." The council informed the fraternities that the faculty would recommend abolition unless they agreed to cut all

ties with their nationals, refrain from using the Greek letters and the gender-specific name "fraternities," and present a plan that would lead to equal representation of women in their organizations.[134]

Although many students and alumni reacted to these proposals with predictable anger, arguing that fraternities were a crucial center of campus life and that drunkenness would be even worse without them,[135] the chapters did appear to be taking the faculty's concerns seriously. Delta Upsilon organized a number of programs related to gender during their year of suspension and generally tried to mend their ways (and their image). Indeed, their penitential acts won them a probation for 1989–1990, a return to their house in the fall of 1989 (although kegs were banned indefinitely), and a spring rush in 1990.[136] The faculty's obvious concern with single-sex male organizations may have led Kappa Delta Rho to allow two women to pledge in the spring of 1989. They were "brotherized," although their status as "brothers" apparently was not recognized by the national organization.[137] But several incidents in 1989–1990 involving Delta Kappa Epsilon showed a lack of progress—illegal pledge activities and the hospitalization of four students for alcohol poisoning after a fraternity party.[138]

The argument over fraternities was being played out in similar fashion at a number of eastern liberal arts colleges. Amherst and Colby formally abolished their Greek systems early in 1984; Franklin and Marshall withdrew recognition from fraternities and sororities in 1988; and Wesleyan, Bowdoin, St. Lawrence, Gettysburg, and Dickinson, among others, carefully examined their relationship with fraternities. In each case, strong faculty opposition was a major reason for the intense scrutiny and occasional demise of the Greek organizations.[139]

The faculty certainly played a key role at Middlebury. By a vote of 115–13 in March 1989, they recommended that the college in effect "abolish" fraternities by ending their national affiliations and turning them into coeducational residential units.[140] In response, and in preparation for the decennial reaccreditation process, President Robison formed the Task Force on Student Social and Residential Life "to assess the degree to which student social life and behavior may have changed in the ten years since the issuance of the 'Coffrin Committee' report and in the course of this study, to take a particularly close look at the role played by fraternities."[141]

The task force, which issued its report in November 1989, offered twenty-four recommendations, all of which had unanimous support except the one to abolish fraternities by May 30, 1990, which passed by a vote of 11–5. The majority voted for abolition because they found that the structure of fraternities permitted "unacceptable behavior" and promoted "sexist attitudes" and that the fraternities were hindering the college's attempt to develop a truly "multicultural appreciation, understanding, and compassion." The five members who opposed abolition favored reforming the chapters by turning them into coeducational organizations. The majority, however, stated that reform had not worked in the past and that making the fraternities coeducational would not be successful.

> Furthermore, we believe that there is something inherently wrong with mandating a coeducational system through the current fraternity structure. It places women in the position of negotiating for concessions from the fraternities, a posture which places the fraternities in control and which ensures that women will continue to be second-class citizens. The reform approach also puts the College in the untenable position of having to encourage women to join organizations called fraternities.[142]

Reaction was immediate. Fraternity members and supporters angrily denounced the task force recommendations at an all-campus meeting in Mead Chapel. Others, such as the editor of the *Campus*, issued a verbal sigh and urged students to start looking beyond the fraternities for social life.[143]

On January 13, 1990, however, the board of trustees surprised both sides. After two lengthy discussions of the task force recommendations, the trustees voted to accept all of them except the one abolishing fraternities, stating that they could continue to exist if they became truly coeducational and called themselves "houses."

> 1) The Board believes that any social organization which discriminates on the basis of gender or whose practices have the consequence of exclusion on the basis of gender are antithetical to the mission of the College and not appropriate as a mode for our society at large. Ties with any national organization whose rules or practices are at odds with this belief should not be maintained. . . .
>
> 2) The Board will designate as "houses" the existing spaces now occupied by fraternities. . . . The Board expects that the house system, in fact as well as in name, will be coeducational, and that full and equal membership will be open to all students at Middlebury College.

The trustees gave each fraternity until the end of 1990 either to persuade its national organization to change its rules regarding women members or to sever all ties. Each fraternity had to declare by March 31, 1990, whether or not it would comply with this policy and become a coeducational house. Any chapter that announced that it could not comply would cease to exist on May 31, 1990.[144]

Many faculty members were angry that the board had overturned the task force recommendation, and a number of them drafted a letter to the trustees expressing their "deep dismay" at the decision. The letter once again noted the problems of fraternities—their exclusivity, sexism, intolerance, and "unacceptable anti-social behavior." Their continued existence, the letter added, sent all the wrong messages to the kind of prospective students the college hoped to attract.

> By maintaining any semblance of fraternities at a time when comparable institutions have moved to abolish them, Middlebury will perpetuate a "party school" image, and make it more difficult to move into the front rank of liberal arts colleges. If we are perceived by prospective applicants as a school where seriousness is compromised by indulgence, we will not be able to create a community united in the pursuit of knowledge and moral enlightenment. By continuing to attract students who seek a party atmosphere, we will hinder the growth of diversity and individuality within the student body, and will further alienate those students whose idea of a social occasion does not match the prevailing norms set largely by the fraternities.[145]

At a special meeting in January 1990 the faculty passed a formal resolution in which they attempted to implement further and make more specific the trustees' general policy statement. First, they called for the establishment of a deadline "by which time the fraternities must be fully integrated by gender in both their membership and leadership." Second, they asked that the "houses" be filled by regular room draw rather than "the mechanism of self-selection."[146]

The spring of 1990 was a difficult time for the fraternities. Their members were in a quandary as to how to proceed: most of them were not opposed to accepting women, but they knew that their nationals were unlikely to recognize their chapters if they became coeducational houses. For some, a split with the national would be particularly unfortunate—Kappa Delta Rho was founded at Middlebury and Chi Psi had one of its oldest chapters at the college. Moreover,

the fraternities had been given a relatively short period in which to decide, and they resented the faculty's attempt to make compliance itself more rigorous and timely. While rumors circulated that several chapters would go underground rather than adopt the trustees' standards, by the summer of 1990 it appeared that most, if not all, might comply.[147]

The twenty-five years (1965–1990) during which Middlebury de-emphasized fraternities, brought them under college control, and moved to transform them into coeducational houses had been a long, painful, and divisive period. The fond memories that many alumni retained of their fraternity days, and the fears of undergraduates (members and nonmembers alike) that the college wished to "control" their lives more completely, convinced many that the administration was wrong in seeking to abolish fraternities or curtail their independence. Once the trustees refused to accept Armstrong's recommendations in 1966, they unknowingly ushered in a period of almost unrelieved hostility and bitterness between many students and the administration that soured campus life (at times considerably) for the next twenty-five years. Dean Reynolds had been prescient in 1965 when he argued: "It is to be hoped that in the relatively near future fraternities may be removed from their present limbo. They should either be more encouraged as a vital part of the institution or done away with. If merely tolerated, they will, in the long run, be sources of constant disruption in student life."[148]

CHAPTER 12

SOCIAL AND EXTRACURRICULAR LIFE

Page after page of societies and clubs and records of organizations, each with its offices, committees, and statement of activities. In the sketches of students, note the number of officers and assignments after each name. Of course, I know that many of these things are merely nominal and demand little time or interest. But others are not nominal and require a great deal of both interest and time. I can imagine a thoughtful stranger turning over the page of that [yearbook] and saying—How in the name of twenty-four hours which make up a day [do] those young men and women find time to study? Probably a truthful answer would be that a good many of them don't.

—President John Thomas, *Middlebury Campus*, September 24, 1919

In 1924 we, as freshman males, were a rather repressed submissive lot, kept in a state of subjection by sophomore paddles and volunteer upperclass gendarmes; never daring to appear in public uncrowned by our limp blue caps; . . . required to use the long-way-round paved walks, no matter how late to class we were, never daring to take the convenient, muddy shortcuts engraved across the campus greensward by upper classmen; restricted in wearing apparel to the least colorful garments—not knickers, no gay stockings, or sweaters; rounded up periodically like cattle for participation in P-rades, the Hat-scrap, and community prayers for rain under the windows of the women's dormitory. With more or less continuity all this hocus-pocus had survived for generations and we conveyed it to the next.

—W. Storrs Lee '28, *Middlebury College Magazine* 3 (summer 1989): 60

What the College seems to ignore, or fail to admit, was that there has been a serious "drug problem" with Middlebury students since

the late 1960s. During my tenure at Middlebury [1970–1974], marijuana, acid, speed, and "downs" were as common as the Foley's truck every Friday. Any student could partake of any of these things if he or she had the bucks to spend—and most did. This was everyday life. People dealt drugs, people bought drugs, and people did drugs—some professors included.

—David Y. Parker '74, letter to editor, *Middlebury College Magazine* 2 (summer 1988): 3

People come here and study hard, they play sports really hard, and they go downtown really hard, but that's about it. That's our big three and when it comes to extracurricular activities you have a small core of people that really get out there, and then most other people really don't give a damn.

—Ari Fleischer '82, *Middlebury Campus*, April 23, 1982

Although fraternities dominated social and extracurricular life from 1915 to the late 1960s, there were many other outlets for a student's time and energy: sororities, class and religious activities, a myriad of clubs and organizations, and traditional all-college events. (Athletics, political involvement in and beyond college affairs, and social service endeavors will be considered in later chapters.) Of course, changing student values and interests had a decisive influence here. Sororities flourished in the relatively conservative and carefree decades of the 1920s and 1950s but were nearly abolished by the more sober and idealistic students of the 1930s and 1940s and were finally terminated (along with many other traditional activities) in the late 1960s by a particularly iconoclastic generation. Some activities and organizations—Winter Carnival, the Mountain Club, the school paper, and others—proved their staying power by continuing to flourish, while religion moved increasingly to the periphery.

Sororities were important at Middlebury until the late 1960s even though they never approached the power or influence of the fraternities or, for that matter, of sororities at many other colleges and universities.[1] The Middlebury sororities never had "houses" as such, although they often rented rooms downtown for their use.[2] They sponsored social activities, encouraged scholastic excellence through intersorority competition, and engaged in a variety of social welfare projects on and off campus.[3] Sororities were popular in the 1920s, with some two-thirds of the women belonging to one of the six chapters, each of which was affiliated with a national by the end of 1925: Kappa Kappa Gamma (formerly Alpha Chi), Pi Beta Phi, Sigma Kappa, Delta Delta Delta, Alpha Xi Delta, and Phi Mu.[4]

Although there was some student opposition to sororities in the 1920s, the majority apparently supported their continuation. This changed radically in the early 1930s; a student poll in 1932 revealed that students favored the abolition of sororities by a vote of 341–172. (The continuation of fraternities, on the other hand, was supported by a vote of 420–98.)[5] A resolution presented by the pledges of Kappa Kappa Gamma that spring revealed some of the reasons: first, "the vast majority of Middlebury women" were said to face financial problems that would prevent them from belonging were it not for a social stigma attached to nonmembership; second, in a small college like Middlebury there were other ways for a woman to gain experience in service and leadership through campus activities. The protestors were unhappy that sororities had the power to influence campus elections—and not always in the most helpful manner. They also disliked the antidemocratic character of the system, which mandated that women be chosen from an already select group and that "social privileges" be assigned to some but not to others. Shortly afterward a mass meeting of sorority women decided to defer rushing of freshmen for one year.[6]

The antisorority women demanded a vote in 1932–1933 on the question of the abolition of sororities. The vote was 72–61 for abolition, but it fell short of the required two-thirds majority.[7] Many sorority women were disappointed that their campaign to close the chapters had failed, and sixty-one freshmen women (about three-quarters of that class) successfully petitioned for indefinite postponement of sorority rushing.[8] Meanwhile, alumnae and national sorority leaders apparently brought pressure to retain the chapters.[9] President Moody told the trustees in June 1933 that "the present discussion regarding abolition of sororities at Middlebury College has reached a point where it is becoming detrimental to the best interests of the College," and the trustees authorized him to appoint a committee to investigate.

The committee, chaired by biology professor Raymond Barney, voted almost unanimously to abolish sororities.[10] Moody, apparently

under pressure from some trustees, disregarded the report and announced in December that the sororities would once again resume their normal operation and conduct a rush for the first time in over two years. The sorority women, however, had other ideas. In January 1934 they presented Moody with a petition signed by 158 women (out of 294 enrolled) asking the college to abolish sororities.[11] The trustees were thereby forced to decide the issue. The prudential committee read the report of the investigating committee and reported back a motion on January 26 to abolish sororities; the full board, however, declined to "prohibit the existence of sororities at Middlebury College."[12] The sorority system therefore continued, but some felt that the chapters never entirely regained the strength they had attained before the 1932–1934 "revolt."[13]

Sororities came under attack again after World War II as elitist, discriminatory, and frivolous.[14] Once again, however, they survived and, like many other traditional activities, actually thrived in the 1950s.[15] But in the 1960s a new campus environment—greater student and college emphasis on academic excellence and growing student alienation from traditional group activities—proved fatal. Stratton informed the board as early as 1960 that a survey of upperclasswomen revealed that 25 percent of them thought sororities were not worthwhile. (Upperclassmen were nearly unanimous in their belief that fraternities were worthwhile.)[16]

The *Campus* argued in 1961 that the Middlebury sororities lacked any "vital function" that could not be performed at least as well by other groups. They encouraged "grade grubbing" and memorization rather than learning; they wasted valuable time holding "lengthy discussions on the relative merits of potential members and the planning of parties to impress and entertain them"; and they preserved "personality clans" instead of molding "individualistic young women." In short, the editorial concluded, many Middlebury women who had already "outgrown the Girl Scouts, feel they have passed the sophomoric stage of development represented by sororities." Those who still belonged should "take a serious look at the purpose of their organizations to determine whether they are clinging to a tradition antiquated by modern demands and actualities."[17] A member complained in 1962 that sororities were frivolous. "If we work according to the idea," she wrote, "that we spend our time and energy where our greatest interest lies, the value of being a sorority raised big doubts. We are not in college to make name tags or pour tea."[18]

Despite such criticism and declining student interest, the sororities might still have hung onto a precarious existence except for a controversy over discrimination that hastened and ensured their dissolution.[19] In the early 1960s the Middlebury chapters tried to avoid the issue of pledging blacks. One Sigma Kappa officer wrote in 1963: "Although no Sigma Kappa chapter has ever pledged a Negro there is no legal reason why we could not. We don't feel that the present is the time to force the issue as feeling is still high among many of our national members."[20] The five Middlebury sororities did vote in 1966 to send resolutions to their nationals affirming their commitment to nondiscriminatory membership policies, and one group—Alpha Xi—left the national over the issue.[21]

Nevertheless, a black woman pledging Sigma Kappa charged in the spring of 1968 that the sorority was discriminating against her. The members told the administration that they were working on changing the position of their national on this issue. Dean O'Brien responded that that was fine but that if they did not succeed, the college would have to take steps to protect the rights of all students.[22] After attempting without success that summer to modify the policies of their nationals, the Middlebury chapters were dealt a death blow when the student senate voted in 1969 not to allow on campus sororities that discriminated against, blackballed, or had ritual prayers that offended minorities.[23] The board's prudential committee approved the student senate resolution on February 8, 1969.[24] Although they were given two years to comply with these regulations, the sororities decided they could not meet that deadline and disbanded that spring.[25]

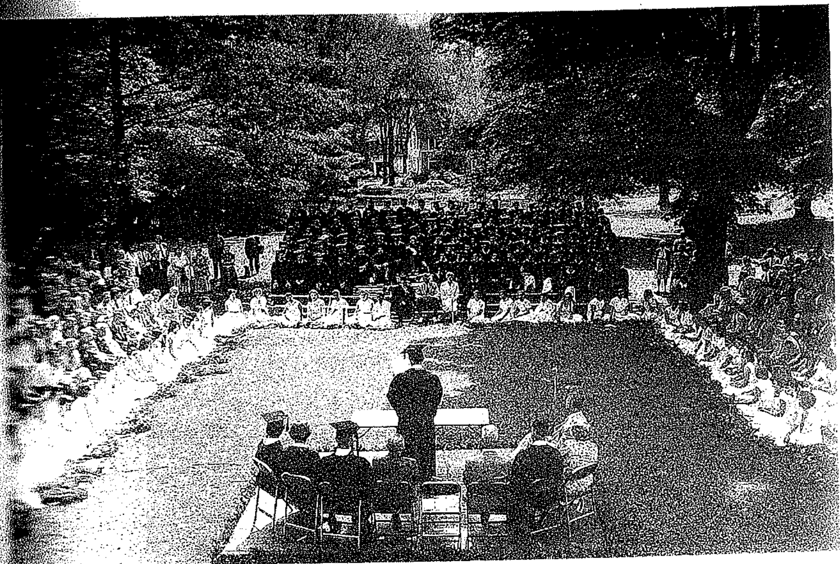
Students engaged in a wide variety of extracurricular activities in the half-century after 1915. Indeed, President Thomas argued as early as 1919 that it was the "large number of subsidiary interests" that was taking up "so large a proportion of the student's time." One only had to look at the *Kaleidoscope* (the college yearbook) to see the trend, he wrote:

> Page after page of societies and clubs and records of organizations, each with its officers, committees, and statement of activities. In the sketches of students note the number of offices and assignments after each name. Of course, I know that many of these things are merely nominal and demand little time or interest. But others are not nominal and require a great deal of both interest and time. I can imagine

In 1931 the Mountain Club held a sugar-on-snow party at Bread Loaf. Students tapped the maples and boiled the sap for syrup, providing a sweet break after a long winter.

> a thoughtful stranger turning over the page of that [yearbook] and saying—How in the name of twenty-four hours which make up a day [do] those young men and women find time to study? Probably a truthful answer would be that a good many of them don't.[26]

Student organizations abounded: musical groups such as Black Panthers, A Tempo, orchestra, band, college choir, and men's and women's glee clubs; academic-interest clubs like Le Cercle Francais, Der Deutsche Verein, English Club, El Club Espanol, Economics Club, and others; student publications, including the *Campus*, the *Kaleidoscope*, the *Saxonian* (literary magazine), and the handbook; honor societies such as Mortar Board, Waubanakee, Blue Key, and Phi Beta Kappa; and a myriad of others.[27] Perhaps the most popular and influential groups were the Mountain Club, founded in 1931, which arranged hikes and outings and organized the annual Winter Carnival; the Dramatics Club, which usually had the most members during the 1920s and 1930s; the Liberal Club and Women's Forum, both of which fostered debate and concern over such interwar issues as peace and the rise of fascism; the student-managed college radio station WRMC(S), which began operating out of a



Addresses by graduating seniors were a part of commencement celebrations from the time of Middlebury's first commencement in 1802. In 1955 Class Day provided the setting for seniors to address an audience of classmates and juniors on the lawn below Old Chapel.

converted chicken coop in 1949 and soon became an important part of campus life; and the men's and women's debating teams, which were particularly active between the wars.[28] There were thirty-seven student groups on campus in 1925 and sixty-seven by 1932—an average of one for every nine students, one of the highest ratios of any New England college.[29]

Although there were occasional echoes of Thomas's fear that some students spent too much time in too many activities,[30] the Moody administration favored extracurricular involvement and even proposed in 1923 that participation in such activities be a graduation requirement.[31] The new rule was supposed to help students be more socially adept and better prepared for a life of service after graduation. It was generally agreed that a strong dose of extracurricular activities would help "make impossible the 'grind,' the nervous breakdown," and ensure each student a "well-rounded college life."[32]

Until the 1960s class activities and interclass rivalries also played an important role. Several of the principal annual occasions were at least in part class activities, including Senior Week (during com-

mencement) and Junior Week (later Junior Weekend), which featured numerous social and athletic events each spring.[33] There was the memorable "tapping" of juniors, in chapel, for membership in the college's most prestigious honor societies: Mortar Board (formerly Banshees) for junior women, Waubanakee for junior men, and Blue Key, which tapped five graduating seniors, fifteen juniors, and five sophomores each year.[34]

To ensure that freshmen males understood their place at the bottom of the student hierarchy, they were immediately "admitted" into an intensive course in Middlebury traditions by the upperclassmen, highlighted by the "Midd-Nite" entertainments early in the fall and the "P-rade" at the Norwich or University of Vermont football game, during which the freshmen dressed up as co-eds, hula-hula maids, fairies, and the like.[35] They were forced to endure a variety of traditional undergraduate indignities, such as wearing beanies, walking only on sidewalks, dressing in strange costumes, being pelted with eggs and water balloons, being left at night miles from the college without transportation and directions, and withstanding physical abuse—ducking, hitting, tripping, and, in particular, paddling. Although the administration strongly disapproved of the more dangerous varieties of this "hazing,"[36] the *Campus* in 1929 supported paddling "unruly youngsters" who had not learned the college traditions:

> The results obtained were quite satisfactory. Paddling, when properly administered, it will be granted, does much more good than harm. It is the only way that things can be instilled in some people's minds. In such cases, physical impulses are necessary to bring about moral effects. We have come to school, not merely to get book learning, but also to learn how to get along with our fellowmen. Some people have this quality in their personalities and others must have it taught to them.[37]

College opposition made paddling and other forms of harsh physical hazing less prevalent after World War I, but more innocuous forms of hazing were allowed, as W. Storrs Lee has recently recalled.

> In 1924 we, as freshman males, were a rather repressed submissive lot, kept in a state of subjection by sophomore paddles and volunteer upperclass gendarmes; never daring to appear in public uncrowned by our limp blue caps; . . . required to use the long-way-around paved walks, no matter how late to class we were, never daring to take the convenient, muddy shortcuts engraved across the campus greensward by upper classmen; restricted in wearing apparel to the least colorful garments—not knickers, no gay stockings, or sweaters; rounded up periodically like cattle for participation in P-rades, the Hat-scrap, and community prayers for rain under the windows of the women's dormitory. With more or less continuity all this hocus-pocus had survived for generations and we conveyed it to the next.[38]

In the 1920s only a freshman victory in the annual sophomore–freshman game would put an end once and for all to that year's hazing. Because of the stakes involved, everybody took the game seriously. Earl Hindes '28 has recalled that as freshmen in a French class in Old Chapel, he and Red Hill '28 saw through the open window a group of sophomores attempting to kidnap the star freshman lineman, Gordon Wiley '28. Hindes, Hill, Bill Donald '28, and others dashed out of the room, with class still in session, and thwarted the kidnapping. They also won the game.[39]

Some hazing was quite open, and even the faculty did not disapprove. Professor Myron Sanford was quite charmed in 1923 by the freshman who passed him on the way to chapel one day "turning handsprings up the slope, and saying with each handspring, "I'm a kangaroo, I'm a kangaroo." Indeed, Sanford felt that hazing "of an innocent nature" could be valuable in "helping a chesty high school graduate come down to his proper status."[40]

While freshmen and sophomore men continued their interclass rivalries such as cane-rushes and Hat-scraps in the 1920s and the rope-pull during Junior Week, the dominance of fraternities significantly weakened class ties and traditions among the men.[41] The Blue Key society was entrusted in 1931 with the "education" of the freshmen, and except in the immediate postwar years they attacked their duty with relish.[42] The veterans who returned to campus after 1945 would have none of the sophomoric paddles and other hazing.[43]

Students rebelled against the Blue Key hazing in the 1960s, and most of these traditions began falling by the wayside. As one student wrote: "The Freshmen are not taught humility that comes in the presence of great ideas and wise teachers; rather they learn the stubborn resistance characteristic of [the] oppressed."[44] The administration saw the need for a different kind of influence by upperclassmen, and Dean Reynolds initiated a Junior Fellows Program in 1958, which placed twenty-six outstanding upperclassmen in the freshman halls

to help orient the newcomers to college life. It was far more constructive than hazing. The results included a significant reduction in academic failures among freshmen.[45]

Although both men and women engaged in hazing, the women apparently developed a set of more elaborate and meaningful class traditions. Unlike the men, the women's college was not dominated by Greek organizations, and class distinctions and traditions, as in women's colleges throughout the East, were important.[46] Freshmen women were hazed by the sophomores and forced to follow a variety of rules, as Dorothy Tillapaugh Headley '25 wrote in her freshman year:

> Then yesterday afternoon, the sophs at last gave us our rules. We had to march, the length of a corridor . . . between two rows of jeering sophs, into a darkened room where we proceeded to fall all over ourselves, of course we did it gracefully. Then they called roll, gave us some supposedly good advice, handed us our rules, etc., made a few sarcastic remarks & sent us home. They wouldn't let you laugh on the outside (of you) but I never laughed so hard in my toes in all my life. Some of the girls, however, were properly impressed, & scared. Here are the rules—about the same as last year:—
>
> 1. Learn these rules & be able to recite them at any time.
> 2. Wear, at all times, the regulation green tam (Suns. excepted).
> 3. Always carry powder & a powder puff for the use of the wise sophomores.
> 4. As a proof of your infancy, wear your napkin tied around your neck at table. (I wish you could see us at table with our bibs & tams!!!)
> 5. For your own welfare, innocent ones, obtain permissions from some sophomore to attend movies.
> 6. Your inferior position demands that you assist the all-intelligent Sophomores by carr[y]ing books, bundles, etc. with which they may be laden.
> 7. Never use outside steps of Old Chapel, nor linger on steps of New Chapel.
> 8. Never cut Campus. This privilege is reserved for your worthy superiors.
> 9. Never form a group of more than two Freshman girls, on Campus. Keep moving!
> 10. Never use the benches on Campus.
> 11. Never pass thro a door in front of an upper classman.
> 12. Possessing a limited amount of intelligence, never ask a favor of any Sophomore.[47]

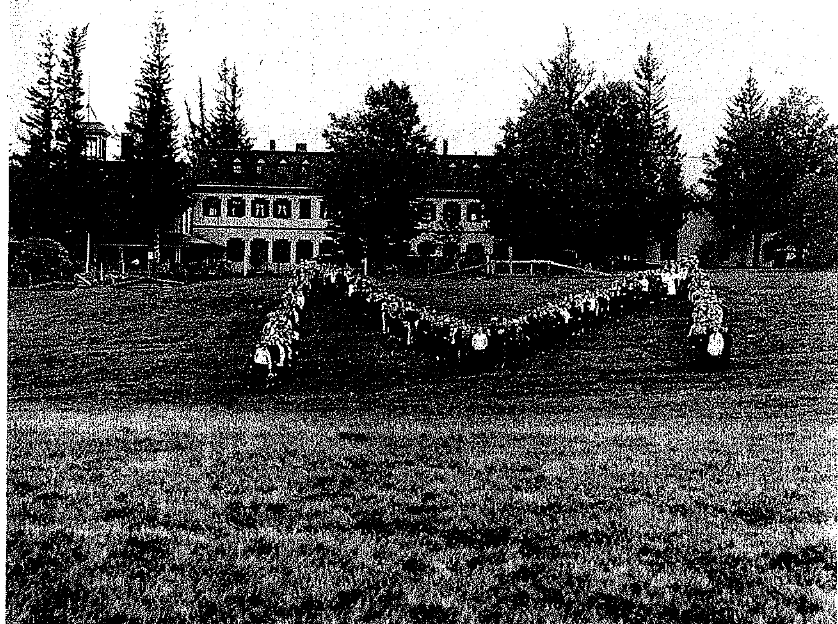
The cane ceremony behind Forest Hall saw the passing of replicas of Gamaliel Painter's cane from the senior women to the women of the junior class, followed by a procession of the seniors under an arch of canes.

Junior and senior women performed certain class rituals during the final months of each year. The senior women would attempt to sneak away for a class breakfast at dawn, unmolested by the junior women, who would try to stop them or surprise them at their secret location.[48] During Junior Week, the juniors would gather on the steps of the senior women's dormitory and serenade them. At a separate ceremony (beginning in 1937) each senior woman would present her Gamaliel Painter cane to a junior, and on Class Day, the juniors would escort the seniors to a location on campus where a class tree would be planted.[49] The seniors also went to Bread Loaf to spend a last day and night alone as a class. "There, before a bonfire, each woman will confess to her sisters all the sins which she has committed during the past four years." Upon their return, the Old Chapel bell was tolled "to indicate their arrival and their reunion with the rest of the college."[50]

Although most class events, aside from dances and parties, were sex-segregated, there were a few class activities for men and women together. Although there was no formal orientation program in the 1920s to introduce freshmen to the college and to one another, there was occasionally a freshman weekend outing at Bread Loaf in the fall. Dorothy Tillapaugh Headley '25 enthusiastically wrote home about such an event in 1921. After walking up the mountain from East Middlebury on Saturday, the freshmen settled in their quarters, danced, ate some good meals, toasted marshmallows, hiked, posed (in the shape of an *M*) for an official class picture, and got to know one another. "There had been little previous opportunity for the 'men' and 'women' (as now we all, being so very grown-up, referred to each other) to get acquainted. Many freshman classes were segregated; I think I had only one class that first year that wasn't entirely female. Thus it was a big event to have all our classmates together."[51] Freshmen outings at Bread Loaf during Orientation were a big hit and served similar purposes in the 1970s and 1980s.

Arguably, the highlight of the social season was the Mountain Club's annual Winter Carnival, a popular college weekend event since it was first presented in its modern format in 1934. As early as February 1920 (and intermittently thereafter until 1934), Middlebury held a holiday or "carnival" of sports events and social activities modeled on the Dartmouth Winter Carnival. The site was either Chipman Hill and Noble's Grove in the village or Chapel Hill and Pearsons' Hill on campus.[52] In the early days there were obstacle races, snowshoe races along Storrs Avenue, cross-country and alpine ski races around campus, ski jumping, and other games. By the 1930s men's and women's teams began to compete against guests from other colleges in a variety of skiing events (moved to Bread Loaf in the 1940s). The occasion also featured hockey and basketball games, skating shows and snow sculpture competitions, a king and queen of the carnival coronation, and two big dances—a formal Carnival Ball and an informal Klondike Rush.[53]

Nearly all campus clubs and organizations had one thing in common—they held dances. In 1917 the faculty limited general college dances to one a month, and allowed each fraternity and sorority only one dance and two other entertainments during the entire year.[54] This changed dramatically in the interwar years, which featured both in-



Forming an M *for a class picture faded from the program, but outings to Bread Loaf remained a feature of the first fall at Middlebury from the 1920s on.*

formal and formal dances by the score. Indeed, every weekly activity calendar was filled with opportunities for dancing. The most common affair was the small informal Saturday dance (twenty-five to thirty-five couples) at a fraternity, but there were also large dances held by the Saxonian Board, the French Club, the Hepburn Commons waiters, the "M" Club, each of the classes (the Frosh Frolic, the Sophomore Hop, the Junior Prom, the Senior Ball), and other groups. There were even informal "Depression" dances in the 1930s, with many participants wearing patched clothing "which lent the desired effect of poverty to the atmosphere."[55]

The dances and other annual events, such as the French Club's Halloween Party and the Spanish Carnival, all had to be chaperoned by faculty members or trustees, and there were stringent rules on curfews, conduct, and even lighting: "What a meeting the student life committee must have had when they passed that resolution about the minimum number of lamps and required candle power to be used at college informal dances. The idea—measuring human relations

in watts and ohms!"[56] But lighting *was* critical. The great flood of 1927 temporarily cut off all electricity to the campus, and Dean Ross informed Fred Whittemore '28 that the dance that evening (which Fred had organized) would have to be canceled. Not easily deterred, Fred ventured down to Prexy Moody's house hoping for a different verdict. Moody was not home, but Mrs. Moody told him to go ahead with the dance and assured him that she and Prexy would be there to chaperone along with the Burrages and Dean Hazeltine. Fred remembered the evening as a grand success:

> A full moon guided our steps to the gym, the inside of which was ablaze with a multitude of candles. Mysteriously, by intermission time all the candles seem to have been extinguished, save for those in the chaperones' corner. Miss Ross arrived just in time to observe Prexy and Dean Hazeltine blowing out the last of the candles. The dance resumed and was one of the best and longest of our four years.[57]

The formal dances were usually highlighted by a live band, often the college's own Black Panthers, and the most important dances (Carnival Ball, Junior Prom, Senior Ball) often featured nationally known groups such as the Glenn Miller or Artie Shaw bands.[58] Yet one World War II veteran remembers the college dances as "sterile" affairs; after taking their dates home at a required (and usually early) hour, the men would return to their dorms or fraternities for long nights of "bull sessions" and carousing, while the women engaged in their own forms of sex-segregated conversation and entertainment.[59]

Student activities and interests changed markedly after 1965. Clubs and other organized activities became less popular as students looked for other outlets to "do their own thing." Class traditions and freshman hazing slowly disappeared and were dropped completely around 1970, as students simply ignored traditional activities.[60] Even interest in the Winter Carnival's nonathletic events dwindled.[61] The increased use of automobiles, the popularity of marijuana and other drugs, and the end of parietal hours (see chapter 14) all reinforced the students' rejection of big institutional activities in favor of intense relationships with small groups.[62] By 1976 the *Campus* noted that student interest in organized pursuits was at a low ebb and that hardly "any club or group on campus can boast a large or particularly loyal membership."[63]

Things improved somewhat in the 1980s. A popular and innovative May Days Festival, inaugurated in 1980, included the en-

Replacing a variety of more disorderly spring parties, Erica Wonnacott organized Middlebury's first "May Days" celebration in 1980.

tire community in its variety of events, and organizations such as WRMC, which was upgraded in 1981 from a ten-watt local station to a hundred-watt stereo station serving much of the Champlain Valley, continued to attract enthusiastic members. The college attempted to bolster student activities in 1987 by hiring six recent graduates as residence hall assistants, part of whose job would be to encourage more cocurricular programming. Middlebury, by circumstances and philosophy, was strongly committed to being a residential school, and only about fifty or sixty students lived off campus each year. "We're a residential college," Dean Erica Wonnacott stated in 1987, "and it's important that students live in and participate in the community here." The activities fee was increased from $80 to $160 in 1989 so that more student programming could be funded.[64] But the college in 1990 still looked less "organized" than it had in the 1950s. As Ari Fleischer '82 stated: "People come here and study hard, they play sports really hard, and they go downtown really hard, but that's about it. That's our big three and when it comes to extracurricular

activities you have a small core of people that really get out there, and then most other people really don't give a damn."[65]

Middlebury students also enjoyed going to movies and an increasing number of college-sponsored concerts and lectures. Some students liked movies even before World War I, despite warnings that most movies, as the *Campus* argued in 1917, were "of no ultimate moral value, and by their very cheapness and misrepresentation of real life render callow the sensibilities and warp the moral perspective."[66] Yet a year later, as moral a group as the college YMCA was sponsoring motion pictures in McCullough Gym every Wednesday and Saturday evening, and they went so far as to invite "the girls to enjoy the pictures with them," thereby sacrificing their usual smoking and singing.[67] Students also went downtown regularly to see movies and savor an ice cream cone at Calvi's.

Given Middlebury's isolation, most cultural and intellectual programs had to be imported. Before World War I, little had been done in this regard except to secure occasional visiting ministers who would speak at Sunday vespers. But the trustees voted to spend $2,000 for lectures and entertainment in the 1919–1920 academic year. The students were understandably elated:

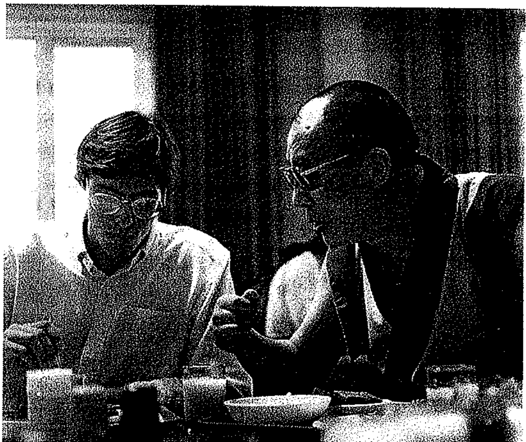
> . . . the fact that Middlebury is three hundred miles "from Broadway" though fortunate in some respects, has certain disadvantages which are being removed with difficulty by the Board of Trustees. . . . The committee [on student life] has secured expert aid in making selections, especially the musical, and it is highly probable that a number of concerts and lectures worthy to be heard and remembered will be arranged.[68]

The students were not disappointed. The entertainment series in 1921 included Williams Jennings Bryan, the Boston Symphony Orchestra, Pablo Casals, and the New York Chamber Music Society.[69] For Don Banks '24, who came from a small town in New York, Bryan's appearance was one of the highlights of his life. After Bryan mesmerized the overflow crowd in Mead Chapel with nearly an hour of his glorious vocal magic, he invited people to come forward and shake his hand. Banks, whose father idolized the famous orator, stood in line with hundreds of others and slowly made his way to greet him. When it was finally his turn to shake the great man's hand, he froze, and Bryan had to encourage him forward. Banks never forgot the incident, although he cannot remember at all what Bryan said that day![70] During the next seventy years, the college helped arrange an ever-increasing and varied program of speakers, concerts, artists, and other cultural and intellectual programs for the enjoyment of students, college staff, and townsfolk; and many young people, particularly those from rural or provincial backgrounds, such as Don Banks, received quite an education outside the classroom in the process.

During the Armstrong and Robison years, the quality and quantity of such occasions expanded at a high rate.[71] The list of events in "This Week at Middlebury" usually took up one page in 1975; ten years later it had expanded to both sides of two or even three pages. Indeed, staff and faculty in the 1980s were sometimes nearly overwhelmed at the prospect of supporting such an array of concerts, movies, lectures, and club and organization activities.[72] Several special events stood out, including two successful appearances by the humorist Garrison Keillor, who broadcast his popular *Prairie Home Companion* radio show on May 7, 1983, and May 28, 1988, from Mead Chapel.[73]

Even more memorable was the visit of the Dalai Lama in the fall of 1984 as part of the Symposium on the Christ and the Bodhisattva organized by Dean Steven Rockefeller and Professor Donald Lopez. By all accounts the symposium and the Dalai Lama's visit were an unprecedented occasion. Over thirteen thousand seats were filled during the various symposium events as visitors came from around the world to witness the Dalai Lama interact with students, faculty, children, his devoted followers, and (somewhat less auspiciously) Bill Buckley, who interviewed him in Mead Chapel as part of the conservative journalist's *Firing Line* television show. Students called the week "inspirational," "thrilling," and "eye-opening." "No visitor in recent years has left such a deep impression on Middlebury as the Dalai Lama," said the *Campus*, "and no one has ever captured the entire student body so completely."[74]

Six years later, in 1990, he returned to take part in another conference organized by Steven Rockefeller—"Spirit and Nature: Religion, Ethics, and Environmental Crisis." He was joined this time by five religious scholars, and the result was another remarkable experi-



During his second visit to Middlebury, the Dalai Lama ate lunch with students in Proctor Hall. William Arron Jenkins '94 shared lunch and conversation with him in 1990.

ence.[75] The two visits by the Dalai Lama symbolized the international flavor and outlook that Robison had helped bring to the college's programs year-round.

As in much of American society, "drinking" was almost always part of life beyond the classroom at Middlebury, particularly since 1865. Even during Prohibition, students found a way to consume alcohol. Zeke Bliss '28 recently recalled that during his undergraduate days, when he was in charge of closing Starr Library on weekend evenings, he often had to deal with some of the boys who "were able to secure a bottle or two" and had chosen the library for their "evening revelry."[76] Of course, styles change, and the large, open, alcohol-centered parties of the 1960s and after were not a common occurrence in earlier decades, when drinking was more of a private individual or group activity, often restricted to men. And although the legal drinking age in Vermont was twenty-one from the end of Prohibition until 1971, underage students found a way to drink, either in the fraternities or (particularly in the 1950s and 1960s) by crossing the border into New York, where the legal age was eighteen. The return rides, unfortunately, were occasionally fatal, and memorial services for students who died during those trips occurred much too often.[77]

After Vermont lowered the legal age to eighteen, students who wanted to drink could frequent bars downtown, attend the open fraternity parties, or just create their own private party in the dorms.

Indeed, campus drinking apparently increased substantially in the 1970s and after, due both to the lower drinking age and to changes in national drinking norms, including a greater consumption of beer and other alcoholic beverages by women. In addition, as the college became more demanding academically and many students felt under greater pressure to do well in courses, larger numbers of them may have begun to look forward to the weekend as a time to drink (heavily in some cases) to reduce anxieties.

While there were many cases of students in the 1950s and 1960s who abused alcohol, it was in the late 1970s that premeditated drunkenness among a significant percentage of the student body apparently took hold at Middlebury.[78] The college (along with most other schools that had dismantled their in-loco-parentis apparatus in the 1960s) did relatively little to regulate drinking until Vermont, under pressure from federal authorities, raised the legal drinking age back to twenty-one in 1986 (with a grandfather clause that delayed the full impact of the law until 1988–1989).[79]

In 1985, to prepare for this coming change, the college organized the "21" Committee, whose recommendations for innovative alternative programming, new social spaces, and increased alcohol education programs formed the basis for Middlebury's alcohol policy during the remainder of the decade.[80] Under the leadership of Jim Terhune '86, the college spent $75,000 in January 1988 to transform the old Zeppelin room in the Cook social–dining unit into The Undergraduate, a chic, nonalcoholic pub modeled on The Rosebud, a popular downtown bar that had recently closed. The Gamut Room, a nonalcoholic coffeehouse in Gifford South, was opened in the fall of 1989. It was hoped that the new student center, when completed, would provide space for nonalcoholic programming.[81]

The college also began tightening its drinking regulations. By 1987–1988, kegs were prohibited in dormitories, all students were "carded" before they could enter events (including fraternity parties) at which alcoholic beverages were available, and such events were more carefully monitored and structured.[82] Underage students were still able to obtain alcholic beverages for consumption in their rooms by using false identification or by enlisting the help of older students, but there apparently was a decrease in public drinking and drunkenness and a concomitant rise in private drinking and dorm damage in the residence halls. The administration informed the trustees that

at least one hundred kegs of beer had been consumed during one spring weekend in 1988 and that "we have strong alcohol programs in operation on campus, but there is still a serious problem."[83]

Illegal drugs were also an important part of the social scene after about 1965.[84] Students experimented with marijuana, LSD, "speed," and a variety of other substances, as a 1974 graduate recently recalled:

> What the College seems to ignore, or fail to admit, was that there has been a serious "drug problem" with Middlebury students since the late 1960s. During my tenure at Middlebury, marijuana, acid, speed, and "downs" were as common as the Foley's Truck every Friday. Any student could partake of any of these things if he or she had the bucks to spend—and most did. This was everyday life. People dealt drugs, people bought drugs, and people did drugs—some professors included.[85]

Cocaine did not come into much use at Middlebury until the late 1970s. By 1980, however, a *Campus* poll revealed that 55 percent of the students smoked marijuana (most of them only rarely) and that 18 percent had tried cocaine and other drugs.[86] Cocaine became more popular on campuses all over the country during the 1980s, and on February 20, 1986, it became clear to the rest of the world that Middlebury College was no different. On that day, police arrested John Zaccaro '86, son of 1984 Democratic vice-presidential candidate Geraldine Ferraro, on charges of selling one-quarter of a gram of cocaine to undercover police. Authorities later searched his apartment and car and discovered eight grams of cocaine, drug paraphernalia, and notes allegedly documenting his drug dealing.[87]

The case received extensive national attention for the next two years, and the college was portrayed as a school that had not done much to halt drug dealings and abuse.[88] Indeed, after Zaccaro's trial and conviction in April 1988, an angry Mrs. Ferraro blamed Middlebury for her son's actions, denouncing it as "a place where drugs were available to so many students and continue to be so."[89] Some students were upset that the college was being portrayed in so bad a light. "This is no different than any other campus," Dwight Garner '88 told the *Rutland Herald*. "We don't deserve this. We hate to think people are thinking of us as a campus of drug addicts. People are being implicated who didn't even know John Zaccaro."[90]

As the community was reeling from the Zaccaro case, another former student, Nick Lieder, who had left the college in 1985 with a severe cocaine addiction and $6,000 in drug-related debts, returned during the 1987 winter term to testify before the trustees' Drug Task Force, which had been set up after Zaccaro's arrest. He made a videotape to let the community know his story, and it made a strong impression on students and faculty alike. Reporting in May 1987, the task force made several recommendations that were accepted, including the hiring of a person who would be specifically responsible for coordinating drug counseling and education.[91]

Religious activities, a central aspect of college life—curricular and extracurricular—during the nineteenth century, became less important and more peripheral after 1915. The students—particularly the men—had difficulty maintaining active religious organizations; only a few exhibited a visible religious presence on campus, and compulsory daily chapel and sabbath services were finally abolished during the 1950s. There was a renewed interest in religion after midcentury, but it never came close to regaining its old importance.

Between 1915 and 1930 the only religious group that maintained a useful existence on campus was the YWCA. The women organized social activities, presented plays and musical programs, sponsored Bible discussions, and were active in community welfare projects.[92] The men's intermittent efforts to organize a YMCA chapter and an ongoing Bible discussion group were unsuccessful.[93] Indeed, as President Moody wrote resignedly in 1927, the Middlebury men were not strongly inclined toward organized religious activities:

> I am persuaded that we have the finest group of undergraduate men in New England but they are not the kind that give expression to whatever religious feeling they have. We have men who have been active in Sunday School, Christian Endeavor, and Y.M.C.A. work before coming here. They maintain a high standard of conduct and throw themselves heartily into work, but they do not identify themselves [openly?] with anything religious while they are here. I am unable to account for it.[94]

In 1927 the *Campus* tried to explain the lack of religious feeling and attributed it to peer influence: "There is little doubt that if one brings any religious intelligence or background with him to college, it will be entirely reconstructed and modified before he graduates."[95]

Still, a few religious men would preach at churches in nearby

rural towns. W. Storrs Lee '28 has recalled a humorous incident concerning Jim McLeod '26, who sometimes substituted at a church in Whiting, Vermont, when the preacher was ill or absent. "To reach Whiting," Lee wrote, "[McLeod] took the early morning train to Leicester Junction and there transferred to a line that then ran to Whiting. On arrival at Leicester Junction one Sunday and finding the train engine out of operation, he borrowed one of those two-man hand cars and pumped the eight or ten miles by himself to Whiting. That was genuine religiosity."[96] There were other instances of religious interest. After the Senior Ball in 1923, for example, the students (with Moody's hearty approval) assembled at 4:00 A.M. for a worship service.[97]

Yet these were exceptions, and the college hardly had a Sunday-school atmosphere in the 1920s.[98] Although President Moody, an ordained minister, came from a distinguished religious family and encouraged religious activity on campus, he was not a fundamentalist, and he and the college had no trouble accepting evolutionary doctrines. In 1923, two years before the famous Scopes "monkey trial," Moody confidently saw no conflict between religious belief and the doctrines of modern science.

> Our own feeling is that the religious life here is strong and fine but it is modern, and it must be if it is going to be operative in a modern world. By modern I do not mean that it is opposed or contrary to that which is vital to the faith of the past, but boys cannot wear the faith of their fathers in exactly the same fashion and drapery any more than the mill can grind with water which is past. God is revealing Himself ever greater and greater at every new discovery of science.[99]

Moody had a daily opportunity to present his view of religion and scriptures to all the students in the required chapel service. "Chapel" was a midmorning (changed in 1916 to 10:00 A.M. from 8:15 A.M.) break in the academic day. And as Professor John Bowker pointed out in a fine reminiscence, daily chapel was the major opportunity for the entire student body to meet together.

> During my early years at Middlebury the life of the College centered in the Chapel. Attendance at daily chapel was compulsory, six days a week. . . . When the daily class bells rang at 10 a.m. it was the signal for everyone to start up the Hill. Students and faculty who were seeking to discuss some matter with the President lay in wait for his company up the center walk and the opportunity for a question or two. I do not recall any protest to compulsory chapel prior to the war. Even though the side balconies had not been added the entire College could be seated. . . . Even though the center aisle separated the sexes, the event was referred to as "co-educational" chapel. . . . Following the organ prelude the daily uncensored news notices were read by a senior member of Blue Key. There was no printing of daily announcements. At times, the list of activities of the day was so long and amusing that Dr. Moody would almost despair of the reading of the Scriptures. On occasion a notice would deliberately be so involved that it would require several readings. Meanwhile, the student proctors lent more confusion to the scene by almost running up and down the aisles to take attendance. Before 10:30 a.m., however, President Moody, the son of an evangelist, always managed to read and interpret a short section of the Scriptures and to lead the students in prayers. The brief periods of meditation were dutifully respected by the student body though there must have been many dissidents. The transition from the first to the second part of the daily chapel service was intuitive and traditional. This was Middlebury and no one wanted it otherwise.[100]

There was resentment of the rowdy behavior of some students during chapel, the mixing of secular and religious in service, and the fact that it was required.[101] Students also complained about the quality of the sermons delivered by visiting preachers, who led many of the required Sunday vespers services. There was the Yale minister, for example, who had been called to preach at Middlebury twice in one year. The second time, he barely had time to catch his train, and the sermon he grabbed happened to be the same one he had delivered previously. The minister did not realize this until he had returned home. He sent the Middlebury students an apology, "congratulating them on their deportment," and promised to deliver a brand-new sermon if he was invited back.[102] And then there were a few students, such as Fred Dirks '31, who tried all kinds of ploys to avoid chapel. Dirks has recalled how he told a dean that he had converted to Zoroastrianism and wished to be excused from daily chapel on religious grounds. The dean replied enthusiastically that since Zoroastrians worshipped the sun, Dirks would be expected to be up before sunrise every morning to pray. Dirks suddenly withdrew from the faith and rejoined the rest of the students in the chapel.[103]

Yet, as Professor Stephen Freeman has recalled, most students

looked forward to the secular, if not the religious, ceremonies and rituals that made chapel such an important part of Middlebury life between the wars.

> Chapel in those days was the focal point of the campus life; the entire College met together, daily, for talks by special guests, and for "moving-up" at the year-end. Student Committees met "in the senior seats." Boys and girls made dates "on Chapel steps." These things created a cohesion, a unity of spirit which were not out of keeping with the devotional spirit, and which were a precious part of the College atmosphere. I know of nothing that has taken the place of daily Chapel.[104]

Chapel was also a time for individuals to find a moment of peace or a moment with someone close. "I never thought of daily chapel as a religious experience," a member of the class of 1933 recalled. "It was a chance to hear Red Yeomans '33 tell of daily events and a great opportunity to see my girl of the moment and arrange our next get-together. It was also a quiet respite from the day's busy activities."[105] By the mid-1940s several colleges were abolishing required chapel, and there was some opposition to it at Middlebury as well. Yet many probably agreed with the *Campus* writer who argued in 1942 that there "is time to have the college brought together once a day and to have it given something we as alumni will remember best about Middlebury."[106]

Due to the huge increase in enrollment after 1945, the entire student body could no longer sit together in chapel at the same time. Instead, they were divided into two groups—seniors and juniors in one, underclassmen in the other—and attended services on alternate Sundays and chapel every other weekday. Some wag labeled the new arrangement "varsity and j.v. chapel."[107] D. K. Smith '42, who returned to teach at the college in 1950, commented that the loss of the common daily chapel significantly reduced the sense of community he had felt as an undergraduate.[108] By 1950 most students opposed compulsory chapel. Indeed, 89 percent of those questioned said that required weekday chapel services were not "of any religious or spiritual value" to them, and 70 percent favored abolishing religious weekday services entirely.[109]

The pressures of increased enrollment and student opposition led to the gradual abolition of required chapel (and mandatory attendance at Sunday services) during the 1950s. In 1951 the trustees ap-

Chaplain Charles P. Scott knit many Middlebury families together and then, often, their children. Darren Zecher, whom Chaplain Charlie married in 1987 to Buchanan Lilley, was the daughter of Peter H. Zecker '55 and Jane Hollenbeck '56, whom he had married in 1956.

proved a report of the Advisory Committee on Chapel Attendance that each student be required only to attend one chapel service and assembly each week and a Sunday service every other week. There was also a twice-weekly voluntary devotional.[110] The new college chaplain, Rev. Charles P. Scott, also allowed students (beginning in the fall of 1950) to sit where they wanted to, and for the first time in Middlebury history, men and women sat next to each other in daily chapel.[111] Even more changes were in the offing. In 1953–1954, seniors were no longer required to attend, and a special freshman chapel was inaugurated. The trustees agreed by 1957 to make daily chapel entirely voluntary and to require attendance only at every other Sunday service.[112] Finally, in 1961, all chapel and Sunday service requirements were abolished.[113]

The trustees and college officials only grudgingly agreed to these changes. Indeed, President Stratton and Chaplain Scott apparently considered compulsory chapel essential to a Middlebury education as late as 1957.[114] It was Stratton, the first president who was not a clergyman, who created the post of college chaplain in 1943. He appointed the Rev. Marshall Jenkins that year and Rev. Robert Johnson '38 in 1947, before Scott came in 1951 to begin more than thirty-five years of service to the college.[115] Gratified by signs of a heightened student interest in voluntary religious activities, Chaplain Scott actively worked to build a strong religious program. With his assistance and encouragement, students organized a voluntary Tuesday

Rabbi Victor Reichert, long associated with Bread Loaf and Ripton, gave Middlebury a Torah in 1990. Robert S. Schine, associate professor of religion, organized a service to welcome it and invited students to read. Surrounded by her family, Juliet M. Sampson '90 read a blessing before reading from the Torah.

night vespers service, a strong Christian Association, and a Hillel organization for Jewish students.

As evidence that the community was taking religion more seriously as an intellectual and academic area of inquiry, Middlebury held its first annual Religion Conference in 1953, featuring lectures and seminars presented by outstanding religious scholars and ministers. The conference continued to be a successful college activity for many years.[116] A department of religion was organized, and Scott became its first faculty member. Religion added a second member in 1954 and became a full-fledged departmental major ten years later.[117] All these positive developments allowed the college to drop required chapel and Sunday services more gracefully than otherwise, since officials could now claim (as students had long maintained) that religion would still flourish on campus but in new, voluntary forms.

Nevertheless, religion at the college after 1960 held a central place in the lives of relatively few students, and in the absence of compulsory services, many had little or no contact with religious observance

during their four years in residence. In 1986 the *Campus* noted the relative "invisibility" of any sort of religion on campus, although there were small but active Hillel, Newman Club, Christian Fellowship, and Muslim groups in 1988.[118] For most students, religion had become just one more potential activity that might or might not attract their interest.

This was a monumental change from the evangelistic days of the antebellum college. Moreover, the demise of required chapel was a critical modification, since the daily service had engendered strong community feeling from the very beginning. As President Thomas remarked in 1917:

> The strength of the small college is in the unity and solidarity of its community life. The whole argument of the personal relations between the faculty and student has by no means lost its force. There is no exercise which does so much to bring the college together and enable the institution to exert its deep and valuable personal influence as a daily assembly, and I feel very strongly that it must be maintained.[119]

Thomas would have been unhappy at the disappearance of daily chapel. Yet by midcentury the college had simply become too large—not only to fit in the chapel at one time but also too large to foster the kind of community life that had existed before 1940.

113. *CR* 4 (August, 1987): 5; and *MC*, November 13, 1987.
114. *MC*, November 13, 1987; and CM, October 21, 1988.
115. Files in Development Office; *CR* 4 (November 1987): 2; *MCM* 62 (spring 1988): 32, and minutes of the Trustee Development Committee in CM, January 15, 1988, March 12, 1988, and October 28, 1988. The college was fortunate that only 60 percent of the endowment was in equities at the time of the market's plunge, rather than the usual 80 percent. See CM, October 28, 1988. On the 14 percent figure, see "The Robison Years," 32.
116. PM (March 10, 1988): 1437.
117. *MCM* 64 (autumn 1989): 9.
118. Interview with Olin Robison, August 7, 1979, MCA; and Robison, "A Five Year Report," 14.
119. Based on interviews with faculty.
120. This is based on my interviews with faculty and administrators during the 1980s. Also see *MC*, October 9, 1987, March 3, 1989, and especially October 13, 1989. For several criticisms of Robison near the end of his presidency, see *MC*, January 19, 1990, and February 23, 1990.
121. See note 66 above.
122. The new stadium was to be named for Trustee Emeritus William Youngman '31 and built between Fletcher Field House and the golf course on Route 30. The track was to be named after outgoing board chairman Allan Dragone '50. On the plans for the new facilities, see CM, May 27, 1989; *MC*, November 10, 1989; McCardell et al., *Toward the Year 2000*, 16–17; and *MCM* 64 (winter 1990): 14.
123. A copy of the letter is in FM, November 6, 1989.
124. FM, November 6, 1989.
125. FM, December 11, 1989, and April 2, 1990; and Minutes of the Faculty Council, December 13, 1989.
126. *Report to the Faculty*, p. 5. Also see Report of the Task Force on Curriculum, p. 6; interview with Robison, July 3, 1990; and interview with David Ginevan, July 3, 1990, MCA. Also see Jane Bingham to David Stameshkin, August 10, 1990, MCA.
127. See, for example, Bingham to Stameshkin, August 10, 1990; and *Report of the Task Force on Curriculum*, p. 6.
128. *MCM* 64 (summer 1990): 13.
129. CM, March 10, 1990. On Light, see *MCM* 64 (spring 1990): 9–11; *MC*, March 16, 1990.
130. *Report to the Faculty*, 7.

CHAPTER 10. THE STUDENT BODY (PAGES 185–214)

1. This assertion is based primarily on anecdotal evidence, articles in the campus paper, reports by college officials, and analysis of tuition and fee increases. There has been no attempt to ascertain the wealth of individual students, except indirectly through the reports of college officials. This obviously weakens any conclusions I may draw. Still, the evidence from other sources is overwhelming, and I am confident that the changes I describe took place.
2. On the early Thomas years, see David M. Stameshkin, *The Town's College: Middlebury College, 1800–1915* (Middlebury, Vt., 1985), chap. 9.
3. JT to Carson J. Beane, April 19, 1920, TP.

4. *MC*, February 11, 1920.
5. Hepburn rates, which varied from $50 to $100 in 1916, were increased during the Moody years. See *MC*, March 16, 1916, May 10, 1916, and April 14, 1926; and *MAC* (1919–41).
6. "The President's Report, 1927–1928," *MCB* 22 (January 1928).
7. "Proposed Report to Board of Trustees," typed manuscript, Moody Papers, Box 2, MCA.
8. CM, 3:303; and *MC*, April 12, 1939. On the work of the assistant director, see *MC*, April 15, 1936.
9. Basic costs include tuition, room and board, heat, lights, other fees, and books. See *MAC* (1920–41) for annual costs. Also see *MC*, December 17, 1930, and February 15, 1939; and Interchurch World Movement of North America Survey, TP, MCA. On changes in the cost of living, see *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970* (Washington, D.C., 1976), 1:210–11.
10. W. Storrs Lee '28, "In Retrospection," *MCNL* 53 (summer 1978): 14.
11. Dean Burt A. Hazeltine, "Democratic Middlebury," *MCNL* 6 (April 1932): 2.
12. Lee, "In Retrospection," 15; W. Storrs Lee to David Stameshkin, September 6, 1976, MCA; interview with Howard Munford '34, March 5, 1975; interview with Sam Guarnaccia '30, October 8, 1974; and interview with David K. Smith '42, March 10, 1975, MCA. Erwin Warren '37 recalled that he was very popular with his Chi Psi brothers because he had permission to have a car on campus. He was the only guy with a car. See *MCM* 59 (spring 1985): 38.
13. See, for example, *MC*, May 28, 1919, and February 15, 1922; and Interchurch World Movement of North America survey, TP, MCA.
14. *MCNL* 52 (summer 1977): 31.
15. *MC*, March 26, 1924.
16. All of the following Lee quotations are taken from Lee to Stameshkin, September 6, 1976, in the author's possession.
17. Ibid.; and Hazeltine, "Democratic Middlebury," 2–3.
18. See, for example, *MC*, February 22, 1922, and October 28, 1925.
19. CM, 4:66.
20. *MC*, April 25, 1934, October 16, 1935, and November 6, 1935.
21. *MCM* 60 (autumn 1985): cover; *MC*, May 23, 1934.
22. Hazeltine, "Democratic Middlebury," 2–3; and Lee to Stameshkin, September 6, 1976.
23. Stameshkin, *The Town's College*, 180, 181, 218, 220–21, 222, 234–35, 239, 250, 272, 281.
24. CM, 3:234. The total annual income available for scholarships from vested funds was approximately $6,500 in 1928–1929. In addition, the state provided $7,200 in aid for Vermont students. If the college paid out an additional $7,000, then the total financial aid was about $20,000. See *MAC* (1928–1929): 107. For a listing of the scholarships, see *MAC* (1928–1929): 102–6.
25. CM, 3:302; *MC*, February 22, 1933, and May 13, 1936; see also interview with David K. Smith, '42, March 10, 1975.
26. Hazeltine, "Democratic Middlebury," 3.
27. *MC*, September 28, 1932.
28. Lee to Stameshkin, September 6, 1976.
29. *MC*, April 19, 1939.
30. This statement is based on many interviews with students and faculty from

the interwar period, who are in complete unanimity on this point. Other indirect evidence includes the relatively smaller number of Middlebury women who obtained scholarships and held jobs. See *MAC* (1920–1941) for scholarship offerings; and Hazeltine, "Democratic Middlebury," 3, for statistics on student employment by gender.

31. On coeducation in the early twentieth century, see Thomas Woody, *A History of Women's Education in the United States* (New York, 1929), Vol. 2, chap. 5.

32. See *MC*, February 26, 1936; and chap. 3.

33. See, for example, chap. 3, pp. 37–38; FM, September 18, 1922, p. 52; and interview with D. K. Smith '42, March 10, 1975.

34. *MC*, March 22, 1922. The class of 1928 entered with 108 men and 80 women. By their junior year, the class had 59 men and 67 women. See *MC*, October 8, 1924, October 7, 1925, October 6, 1926.

35. Interview with Sam Guarnaccia '30, October 8, 1974.

36. On Stratton's views, see above, chap. 6, pp. 86–87.

37. Interim Report of the President, January 10, 1948, exhibit 2, MCA; Stanley Wright '18, "Admissions Problems: The Men," *MCNL* 22 (July 1948): 5, 18; Report of the President to the Trustees of Middlebury College, 1948–49, 6–7, MCA; and MAR (1800–1951).

38. Interviews with Fred Neuberger '50, February 3, 1975, and July 16, 1986, MCA.

39. President's Report, September 1, 1950, p. 5, MCA; W. Storrs Lee '28, "The Men," *MCNL* 20 (February 1946): 6–7, 18; and Lee to Stameshkin, September 6, 1976, p. 5.

40. *MCNL* 20 (February 1946): 7.

41. Interviews with Fred Neuberger, February 3, 1975, and July 16, 1986; Ruth E. Cann '19, "Admissions Problems: The Women," *MCNL* 22 (July 1948): 5, 18; and interview with Barbara Wells '41, February 10, 1975.

42. Interview with Wells; President's Report, September 15, 1953, p. 5, MCA; and MAR (1800–1951).

43. Interim Report of the President to the Trustees of Middlebury College, January 10, 1948, p. 2, MCA.

44. See ibid., on the women's credentials. On the men's situation, see Wright, "Admissions Problems," 5; and interview with D. K. Smith '42, March 10, 1975, MCA.

45. President's Report, September 1, 1950, p. 8, MCA. In June 1950, only $18,567 was available for scholarships, whereas $640,555 in tuition income had been collected that year. See exhibit 11. On college costs, see *MAC* (1941–42, 1946–47, and 1951–52). Also see President's Report, September 1, 1951, pp. 3–4, MCA.

46. President's Report, September 1, 1951, p. 3, MCA. On Wright, see *GC*, 448; interview with Fred Neuberger, July 16, 1986; interview with Howard Munford, March 5, 1975; and Lee to Stameshkin, September 6, 1976, p. 6.

47. Walter Brooker to George Huban, June 22, 1981, MCA; interview with Fred Neuberger, July 16, 1986; interview with Howard Munford, March 5, 1975; *MC*, May 18, 1950; and Lee to Stameshkin, September 6, 1976, p. 6.

48. On the increase in academic problems in the men's college in the early 1950s, see President's Report, September 1, 1950, exhibit 6, MCA; *MC*, September 21, 1950, February 15, 1951, and May 24, 1951; President's Report, September 15, 1953, p. 2, MCA; and CM, 6:553. On the faculty's response, see President's Report, September 1, 1951, pp. 1–2; Report of the President to the Board of Trustees, September 15, 1953, p. 2, MCA; FM, March 25, 1953; and Lee to Stameshkin, September 6, 1976, p. 6.

49. Report of the President to the Trustees of Middlebury College, September 15, 1954, p. 3, MCA. Also see President's Report, September 1, 1951, pp. 1, 2.

50. Brooker to George Huban, June 22, 1981, MCA; interview with Fred Neuberger, July 16, 1986, MCA; and interview with Gordie Perine '49, February 28, 1975, MCA.

51. President's Report, August 24, 1956, p. 4a, MCA; and admissions office files. Enrollment figures are from *MAC* (1952–63). SAT scores are from Admissions Office files and Dean of the College files.

52. "Middlebury College, Myths of Coeducation," *The Harvard Crimson*, May 21, 1954. Fred Neuberger has said that the good male students of the 1950s were equal in quality to the good female students, but that the worst men students were inferior to the worst of the women. See interview with Neuberger, July 16, 1986.

53. Report of the President to the Trustees, July 1, 1955 to June 30, 1956, manuscript, MCA.

54. Quotation is from CM, 7:687. On tuition increases in the period, see CM, 6:583, 7:705, 712, 809; PM, 1:409, 431, 481; 2:540, 667.

55. PM, 2:590.

56. *Report of the President, 1972–1973* (Middlebury, Vt., 1973), 10; *MCNL* 32 (spring 1958): 12.

57. When the class of 1966 entered in 1962, the men's SAT score mean was 1199; the women's was 1226. When the class of 1973 entered in 1969, the men's mean was 1300 and the women's was 1301. Scores varied in the 1970s, but there were no significant gender differences in total mean scores; women averaged 10–40 points higher in verbal scores, whereas men scored higher in math by a similar amount. See Admissions Office files.

58. Interview with Fred Neuberger '50, February 3, 1975.

59. In the 1950s and 1960s, approximately 58 percent of Middlebury students were males. Although several entering classes in the 1970s and 1980s had more women than men, total enrollment was still about 55 percent male in the 1970s and just under 52 percent in the 1980s. By 1988–1989 there were 991 men and 986 women enrolled. Based on enrollment statistics in annual reports of the Dean of the College, MCA; and *MAC* (1950–1973).

60. Brooker to George Huban, June 22, 1981.

61. Stameshkin, *The Town's College*, 271.

62. Olin Robison, *A Report to the Board of Trustees: Middlebury College, 1975–1980* (Middlebury, Vt., 1980), 10.

63. The three cities initially targeted were Denver, San Francisco, and St. Louis. Ibid., 11; and CM, 11:1697.

64. Olin Robison, "A Five-Year Report on the State of the College," *MCNL*, 54 (summer 1980), 15–16.

65. *Report of the Admissions Long-Range Planning Committee* (Middlebury, Vt., 1987), 14.

66. *MC*, May 21, 1964, September 9, 1964, and October 15, 1964; interview with Roth Tall '65, June 3, 1975, MCA. Riley went to Vicksburg, Mississippi, after graduation to volunteer in organizing and running a newspaper. Also see *MC*, May 23, 1963, for earlier action. On college students and the civil rights movement

in the 1960s, see Doug McAdam, *Freedom Summer* (New York, 1988), and the review essay by Jack Weinberg, "Students and Civil Rights in the 1960's," *HEQ* 30 (summer 1990): 213–24.

67. *MC*, September 24, 1964.

68. *MC*, October 29, 1964, November 5, 1964, November 19, 1964, and January 14, 1965.

69. *MC*, February 18, 1965, and May 6, 1965; and Annual Report of the Dean of Men, June, 1965, p. 8, typed copy, MCA.

70. Annual Report, 8; and *MC*, March 25, 1965.

71. Annual Report, 8; *MC*, April 1, 1965.

72. Interview with Roth Tall '65, June 3, 1975.

73. *MC*, November 5, 1964, and April 15, 1965.

74. Interview with Roth Tall '65, June 3, 1975.

75. CM, 8:966; and Annual Report, Dean of the College, July, 1965, copy in Old Chapel attic.

76. "The Negro Revolution and Middlebury," *MCNL* 43 (autumn 1968): 5.

77. Ibid., 4; CM, 8:1096; and *MC*, April 18, 1968.

78. *MC*, January 30, 1969. The college gave a $2,500 matching grant to Y.O.U. in 1968.

79. *MC*, October 17, 1968, and January 30, 1969.

80. *MC*, March 13, 1969, and April 17, 1969.

81. CM, 11:1162, 1134. The college also agreed to participate in the ABC (A Better Chance) program sponsored by the Rockefeller Foundation, which helped minority students attend prep schools in the Northeast.

82. PM, 3:1087–88; and Dean's Office records.

83. For attrition data, see *Report of the Admissions Long-Range Planning Committee, May 1, 1987* (Middlebury, Vt., 1987), II.F.15, Appendix A; *MC*, October 16, 1980, and January 29, 1981; and *Report of the Task Force on the Composition of the Student Body* (Middlebury, Vt., 1989), pp. 25–26. The faculty offered courses during winter term to help and approved special interdivisional compensatory programs for disadvantaged students. See *Report of the Task Force on the Composition of the Student Body*; CM, 9:1208, 1213; and *MC*, March 5, 1970.

84. *MC*, February 22, 1973. Adirondack House had been named, over the years, Battell Cottage, Willard Hall, Alumni Center, and Economics House. See CM, 9:1057.

85. Based on my own observations during 1972–1975. At that time (1972–1974), I taught Afro-American history classes and had contact with many of the black students. Also see *MC*, February 26, 1976; "Erica," *MCM* 62 (spring 1988): 12; and *Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Minority Concerns*, October 1982, pp. 12–14.

86. FM, September 1, 1981, pp. 1–2. See also *Report of the Ad Hoc Committee*, 1–2; CM, 12:1817–18; and *MCM* 57 (summer 1983): 2–4. Enrollment statistics on minority students are in the Office of Admissions files and in *Report of the Task Force on the Student Body*, 13.

87. *Report of the Ad Hoc Committee*, 1–24.

88. *Report of the Admissions Long-Range Planning Committee*. One of the reasons for the lack of progress before 1987 was faculty concern over minority hiring initiatives. See FM, April 6, 1983 (executive session minutes, in 1983–84 folder), and May 7, 1984, p. 117. Also see *MC*, May 6, 1983, April 27, 1984, and April 19, 1985.

89. Elizabeth Karnes, "The Minority Advisory Group—the Minority Advisory Workshops," in John Emerson to President Olin Robison, January 4, 1989, President's Office files, p. D. Also see *MC*, October 14, 1988, and November 4, 1988; and John Emerson, *An Update on Minority Concerns: Postscript to the Twilight Report* (Middlebury, Vt., 1988), pp. 11–12. A summary of Emerson's work can be found in *MCM* 62 (summer 1988): 34, 36.

90. On the hiring of a black counselor and psychologist, see Emerson, *An Update*, p. 7; and *MC*, February 26, 1988, and September 23, 1988. New rules on faculty hiring in 1988–1989 helped in the recruitment of additional minority faculty. For example, after screening applications, departments were required to rank their top four candidates, one of whom had to be a woman or a member of a minority group. If a department identified, "a qualified minority candidate" and a position did not exist, a regular tenure-track position—an increment—could be created for that person. (But if a member of that department subsequently left the college, the increment would not automatically be retained.) See John McCardell, "Recruiting Minority Faculty," in Emerson to Robison, January 4, 1989, p. I. Also see Emerson, *An Update*, 7–8. On the Racial/Ethnic/Religious Harassment Policy, see copy in Emerson to Robison, p. B; *MC*, October 2, 1987, October 9, 1987, and November 6, 1987; Emerson, *An Update*, 8–9 and Appendix IV. On SCIENS, see Emerson to Robison, January 4, 1989, pp. F and M2–3. On academic support services, see Emerson to Robison, January 4, 1989, pp. K and M2; *MC*, November 4, 1988, April 28, 1989, and March 16, 1990; and *MCM* 64 (spring 1990): 16. On recruitment and retention of minority students, see Emerson to Robison, January 4, 1989, pp. G, H, J, and M1; Emerson, *An Update*, 3–6; and *MC*, January 15, 1988, March 11, 1988, and May 6, 1988. On the aid package, see CM, October 17, 1987, p. 2107. The trustees supported all of these initiatives in January 1989. See CM (January 14, 1989): 2155.

91. On the Human Relations Committee, see Emerson to Robison, January 4, 1989, p. C; and *MC*, January 20, 1989. On the change of the name of the Black Student Union, see *MC*, February 23, 1990. Also see *MC*, April 29, 1988, and January 27, 1989.

92. "Middlebury's Agenda for Minorities: Priorities and Goals," attached to Emerson to Robison, January 4, 1989.

93. On the DeWitt Clinton partnership, see *MCM* 64 (winter 1990): 10, 12; *Report of the Task Force on the Composition of the Student Body*, 14–15; *MC*, February 24, 1989, April 14, 1989, February 23, 1990, and March 16, 1990; and Herbert F. Dalton, Jr., *To Share a Dream: The Clinton-Middlebury Partnership* (Middlebury, Vt., 1990).

94. On articulation agreements, see *Report of the Task Force on the Composition of the Student Body*, 18.

95. Quoted in Dalton, *To Share a Dream*, 25. On minority enrollment in the late 1980s, see *MC*, April 15, 1988, September 22, 1989, and December 1, 1989; *MCM* 63 (summer 1989): 24–29; and Recruitment Plan and Report: Students of Color, June 12, 1990, draft copy, Admissions Office.

96. *MAC* (1915–72); and Admissions Office files.

97. Appendix III-Q.

98. Ibid.; and *Report of the Task Force on the Composition of the Student Body*, 16.

99. On the consortium, see *MC*, September 9, 1989; *MCM* 62 (winter 1988): 28; 62 (summer 1988): 32–34; 62 (autumn 1988): [illegible] and 63 (autumn 1989): 18–25.

100. On February freshmen, see *MCM* 58 (autumn 1983): 42; and 59 (spring 1985): 2–4.

101. Dean of the College Report, 1988–89.

102. Interchurch World Movement of North America survey, March 29, 19[illegible] TP.

103. Interview with Walter Brooker, June 11, 1975; and *MC*, November 19, 19[illegible] On the experience of Jews at other colleges, see Dan A. Oren, *Joining the Clu[illegible] History of Jews and Yale* (New Haven, Conn., 1985); and Marcia G. Synnott, *Th[illegible] Half-Opened Door: Discrimination and Admissions at Harvard, Yale, and Princeton, 1900–1970* (Westport, Conn., 1979).

104. Report of the President, September 1, 1951, p. 10c.

105. Report of the President, 1969–70, pp. 34–35.

106. Because the college does not ask students to reveal religious affilia[illegible] only estimates can be made. Chaplain John Walsh estimated that in 1990 perha[illegible] 12 percent of the student body was Jewish and at least twice that number w[illegible] Catholic. Telephone interview with Chaplain John Walsh, November 19, 1990.

107. The amount of financial aid increased during the Armstrong years, fr[illegible] $212,130 to $724,875, but the number of people assisted was not sufficient to cha[illegible] the prevailing perception of the college. See President's Report, 1962–63, p. 1[illegible] the relevant appendices from the draft of an unpublished ten-year report on [illegible] Robison administration, copy in the author's possession.

108. *MCNL* 52 (summer 1977): 2. See also "President Olin C. Robison's In[illegible]augural Address," *MCNL* 50 (winter 1975–6): 8.

109. Report of the Dean of the College, 1978–79, p. 4, MCA.

110. PM, 12:1336. Also see PM, 12:1339.

111. *MCNL* 56 (summer 1982): 2; and 58 (autumn 1983): 2.

112. Report of the Dean of the College, 1988–89; and John McCardell et [illegible] *Toward the Year 2000: A Basic Ten-Year Planning Document, May, 1988* (Middlebury, Vt., 1988), 21.

113. For information on the Admissions Outreach Program, see *Report of [illegible] Task Force on the Composition of the Student Body*, pp. 9–12, Appendices II[illegible] "Middlebury Admissions Outreach Representative Profiles: Matriculating R[illegible] Students 1988" (copy in MCA); *MC*, January 22, 1988, and November 11, 1[illegible] CM, October 22, 1988, p. 2147; Fred M. Hechinger, "About Education," *New [illegible] Times*, October 26, 1988; and interview with Caroline Donnan, July 13, 1990, [illegible]

114. See *MCM* 61 (summer 1987): 5; and *MC*, April 17, 1987.

115. Olin Robison, "An Open Letter to the Middlebury College Commun[illegible]" *MCM* 64 (spring 1990): 30.

116. CM, May 23, 1987, p. 2099.

117. See chap. 9, pp. 157–59.

118. For information on early comprehensive fee increases under Robison, [illegible] for example, *MCNL* 51 (spring 1977): 3; and 52 (spring 1978): 3; *MCM* 61 ([illegible] 1987): 5–6; and 62 (spring 1988): 31–32; CM, 12:1558–60, 1772, 1797, 18[illegible] and PM, 3:1314, 1359–60.

119. Files of the Office of Institutional Research, Franklin and Marshall Col[illegible]lege. The comparative colleges were Amherst, Bowdoin, Carleton, Colby, Co[illegible] Davidson, Franklin and Marshall, Grinnell, Hamilton, Haverford, Kenyon, K[illegible] Lafayette, Oberlin, Pomona, Reed, Swarthmore, Trinity, and Williams.

120. The following summary of the reaction to the fee increase is based on [illegible] report in *MCM* 63 (summer 1989): 42. Also see *MC*, May 5, 1989, and Se[illegible]ber 15, 1989; and Report of the Dean of the College, 1988–89, p. 3, MCA. O[illegible] decision to set the fee at $19,000, see CM, March 11, 1989, p. 2163.

121. See, for example, *MC*, March 17, 1989.

122. *MC*, April 14, 1989.

123. *MC*, September 15, 1989; and Report of the Dean of College, 1988–89, p. 3.

124. See, for example, *MC*, March 17, 1989, April 14, 1989, April 28, 1989, [illegible] 5, 1989, September 15, 1989, September 22, 1989, September 29, 1989, October [illegible], 1989.

125. For information on how the fee was set for 1990–1991, see *MCM* 64 (spring [illegible]): 11–13; CM, March 10, 1990, p. 2187; and *MC*, February 23, 1990, March 9, [illegible], and March 16, 1990.

126. See chap. 9, p. 177.

127. Interview with David Ginevan, July 3, 1990; and telephone conversation [illegible] John Emerson, August 29, 1990.

CHAPTER 11. FRATERNITIES (PAGES 215–42)

[illegible] Enrollment figures are in MAR (1800–1951). The original five fraternities, Chi [illegible] Delta Upsilon, Delta Kappa Epsilon, Kappa Delta Rho, and Alpha Sigma Phi [illegible] affiliated with its national in 1925), were still going strong. Sigma Phi Epsi[illegible] organized in 1921 as Sigma Phi Iota. In 1925 it became a Sigma Phi Epsilon [illegible] See *MC*, May 24, 1922; and *SK*, 73–74. Theta Chi was originally present [illegible] campus in 1923 as Chi Kappa Mu and, in 1925, Epsilon of Beta Kappa. Beta [illegible] and Theta Chi national merged in 1942. See *SK*, 74–75; and *MC*, March 14, [illegible] February 18, 1925, and June 17, 1925. From 1938 to 1947, Alpha Tau Omega [illegible] local fraternity—Sigma Alpha. See *SK*, 75; and *MC*, April 12, 1939. Other [illegible] existed for short periods in the interwar years, including Delta Sigma [illegible]–1929?). See *SK*, 75; *MC*, March 10, 1926; and the *Kaleidoscope* (1925). The [illegible] of men in fraternities was obtained from interviews and occasional sta[illegible] sources. See *MC*, September 26, 1923; and *Kaleidoscope* (1927, 1933, 1934). [illegible]ber of fraternity men was counted from the names and pictures in *Kaleido[illegible]* and that number compared with the total number of men enrolled as listed in [illegible] (1800–1951). See also *MC*, January 19, 1921.

[illegible] See interviews with Joseph Kasper '20, August 6, 1974; Howard Munford [illegible] March 5, 1975; Egbert Hadley '10, July 31, 1975; D. K. Smith '42, March 10, [illegible] and Sam Guarnaccia '30, October 8, 1974, among others, MCA. For examples [illegible] parties, dances, sleigh rides, etc., see *MC*, April 17, 1918, February 27, [illegible] December 3, 1924, January 21, 1925, and April 8, 1936.

[illegible] Intergroup competition was very important. The fraternities competed in [illegible] athletics, in homecoming activities, in scholastics, and, most impor[illegible] rushing potential members. For examples of nonrush competition, see *MC*, [illegible] 21, 1917, February 23, 1921, May 14, 1924, December 3, 1924, October 16, [illegible] and June 15, 1936.

[illegible] "The Value of the Fraternity," "The Chaos" (1939), typed manuscript in Chi [illegible] Archives, Middlebury College chapter house.

[illegible] Ibid.

[illegible] For example, see *MC*, October 2, 1935.

[illegible] W. Storrs Lee to David Stameshkin, September 6, 1976, MCA. Also see, *MC*, [illegible] 11, 1916.

[illegible] See *MC*, February 19, 1919, May 18, 1938, and October 19, 1938. The Philians [illegible] were perhaps the longest-lasting organization of this type. See *SK*, 75; [illegible] *MC*, January 11, 1922.

9. *MC*, September 21, 1938. Also see *MC*, May 18, 1921, April 1, 1925, ... ary 20, 1926, February 10, 1926, May 19, 1926, March 27, 1929, February 26, ... and May 6, 1936.

10. Joseph Kasper '20 and Doc Cook '24, among others, emphasized ... ternities helped develop the political abilities and sensibilities of their members ... interview with Kasper, August 6, 1974; and interview with members of the ... 1924, May 25, 1974, MCA. For examples of fraternity influence on election ... *MC*, November 23, 1922, February 10, 1926, April 17, 1929, October 23, 19... September 21, 1938.

11. For concern over rushing procedures, see *MC*, May 12, 1926, November ... 1927, and October 30, 1935.

12. *The Middlebury Campus* ran frequent articles about rushing almost ... year. For the IFC–DU flap, see *MC*, June 17, 1925, and May 12, 1926.

13. Carroll J. Atwood, *A Manual to Guide Each Future Chi Psi in the ... Effective Performance of his Fraternity's Most Vital Function: Rushing* (n.p., ... i, 5.

14. Interview with Howard Munford '34, March 5, 1975.

15. See *MC*, January 22, 1919, February 26, 1919, June 4, 1919, March ... December 3, 1924, April 14, 1926, April 26, 1926, May 5, 1926, October ... February 26, 1936, and March 18, 1936.

16. Provost Collins to J. W. Abernethy '76, March 8, 1919, TP.

17. Editorial in *MC*, April 14, 1926.

18. Letter to editor from "Wall Flower" in *MC*, January 20, 1926. Also see ... April 14, 1926.

19. *MC*, October 9, 1935, and June 4, 1930.

20. *MC*, May 27, 1936, and April 12, 1939.

21. W. Storrs Lee '28, "Fraternities on Trial," *MCNL* 20 (June 1946) ... paragraph is mainly derived from Lee's article. Also see Lee to Stameshkin ... tember 6, 1976, MCA; and *MC*, November 29, 1945, and February 7, 1946.

22. Interview with W. Spencer Wright, February 26, 1975, MCA.

23. Lee, "Fraternities on Trial," 9–10; FM (1945–47): 28–31. Also see ... Stameshkin, September 6, 1976.

24. Lee, "Fraternities on Trial," 10.

25. June Brogger Noble '46, "Coming of Age in World War II," MC... (winter 1975): 15.

26. This account of the Alpha Sigma Phi struggle to end racial and relig... quirements for membership is based primarily on materials (hereafter cited ... loaned to me by Robert E. Reuman '44, Waterville, Maine, an ASP broth... main item is a 14-page mimeographed mailing to all Middlebury ASP al... A. Gordon Miesse '20, the chapter's alumni secretary, dated April 30, 194... after cited as RER/AGM). These materials are in the MCA. For the broader ... of fraternity prejudice in the United States during this period, see Alfred M... Lee, *Fraternities without Brotherhood* (Boston, 1956).

27. For the meeting of Hunt, Miesse, and Burns, see RER/AGM, p. 1.

28. RER/AGM, pp. 1, 6.

29. RER/AGM, pp. 1, 7, 12; and Donald S. Putnam '42 to Alumni [Alpha ... Phi, Alpha Delta chapter], [spring 1948?], RER.

30. George H. Booth to Ralph Burns, January 16, 1947, in RER/AGM ... Also see Booth to Reuman, January 30, 1947 in RER.

... Burns to Booth, January 22, 1947, copy in RER/AGM, pp. 8–10.

... Putnam to Alumni, RER. Earlier that winter the Middlebury chapter had ... its own informal poll of the ASP chapters, and by a "bare majority" local ... had lost. See Putnam to Alumni, RER.

... See notes on the meeting of Robert Reuman and George Booth with the ... Council of ASP on March 29, 1947 in RER. For the alumni's reaction, see ... AGM, p. 2; Miesse to Reuman, February 10, 1947, RER/AGM; and Miesse ... Reuman, May 16, 1954, RER. Also see *MC*, May 22, 1947.

... See Miesse to Alumni, September 15, 1947, copy, RER.

... *New York Times*, May 23, 1947. I have tried in vain to find the original source ... "Sluggers for Democracy."

... Putnam to Alumni, RER.

... See *MC*, January 27, 1949, April 21, 1949, May 26, 1949, and September 22, ... On the efforts of the IFC to end discrimination, see *MC*, November 23, 1949, ... 12, 1953, February 28, 1957, and February 13, 1958. On the college's success ... integrating Jews into the fraternities after World War II (and thereby eliminat... the possibility of a "Jewish" fraternity at Middlebury), see Lee to Stameshkin, ... ber 6, 1976, MCA.

... FM (1963–65), 128. For further developments in this area, see *MC*, Sep... 29, 1960, and November 2, 1961. On the Ron Brown '62 story, see Ed ... "Democracy Is Not a Spectator Sport," *MCM* 63 (winter 1989): 24–25; *MC*, ... 24, 1989; and *MCM*, 64 (summer 1990): 6.

... Interviews with Fred Neuberger '50, February 3, 1975; Ken Nourse '52, ... 13, 1975; Gordie Perine '49, February 28, 1975; and Russell Leng '60, ... 26, 1975, MCA.

... Thomas H. Reynolds, "Fraternities at Middlebury Today," *MCNL* 35 (win... 7; *MC*, February 24, 1955.

... Paul Cubeta, "With Our Faculty," *MCNL* 29 (August 1955): 11; President's ... to the Trustees, September 15, 1955, p. 2, MCA; interview with T. Richard... '58, October 22, 1974; and interview with Eugene Sapadin X'61, July 10, ... MCA.

... *MC*, October 21, 1954.

... *MC*, February 28, 1980.

... Interview with David K. Smith '42, March 10, 1975.

... Interview with Fred Neuberger '50, February 3, 1975; and interview with ... Perine '49, February 28, 1975. One of the contributing factors was the dis... of housemothers who had encouraged cleanliness and orderliness in ... generations of men.

... See the excellent synthesis of published materials on this topic presented by ... Lefkowitz Horowitz in *Campus Life* (New York, 1987), chap. 10. Russ Leng ... remarked that when he returned to the campus to teach in the later 1960s, ... change he noticed in the fraternities was the near collapse of "brother... the idea that "brothers" would always help each other. Instead, he saw ... of small-group friendship and loyalty to that group rather than to the ... See notes on interview with Russ Leng '60, February 3, 1975, MCA.

... *MC*, September 19, 1963, and October 16, 1970.

... Delta Upsilon, for example, argued that it would not alter its "scholastic ... because it was up to the individual not to plagiarize. The files themselves, ... ded, were not evil; how the material was used was another question.

Such logic did not endear the fraternities to the faculty. The IFC did try to convince DU that they were wrong, and other fraternities complied. See *MC*, April 25, 1963, May 2, 1963, May 9, 1963, and May 23, 1963; and FM (1949–51): 25.

49. See *MC*, January 14, 1960; interview with Thomas Reynolds, October 3, 1975; and interview with Howard Munford, March 5, 1975, MCA.

50. *MC*, October 18, 1962.

51. *MC*, March 13, 1952, November 26, 1952, May 4, 1961, and April 12, 1962.

52. *MC*, September 19, 1963, October 21, 1964, January 14, 1960, January 21, 1960, February 11, 1960, February 18, 1960, April 21, 1960, May 5, 1960, and May 12, 1960; and Reynolds, "Fraternities at Middlebury Today," 6–7, 59.

53. On the Atwater Club, see Cubeta, "With Our Faculty," 11, 26; and *MC*, April 21, 1955, April 28, 1955, December 13, 1956, and October 10, 1957. The Atwater Club used Weybridge House for its activities. See CM, 6:610. It dissolved in 1963. See *MC*, March 28, 1963.

54. *MC*, April 21, 1960.

55. Students who had been polled supported this measure, 244–59. See *MC*, May 26, 1960. See also Reynolds, "Fraternities at Middlebury Today," 6–7, 59.

56. *MC*, October 25, 1962.

57. *MC*, February 11, 1963. See also Robert A. Gay, "The Middlebury Fraternity System," *MCNL* 35 (winter 1961): 8, 59.

58. Interview with JIA, May 20, 1975, transcribed notes, MCA. On Middlebury's reaction to the Williams decision, see *MC*, September 9, 1962, and October 11, 1962.

59. *MC*, December 3, 1964. For the independents' view on fraternities, see *MC*, October 7, 1965.

60. Dean of the College 1964–65 Annual Report, in President's Files, 1965 Folder, Old Chapel Attic.

61. PM, 2:951.

62. *MC*, October 21, 1965.

63. See Dean Elizabeth Kelly's remarks on this topic in PM, 2:961; and interview with JIA, May 20, 1975.

64. *MC*, March 4, 1965.

65. PM, 2:871–73.

66. *MC*, September 30, 1965; PM, 2:950; and "Interim Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Student Life," *MCNL* 40 (spring 1966): 15.

67. *MCNL* 40 (summer 1966): 4, 5, 45; and PM, 2:949–50.

68. *MC*, March 31, 1966.

69. "2nd Interim Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Student Life," *MCNL* 40 (summer 1966): 5.

70. *A Recommendation and Report to the President of Middlebury College by the Ad Hoc Committee on Student Life* (Middlebury, Vt., [1966?]), 1, 5.

71. *MC*, December 15, 1966. See also PM, 2:949–52; and *MC*, December 8, 1966.

72. *MC*, January 12, 1967, January 19, 1967, and March 23, 1967. The fraternity alumni apparently alerted all their brothers to the plight of the fraternities. See *New Horizons* [1967?], of Alpha Sigma Psi, p. 2, copy in possession of Robert Reuman '44.

73. Interview with JIA, May 20, 1975; and CM, 8:1039–40, 1042–45.

74. CM, 8:1050 appended; and "Statement of Policy," April 8, 1967, copy, President's Files, MCL. Also see interview with Dean Dennis O'Brien, April 30, 1975, MCA.

75. Interview with JIA, May 20, 1975.

76. Ibid.

77. Dean of the College's Report, 1969–70 Academic Year, manuscript MCA.

78. Ibid.; interview with Russell Leng '60, February 26, 1975; and interviews with several students from that era, MCA.

79. *MC*, October 16, 1970, and February 22, 1973.

80. Interview with Russell Leng '60, February 26, 1975; and *MC*, October 16, 1970.

81. *MC*, February 22, 1973.

82. *MC*, October 16, 1970, and March 6, 1980; and interview with Karl Lindholm '67, July 9, 1986, MCA.

83. *MC*, October 16, 1970; and CM, 9:1162.

84. *MC*, January 11, 1968, January 10, 1969, and January 28, 1971; and interview with Karl Lindholm '67, July 9, 1986. On Theta Chi, see Theta Chi file, MCA, particularly Bruce Peterson, Dean of Men, to Albert F. Gollnick, Jr., May 29, 1970.

85. CM, 7:801, 844, 851; and *MC*, September 22, 1961, and September 25, 1961.

86. CM, 9:1144 (quoted), 1115–16. Several trustees argued that they understood that the April 8, 1967, decision meant that the college should help the fraternities remain in existence by allowing them to increase their numbers to make construction of new facilities feasible and at the same time to correct the bad housekeeping practices.

87. Interview with O'Brien, April 30, 1975; *MC*, October 16, 1970, and February 22, 1973; and Dean of the College's Report, Academic Year 1969–70, Old Chapel Attic.

88. CM, 9:1151–52. Also see CM, 8:1060, 1083–84.

89. Dean of College's Report, Academic Year, 1969–70.

90. Ibid.; and informal interviews with students of that period.

91. *MC*, December 3, 1970.

92. *MC*, October 16, 1970.

93. *MC*, March 25, 1971.

94. *MC*, November 21, 1968, October 16, 1970, and April 29, 1971.

95. PM, 3:1192–93.

96. PM, 3:1193.

97. CM, 9:1401–2.

98. The material in this paragraph is derived from CM, 9:1416–17. On attempts to bring women into the fraternities, see *MC*, January 18, 1973.

99. CM, 9:1434.

100. Ibid., 1434. Also see *MC*, October 4, 1973, and October 11, 1973.

101. *MC*, October 4, 1973.

102. *MC*, October 18, 1973.

103. Based on my own observations and numerous conversations with students during the 1973–74 academic year at Middlebury.

104. CM, 10:1434, 1453. The Student Forum Working Committee also came out against college ownership of fraternities. See *MC*, December 6, 1973.

105. CM, 10:1453, 1469. Also see PM, 3:1246; and CM, 10:1500. Aside from reversionary rights, O'Brien asked each fraternity (in return for college support): (1) to make clear and continued progress toward an open rush, (2) to allow the col-

lege to place students in chapter houses when there was need and available space, and (3) to allow a college representative to sit on each fraternity corporation board. See *Middlebury College Self-Study Report . . . February 1980* (Middlebury, Vt., 1980), H-15, copy in MCA.

106. CM, 10:1435.
107. *MC*, May 11, 1977; and interview with Dennis O'Brien, April 30, 1975.
108. Quoted in *MC*, May 11, 1977.
109. *MC*, May 11, 1977.
110. The Coffrin Report can be found in *Middlebury College Self-Study . . . February, 1980*, Section H. Also see *MCNL* 52 (winter 1978): 2. On Coffrin, see CM, May 21, 1988, pp. 2127–28.
111. CM, 11:1691, 1715; *MC*, May 3, 1978; and *MCNL* 53 (winter 1979): 2–3.
112. *MC*, September 21, 1978, October 4, 1978, and January 11, 1979.
113. *MC*, October 23, 1975, and February 2, 1977. The college declared that if women were denied equal rights (full membership) at the fraternities, they could not eat there and receive rebates for off-campus eating. See *MC*, November 30, 1977, and January 25, 1978.
114. *MC*, May 6, 1976, and March 13, 1977.
115. *MC*, September 21, 1978.
116. CM, 11:1715–17.
117. Ibid. The board also ordered the college not to commit any funds to properties it did not own or control in any manner that did not afford protection for such funds.
118. *MC*, February 28, 1979.
119. *MC*, March 7, 1979.
120. *Document of Understanding: Fraternities* (Middlebury, Vt., May 30, 1980), pp. 1–2. Also see "Fraternities: A New Understanding," *MCNL* 55 (fall 1980): 5; and *MC*, May 2, 1979, May 9, 1979, March 6, 1980, March 13, 1980, and March 20, 1980.
121. *MC*, September 18, 1980.
122. *MC*, May 15, 1980.
123. On the Proctor renovations, which increased dining capacity by about 150, see *MCNL* 53 (spring 1979): 2; *MCNL* 54 (winter 1980): 3, and CM, 12:1784. Members of Zeta Psi wanted to cook meals at the house three nights a week and pay for the meals themselves. The Students Concerned about Middlebury (SCAM) movement in the spring of 1981 focused on the Zeta Psi dining issue. See *MC*, March 27, 1981, and April 3, 1981; and chapter 14, below. The Community Council even supported the idea. The administration, however, was concerned that the rebate issue would inevitably be raised again if they allowed this option; therefore, they favored an end to this last gasp of fraternity dining. See *MC*, January 29, 1981, March 27, 1981, and May 1, 1981; and PM, 12:1343. Faculty and administrators also found fault with the KDR "little sister" program (a designation that many considered degrading to women). See *MC*, October 28, 1983; and FM (January 4, 1982): 55.
124. See *MCNL* 52 (winter 1978): 2; *MC*, December 6, 1979, October 2, 1980, November 20, 1981, March 19, 1982, March 11, 1983, and November 16, 1984.
125. See *MC*, February 3, 1989, January 25, 1985, February 22, 1985, September 27, 1985, and October 11, 1985. The agreement stated that the college would own the land and the alumni would own the house but that no undergraduate members could live there. See *MCM* 60 (autumn 1985): 4–5; and CM, 14:2033.

126. *MC*, March 18, 1988. Also see *MC*, April 24, 1987. On the change in the drinking law, see *MCM* 61 (winter 1986): 10. On the fraternity parties, see *Report of the Task Force on Student Social Life* (Middlebury, Vt., 1989), 6.
127. See *MC*, September 23, 1983. On a hazing incident that apparently was drug- and alcohol-related, see *MC*, March 11, 1988.
128. *MC*, October 30, 1987, January 15, 1988, February 26, 1988, September 23, 1988, and September 30, 1988.
129. On Sigma Phi Epsilon, see *MC*, September 11, 1987. On the DU incident, I relied heavily on a DU file in the possession of Frank Kelley in the Dean of Students' Office in Old Chapel at Middlebury (hereafter cited as DU File). Also very useful is *MCM* 62 (winter 1989): 42–46. For a view more sympathetic to the fraternity, see the letter by Barry McPherson '88 in *MCM* 65 (winter 1991): 4–5.
130. Memo from Women's Union, May 13, 1988, DU File. See also Emerson to Robison and Peterson, May 11, 1988, DU File; and letters from Gary Margolis (May 11, 1988), Yonna McShane (May 10, 1988), and Ed Ernst (May 13, 1988) in DU File.
131. Delta Upsilon Brothers to Middlebury College Community, May [13?], 1988, DU File.
132. PM (May 19, 1988): 1445; CM (May 21, 1988): 214; and Robison to Middlebury College Community, May 17, 1988, copy in DU File. On the hearing, see documents in DU File.
133. *MC*, September 23, 1988; and *MCM* 63 (winter 1989): 42–46.
134. MCM 63 (Winter 1989): 42–46, and *MC*, November 11, 1988.
135. See, for example, *MC*, September 23, 1988, September 30, 1988, October 7, 1988, October 14, 1988, October 21, 1988, November 18, 1988, and January 20, 1989; and *MCM* 63 (spring 1989): 4–9.
136. On Delta Upsilon during their year of probation, see *MC*, January 27, 1989, March 10, 1989, and March 17, 1989. On the decisions to allow them back into the house and to end the probationary status, see *MC*, October 13, 1989; and *MCM* 63 (summer 1989): 43.
137. *MC*, May 4, 1989.
138. *MC*, January 19, 1990, and March 16, 1990.
139. See David Stameshkin, "Recent Actions of Other Schools Regarding Fraternities," unpublished manuscript, spring 1988, and David M. Stameshkin, "A History of Fraternities and Sororities at Franklin & Marshall College, 1854–1987," unpublished manuscript, spring 1988, both in Franklin and Marshall College Archives.
140. *MC*, March 10, 1989; and FM, March 6, 1989.
141. *MCM*, 63 (spring 1989): 41–42; and *Report of the Task Force on Student Social Life* (Middlebury, Vt., 1989), 1–2.
142. MCM, 63 (Spring 1989): 41–43.
143. *MC*, December 1, 1990.
144. Board of Trustees to Middlebury Community, January 13, 1990, MCA; *MC*, January 19, 1990; and Dwight Garner '88, "Frats under Fire," *MCM* 64 (spring 1990): 21–23.
145. Ellen Basu et al. to Board of Trustees and President Robison, January 23, 1990, in FM (1989–90), attached to January 23 minutes.
146. FM, January 23, 1990.
147. On the spring 1990 deliberations, see *MC*, February 23, 1990, March 2, 1990, April 6, 1990, April 13, 1990, and April 27, 1990; Garner, "Frats under Fire,"

21–23; and *MCM* 64 (summer 1990): 13. Although total compliance appeared probable, the head of the Delta Kappa Epsilon alumni group, John L. Buttolph III '64, stated in the summer of 1990 that the DKE chapter had not yet determined what they were going to do. See *MCM* 64 (Summer 1990), pp. 5–6.

148. Annual Report of the Dean of the College, 1964–65, p. 7, President's Files, 1965 folder, Old Chapel Attic.

CHAPTER 12. SOCIAL AND EXTRACURRICULAR LIFE (PAGES 243–69)

1. There has been very little written about the history of sororities that is useful. Even the outstanding study of college youth in the 1920s by Paula Fass, *The Damned and the Beautiful* (New York, 1977), contains a good deal about fraternities but almost nothing regarding sororities. For some information, see Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Campus Life: Undergraduate Cultures from the End of the Eighteenth Century to the Present* (New York, 1987), chap. 9.

2. See *MC*, January 2, 1918, March 6, 1918, and May 10, 1922. Pi Beta Phi sorority had rooms in the Battell Block for fifty-three years. See *SK*, pp. 81, 82.

3. For examples of sorority social events, see *MC*, January 2, 1918, March 29, 1922, April 9, 1924, and May 14, 1924. For a defense of sororities, see the section of a Panhellenic Council booklet for freshmen quoted in *MC*, October 5, 1961. On social welfare activities, see Report of the President to the Trustees, July 1, 1955, to June 30, 1956, manuscript, p. 3, Old Chapel Attic.

4. The number of women in sororities is based on membership figures listed in the annual *Kaleidoscope*, occasional mention of the number of women pledged in *MC*, and information in individual biographical accounts in the *GC*. Also see *MC*, October 26, 1921, November 29, 1922, October 29, 1924, October 27, 1926, November 23, 1927, and February 26, 1936. The Gamma Lambda chapter of Kappa Kappa Gamma was organized in 1923 from the Alpha Zeta chapter of Alpha Chi. Pi Beta Phi had been at Middlebury since 1893. Sigma Kappa was founded in 1911 after Pi Mu Epsilon decided to disband and become a national affiliate of Sigma Kappa. Delta Delta Delta emerged in 1917, about the time Phi Mu Gamma died a natural death. Alpha Xi Delta was organized from Theta Chi Epsilon in 1925, and Phi Mu was formed from a local chapter, Delta Omega Delta, also in 1925. See *SK*, pp. 80–84; and *MC*, May 10, 1922, June 18, 1923, June 17, 1925, and September 23, 1925.

5. Results printed in *MCNL* 6 (June 1932): 3. Also see interview with Juanita Pritchard Cook '26, February 24, 1975; and interview with Marian Munford '32, March 3, 1975, MCA.

6. *MC*, May 4, 1932, May 18, 1932, and May 25, 1932.

7. *MC*, February 22, 1933. The students had petitioned the administration to have a numerical vote (rather than a vote by sorority) with a two-thirds majority required. Also see *MC*, January 18, 1933, January 24, 1933, and February 8, 1933.

8. *MC*, March 1, 1933, March 8, 1933, and March 15, 1933.

9. Interview with Marian Munford, March 3, 1975; *MC*, December 6, 1933; and interview with Eleanor Benjamin Clemens, February 25, 1975, MCA.

10. See relevant documents in Sororities—Abolition file, S5/104, MCA. Also see CM, 4:46.

11. *MC*, December 13, 1933, and January 10, 1934.

12. CM, 4:59, 63, 65.

13. Interviews with Marian Munford, March 3, 1975, and with Eleanor Benjamin Clemens, February 25, 1975; and *MC*, November 6, 1935.

14. *MC*, November 8, 1945, November 15, 1945, April 4, 1946, February 20, 1947; and June Brogger Noble '46, "Coming of Age in World War II," *MCNL* 49 (winter 1975): 15.

15. See President's Report, 1954, manuscript, p. 10, MCA.

16. President's Report, 1959–60, pp. 25–26, MCA.

17. *MC*, October 5, 1961.

18. *MC*, March 8, 1962.

19. On this issue, see Elizabeth Kelly interview tape, A13/59, MCA.

20. *MC*, May 9, 1963.

21. *MC*, January 13, 1966.

22. *MC*, May 9, 1968, and May 16, 1968.

23. *MC*, October 3, 1968, January 16, 1969, and January 23, 1969.

24. PM, 3:1055.

25. *MC*, February 20, 1969.

26. *MC*, September 24, 1919.

27. For student groups in the interwar period, I have consulted the *MC*, and the annual *Kaleidoscope*. A particularly good roster of clubs and activities appears in *MCNL* 6 (April 1932): 11.

28. On the Mountain Club, which was organized following a climb up Lincoln Mountain by students and faculty to take publicity shots for the college, see *MC*, January 21, 1931, and January 28, 1931. By 1938 the Mountain Club was the largest club on campus. See *MC*, November 16, 1938. The Outing Club had been formed in 1920, modeled after one at Dartmouth. See *MC*, May 28, 1919, March 3, 1920, and February 9, 1921. On the drama club, see *MC*, October 10, 1923, June 1, 1927, March 27, 1929, and *MC*, April 28, 1949. On the Liberal Club and Women's Forum, see *MC*, November 20, 1935, April 15, 1936, and April 29, 1936. The origins of the radio station are described in "WMCRS Is on the Air," *MCNL* 24 (January 1950): 18, 21; *MC*, March 31, 1949; and interview with Ken Nourse '52, February 13, 1975, MCA. Debate can be followed through the 1920s and 1930s by using the card file prepared for that period by Deborah Clifford, in MCA.

29. See *MC*, December 16, 1925; and "Extra Curricular," *MCNL* 6 (April 1932): 10.

30. See, for example, *MC*, December 3, 1919, March 12, 1930, May 15, 1935, and September 28, 1938.

31. FM (1923): 89–93; and *MC*, April 18, 1923.

32. *MC*, May 9, 1923, October 3, 1923, and September 24, 1924.

33. On Senior Week, see *MC*, May 29, 1929. Junior Week originally was intended to show off the college to prospective students. Later, it became a week-long period of interclass and intercollegiate sporting events and numerous social events, particularly the junior prom. By the 1940s, it had been concentrated into a "weekend." See *MC*, May 10, 1922, May 13, 1936, and May 15, 1940; and *SK*, 170–71.

34. On tapping, see *MC*, May 14, 1932; and interview with Gordie Perine '49, February 28, 1975, MCA. On Mortar Board (which had been Banshees until 1928), see *MC*, May 16, 1928. Blue Key was formed from two class societies—Delta Tau and Sages—in 1930. See *SK*, 113.

35. On the desire to retain class distinctions, see *MC*, February 26, 1919, and November 1, 1962. On Midd-Nite, see *MC*, October 2, 1935, and September 23,

1948. On early P-rades, see *MC*, May 7, 1919, and October 19, 1921. On the history of the P-rades in the 1930s, see *SK*, 164.

36. *MC*, November 3, 1926, October 2, 1929, October 29, 1953, and September 26, 1968. The *Campus* frequently reported on college opposition to hazing. See also FM (1924): 40; FM (1927): 9; FM (1929): 9.

37. *MC*, October 29, 1929.

38. *MCM* 63 (summer 1989): 60.

39. *MCM* 63 (autumn 1989): 62.

40. *MC*, May 2, 1923.

41. *MC*, October 31, 1917, April 23, 1919, April 30, 1919, November 4, 1921, and May 18, 1938.

42. *MC*, March 14, 1923, and October 10, 1923. On Blue Key, see *MC*, April 4, 1931, December 2, 1931, September 28, 1938, October 12, 1938, November 7, 1946, October 27, 1960, November 3, 1960, May 21, 1964, and September 26, 1968.

43. On veterans' attitudes in the late 1940s, see chap. 11, pp. 218–20.

44. *MC*, October 27, 1960.

45. See President's Report to the Board, 1958–59, p. 3, MCA; "President's Report to the Board, 1959–60," p. 5; and interview with Thomas Reynolds, October 3, 1975, MCA.

46. Women lived in dormitories by class, which reinforced class feelings. See *MC*, March 5, 1953. On life at other schools, see Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Alma Mater: Design and Experience in the Women's Colleges from Their Nineteenth-Century Beginnings to the 1930s* (New York, 1984).

47. Dorothy Tillapaugh Headley, "Dorothy Goes to College: The Letters of a Coed from Middlebury to Her Family, 1921–1924," pp. 16–17, typed copy in MCA.

48. *MC*, May 21, 1924.

49. *SK*, 190–91; *MC*, June 14, 1922, May 25, 1938, and May 5, 1955.

50. *MC*, May 25, 1938.

51. *MCM*, 60 (autumn 1986): 30–31.

52. See *MC*, January 24, 1917, February 18, 1920, March 3, 1920, February 16, 1921, and February 22, 1951; and *SK*, 166–68.

53. *SK*, 166–68; and *MC*, February 7, 1934, February 5, 1936, February 12, 1936, and February 19, 1936. For faculty reminiscences of early carnivals, see *MC*, February 25, 1965.

54. FM (1917): 17–18.

55. *MC*, December 14, 1932, and November 15, 1933. On other dances, see *MC*, November 8, 1916, February 11, 1920, December 7, 1932, January 15, 1936, and November 4, 1936.

56. *MC*, October 12, 1932. One faculty or trustee couple had to be on the list of chaperones for any affair after 1933. For the Halloween party at the chateau, see *MC*, October 28, 1925. For Spanish Carnival, see *MC*, December 7, 1927.

57. *MCM* 63 (spring 1989): 59.

58. See, for example, *MC*, December 14, 1938, and May 18, 1938 for big band appearances.

59. See interview with Fred Neuberger '50, February 3, 1975, MCA. On bull sessions, see *MC*, February 11, 1925, October 26, 1927, and May 30, 1928.

60. Interview with T. Richardson Miner '58, June 3, 1975; "Interview with Elizabeth Kelly," *MCNL* 44 (spring 1970): 9, MCA; *MC*, May 14, 1964, September 26, 1968, and November 2, 1972; and interview with Gordie Perine, MCA; The introduction by Dean Reynolds of the Junior Fellow system in the residence halls gave freshmen a better way to learn about Middlebury. See interview with Reynolds, October 3, 1975, MCA; and "President's Page," *MCNL* 34 (fall 1959): 11.

61. *MC*, January 28, 1971.

62. Restrictions on the use of automobiles were steadily lifted after 1945. See *MC*, June 1, 1927, May 7, 1930, and October 2, 1954; Harris Thurber, "Automobiles at Middlebury," *MCNL* 32 (autumn 1957): 11, 30; FM (1949–51): 21–22, 125–26, 133; *SK*, 162; CM, 6:604–5, 8:1014; *MAC* (1967–68): 129; and *MAC* (1969–70): 36.

63. *MC*, November 10, 1976.

64. On the origins of May Days, an idea attributed to Dean Steven Rockefeller and Professor Victor Nuovo, see CM, 12:1794; and interview with Erica Wonnacott, July 16, 1986, MCA. On WRMC, see *MC*, March 27, 1981; interview with Ken Nourse '52, February 13, 1975, MCA; and Donald M. Kreis '80, "And Now for the News . . . ," *MCNL* 52 (spring 1978): 8–9. On off-campus living, see *MC*, November 20, 1987, and April 22, 1988. On college actions, see *MC*, September 25, 1987, January 20, 1989, and March 17, 1989.

65. *MC*, April 23, 1982.

66. *MC*, February 21, 1917.

67. *MC*, November 6, 1918.

68. *MC*, May 28, 1919. For trustee action, see CM, 3:112, 122. The sum was raised to $2,500 for 1920–21.

69. *MC*, September 28, 1921. On the success of the early entertainment series, see *MC*, March 2, 1921, and June 22, 1921.

70. *MCM* 60 (summer 1986): 28.

71. Each administration seemed to increase the number of concerts and other programs. See President's Report to the Trustees, October 20, 1969, manuscript, MCA, in which Armstrong remarked that ninety-one lectures and discussions, eighty-five films, and fifty-five concerts and recitals were held in 1968–1969, compared to only fifty-eight lecturers, thirty-one films, and ten concerts in 1964–1965. On further increases in the Robison years, see Olin Robison, *A Report to the Board of Trustees, 1975–1980* (Middlebury, Vt., 1980), 8.

72. Robison's Ten-Year Report, unpublished draft, in author's possession; and interviews with administrators and faculty over a fifteen-year period.

73. Paul Desruisseaux, "A Lake Wobegon Weekend," *MCM* 57 (summer 1983): 12–16; and *MC*, March 18, 1988, and April 8, 1988.

74. *MC*, October 5, 1984; and "A Man with a Heart," *MCM* 59 (autumn 1984): 10–17.

75. "Spirit and Nature," *MCM* 65 (winter 1991): 22–34.

76. *MCM* 63 (autumn 1989): 62.

77. *Report of the "21" Committee: Middlebury College and the Legal Drinking Age* (Middlebury, Vt., April 19, 1985), pp. 1–2.

78. I have no statistical data to back up my claim of increased drinking at the college; it is based on personal observation and interviews over the past twenty years. Certainly, there was a good deal of drinking and abuse. See, for example, ibid.; *MC*, October 25, 1978, and November 6, 1980; and *Report of the Drug Task Force* (Middlebury, Vt., May 1987), pp. 3–4, MCA.

79. On the change in Vermont law and its impact, see *MCM* 61 (Winter 1986): 10; and *MC*, September 19, 1986. On college attitudes toward alcohol and alcohol policy in the early 1980s, see *Report and Recommendations of the Middlebury College Alcohol Committee* (Middlebury, Vt., October 9, 1981), MCA.

80. *Report of the "21" Committee*, p. 10.

81. On The Undergraduate, see *MCM* 62 (spring 1988): 44; and *MC*, November 6, 1987, January 15, 1988, and January 22, 1988. On The Gamut, see *MC*,

October 20, 1989. For one early statement that the new center might help with the alcohol problem, see Robison to Board of Trustees, memorandum, February [illegible] 1985, appended to Board minutes, March 9, 1985.

82. *MC*, May 8, 1987, September 11, 1987, October 2, 1987, February 26, [illegible] April 29, 1988, and September 30, 1988.

83. See *MC*, October 31, 1986, October 2, 1987, and February 19, 1988; [illegible] *MCM* 61 (spring 1987): 8. The quotation is from PM, May 19, 1988, p. 1443.

84. Marijuana was smoked covertly in small (but increasing) quantities [illegible] growing number of students in the period 1964–1968. In 1968–1969 and after [illegible] was much more widespread and smoked less guardedly. This statement is based [illegible] a number of interviews with students of that period (most of whom wished [illegible] main anonymous). Administrative reports agree with these observations. See [illegible] March 2, 1967, October 24, 1968, and April 17, 1969. In 1967 only 33 percent [illegible] tried marijuana. By 1970, 75 percent of the students had probably used it. See [illegible] nual Report of the Dean of the College, August 16, 1968, MCA; PM, 3:[illegible] CM, 9:1260.

85. David Y. Parker '74, letter to editor in *MCM* 62 (summer 1988): 3.

86. *MC*, November 6, 1980.

87. *MC*, February 28, 1986, September 19, 1986, and March 6, 1987; and [illegible] 60 (summer 1986): 6.

88. *Report of the Drug Task Force*, p. 1. On national coverage, see, for [illegible] *New York Times*, February 23 and 24, 1986; and the *Providence Journal* [illegible] printed in the *San Diego Tribune*, February 27, 1986. I also found useful the [illegible] folders of press clippings regarding the Zaccaro affair that are in the Middle[illegible] College Public Affairs office.

89. *MC*, April 15, 1988.

90. *Rutland (Vt.) Herald*, February 25, 1986.

91. *MC*, February 27, 1987, October 17, 1987, and March 18, 1988; CM, [illegible] 2048–51; and *Report of the Drug Task Force*.

92. On the YWCA in the years 1910–1930, see, for example, *MC*, January [illegible] 1917, September 28, 1921, October 26, 1921, November 2, 1921, November [illegible] 1921, November 30, 1921, December 14, 1921, February 22, 1922, April 5, [illegible] November 1, 1922, November 21, 1923, December 5, 1923, April 9, 1924, Septem[illegible] ber 24, 1924, October 1, 1924, November 25, 1925, March 9, 1927, June [illegible] and February 6, 1929.

93. On YMCA affairs, see *MC*, June 14, 1916, December 6, 1916, June [illegible] September 28, 1921, October 31, 1923, April 9, 1924, December 17, 1924, Janu[illegible] 1925, and November 3, 1926. From 1919 to 1923, there was a Sunday men's club [illegible] that folded, too. See *MC*, December 10, 1919, February 7, 1923, and Septem[illegible] 1923.

94. Moody to Phillips P. Elliott, November 9, 1927, MP, MCA.

95. *MC*, October 19, 1927.

96. W. Storrs Lee '28 to David Stameshkin, September 6, 1976, MCA. [illegible] student preachers, also see *GC*, 447, for the work of Robert Taylor '19.

97. Moody to Charles E. Crane, June 20, 1923, MP, MCA.

98. Lee to Stameshkin, September 6, 1976.

99. Moody to George W. Parker, February 12, 1923, MP, MCA. Moody [illegible] strongly believe in studying Scriptures, and, for a brief time in the early [illegible] dents apparently were required to pass an examination in Bible in order to [illegible] See CM, 3:302; and *MC*, October 1, 1930.

100. John G. Bowker, "Middlebury College in Retrospect," *MCNL* 41 (spring [illegible]): 13. On the time change in 1916, see *MC*, June 21, 1916.

101. See *MC*, December 12, 1923, March 4, 1925, March 10, 1926, March 17, [illegible], and January 29, 1936.

102. *MCM* 60 (spring 1986): 29; *MC*, November 3, 1926, and November 17, [illegible]. For examples of vespers preaching, see *MC*, November 9, 1921, September 24, [illegible], and October 30, 1935.

103. *MC*, February 20, 1987.

104. Stephen Freeman, "Thirty-eight Years of Middlebury," *MCNL* 38 (autumn [illegible]): 20.

105. *MCM* 59 (summer 1985): 38.

106. *MC*, September 30, 1942. On opposition to required chapel during World War II, see Noble, "Coming of Age in World War II," 15.

107. See *MCNL* 32 (autumn 1957): 19; Charles P. Scott, "Religion at Middlebury College," *MCNL* 29 (April 1954): 15–17, 21; and interview with Charles Scott, June 24, 1975, MCA.

108. Interview with D. K. Smith '42, March 10, 1975, MCA.

109. *MC*, April 20, 1950, April 27, 1950, May 11, 1950, and May 18, 1950.

110. CM, 6:511; and *MC*, October 9, 1952.

111. Interview with Charles Scott, June 24, 1975.

112. CM, 7:686–87, 700; *MC*, September 24, 1953, April 25, 1957, May 2, 1957, May 9, 1957, and September 19, 1957.

113. *MC*, November 10, 1960, November 17, 1960, December 8, 1960, January 12, 1961, January 19, 1961, and September 21, 1961; and PM, 2:719.

114. *MC*, May 9, 1957.

115. Scott, "Religion at Middlebury College," 15.

116. Ibid., 15–17; *MC*, December 9, 1954; interview with Charles Scott, June 24, 1975; President's Report, 1955–56, p. 3, MCA; and *MC*, January 22, 1982. In 1957 the [illegible]ference was endowed by Don Mitchell, chairman of Sylvania Corporation. See [illegible]AC (1959–60). The student who worked with Scott to start Hillel at Middlebury, [illegible]ald B. Zelermyer '61, later became the first Middlebury graduate to become a [illegible]. See *MCM* 58 (summer 1984): 47. On Hillel and Jewish students in the 1980s, [illegible] *MC*, October 16, 1987, and January 27, 1989.

117. Interview with Charles Scott, June 24, 1975; and Scott, "Religion at Middlebury College," 16–17.

118. *MC*, October 17, 1986, and March 11, 1988.

119. JT to James P. McNaboe, June 1, 1917, TP, MCA.

CHAPTER 13. ATHLETICS (PAGES 270–93)

1. On the dominance of football at most American colleges, see Benjamin G. [illegible]der, *American Sports: From the Age of Folk Games to the Age of Spectators* (Engle[illegible]wood Cliffs, N.J., 1983), 209–15, 266–75; and Douglas A. Noverr and Lawrence E. [illegible]acz, *The Games They Played: Sports in American History, 1865–1980* (Chicago, [illegible]), 44–47, 80–83, 113–17, 142–44, 161–64, 179–80, 202–10, 246–55, 309–16.

2. *MC*, November 22, 1916.

3. On college spirit in the interwar period, see *MC*, May 14, 1919, October 15, [illegible], October 20, 1926, October 3, 1928, and November 20, 1935.

4. *MC*, February 29, 1928.