

THE STRENGTH  
OF THE HILLS

Middlebury College,  
1915-1990

David M. Stameshkin

MIDDLEBURY COLLEGE PRESS  
Published by University Press of New England  
Hanover and London

1996

pants and inspired strong feelings of loyalty from students, faculty, alumni, and townspeople. The teams were recognized as a major source of good public relations. Between the wars, men's football was the major sport. After 1945 a growing interest in winter sports (which had developed in the 1920s and 1930s) placed Middlebury in the forefront in men's and women's skiing and, briefly, ice hockey. Gradually, a spare of other men's sports were organized or upgraded in status, and women's intercollegiate sports grew rapidly after 1968 in number and importance. By the end of the 1980s more than one-third of Middlebury students were participating in intercollegiate athletics each year, and half of all students joined a team at some point in their undergraduate careers. Intramural sports, physical education programs, improved athletic facilities, and the development of the Snow Bowl after World War II helped ensure that all students would have opportunities for recreation.

Football has dominated most American college athletic programs since 1900, and this was also true of Middlebury, particularly between 1916 and 1945.<sup>1</sup> The struggles on the field were critical for the fans as well as the participants, as the games became symbolic struggles for institutional—not just team—superiority. In 1916, when Middlebury, captained by Ted Lang '17, won its first Vermont state football championship by defeating the University of Vermont (UVM) 6-2 on a sixteen-yard pass from James Bower '20 to Earle Good '20, the *Campus*, described the victory in monumental terms:

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. The spirit of Gamaliel Painter is once more abroad and

## CHAPTER 13

# ATHLETICS

One of the most dramatic scenes in the annals of the gridiron was enacted when a little group of boys came down from a small hamlet in the Vermont mountains, overcame seemingly unsurmountable odds and held the much vaunted gridiron legions of mighty Harvard to a 6-6 tie before 25,000 amazed and wild-eyed human beings in the big Harvard Stadium.

—“84 Years of Football Traditions,” 1977,  
Middlebury College Public Relations Files

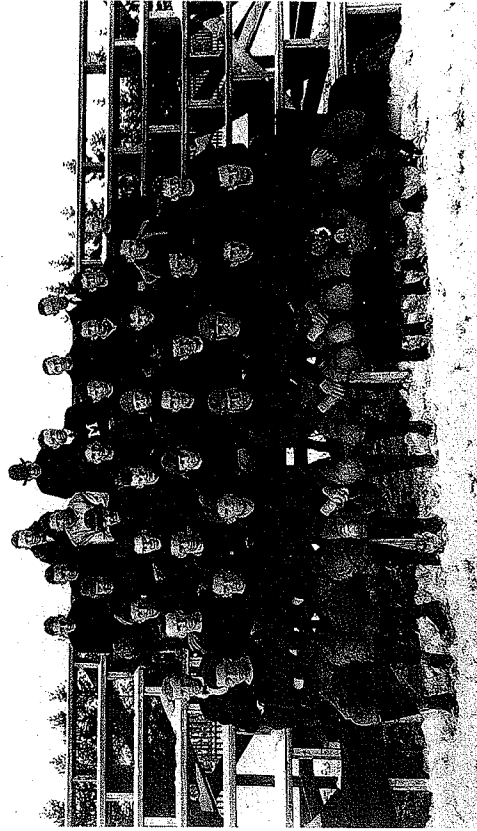
I sometimes have thought that we weren't as devastatingly bad as our awful record signified, just especially unlucky. I've since resolved that issue. We were bad. And unlucky. . . . We really tried so very hard. We cried after losses, banged lockers, and rededicated ourselves to greater effort—and continued to lose. And lose and lose. . . . We ran until our tongues hung out. No team was better conditioned. Unfortunately, we were a basketball and not a track team.

—Karl Lindholm, “Also Plays,” *Middlebury College Magazine* 60 (spring 1986): 20-21

Next year with a little more work and more enthusiasm we might turn the snow and cold of winter months into advantage for the whole college. . . . here in Middlebury, where there is so much territory to tramp over, and where Breadloaf Inn and the cabins of the Green Mountain Club are not far distant.

—*Middlebury Campus*, March 3, 1920

Intercollegiate and intramural athletics were among the most popular activities at Middlebury between 1915 and 1990. Except during World War II, when squads were not fielded, the intercollegiate teams provided memorable competitive experiences for the partici-



*Dressed in the thin uniforms of 1919, Middlebury's state champions gathered on the bleachers for a commemorative photograph.*

his cane is now an inspiration to the student body as well as to its honored possessor.<sup>2</sup>

Athletic victories not only provided hope for the future and solace for years of inferiority but also engendered intense feelings of loyalty. Rallies, bonfires, and parades brought students, faculty, and townspeople together in celebration of the college's successes.<sup>3</sup> The basketball team won one of the most important victories in the school's history by defeating UVM in 1928 for the first time in twelve years. The reaction was ecstatic: "Townpeople joined with students to riot over the campus in an impromptu celebration of the occasion. Everything available in the way of inflammable material was piled high near the gym and transformed into a mammoth bonfire."<sup>4</sup>

Successful athletic teams also generated greater publicity for many American colleges, thereby increasing alumni support and more applications for admission. With this in mind, A. Barton Hepburn 1871 gave the college \$65,000 in 1920 for the support of football and baseball, then the major intercollegiate sports at Middlebury.<sup>5</sup> Hepburn told the grateful trustees that he donated the money in large part because "I particularly believe in successful athletics, as the best means of college advertising, and that is the particular feature which I wish to serve at this time."<sup>6</sup>

The Hepburn gift helped usher in a decade of football boom and bust. The college—to increase its visibility and prestige in the eyes of the public (and particularly high school students)—began in the early 1920s to schedule games with some of the most powerful schools in the East: Columbia, Penn State, Yale, and Harvard. Indeed, after the 1921 season, the school received a "wealth of flattering offers" from big football powers to play them in 1922, and the *Campus* urged Middlebury to accept.

In preparing the 1922 schedule it will be well to remember that the varsity contests this year against teams of widely recognized standing were infinitely more valuable as advertising than were any of the games for the State Championship . . . the plain truth is that a strong fight against Harvard though a losing one, means more to a greater number of prospective freshmen than a victory over Norwich, Clarkson or St. Lawrence.<sup>7</sup>

Even a doubtful President Moody was temporarily convinced. "I am rapidly becoming reconciled to the idea of our football team playing a schedule of big teams throughout the East," he told a cheering student rally before the 1922 Penn State game.<sup>8</sup>

Fortunately, Middlebury also attracted some outstanding football players, and the team performed admirably between 1921 and 1924. Sparked by Stone Hallquist '25, Alfred Brosowsky '25, Herbert Riegelman '25, Aloys Papke '25, Joseph Novotny '26, and William McLaughlin '26, the 1923 team barely lost to Columbia (led by guard Lou Gehrig) 9-6 and played powerful Harvard to a 6-6 tie in Cambridge as Marshall Klevenow '25 kicked two late field goals. According to the *Boston Globe* report, David had undone Goliath again: "One of the most dramatic scenes in the annals of the gridiron was enacted when a little group of boys came down from a small hamlet in the Vermont mountains, overcame seemingly unsurmountable odds and held the much vaunted gridiron legions of mighty Harvard to a 6-6 tie before 25,000 amazed and wild-eyed human beings in the big Harvard Stadium."<sup>9</sup> Legend has it that President Moody called the team in Cambridge to hear the final score. "Six to six," he was told. "Sixty-six to what?" Moody replied, expecting the worst. Although Harvard won the next year, 16-6 before thirty-five thousand fans, that 1924 Middlebury team trounced all the rest of its opponents, won the Vermont state championship, piled up the most points in the East, and placed several of its members on the all-star teams picked by eastern sportswriters.<sup>10</sup>

*Football was the major intercollegiate sport between the two world wars. President Moody strove to keep it no more than one part of a balanced education, but he enjoyed attending games such as this one, which he watched with Coach Benjamin H. Beck.*



athletically talented transfer students and freshmen to play immediately on varsity teams, and of making scholastic and financial concessions to athletes. Middlebury coaches worked year-round after 1923 and were paid on the same scale as faculty members. Transfer students and freshmen had to wait one year before playing, and varsity players were treated no differently from other students in receiving financial aid or other benefits.<sup>13</sup>

Between 1926 and 1929, the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching investigated intercollegiate athletics at 112 colleges and universities. Although Middlebury was cleared of any charges of recruiting athletes, it was not on the list of twenty-eight schools at which "no evidence was found that athletes were subsidized by any group or individual."<sup>14</sup> Moody was surprised at the intimation that the college was subsidizing athletics in some ways.

This is rather amusing for one of the most frequently voiced criticisms has been that not enough was done here for athletes. Impartial investigators felt that we erred in the opposite direction.

However the jacket fits, we have no alternative to wearing it. And while we would like to have been 100% impeccable, we are grateful that we are exonerated from any suspicion of recruiting. There was a time when this could not have been said of us, in those dear bye gone days when our standards of sportsmanship were not as high as our scores. It is more important to be 100% sportsmen than to be 100% victorious. Some prices are too high for the ephemeral value of athletic victories.<sup>15</sup>

Middlebury settled down to a small-college football schedule in the 1930s and, under Coach Ben Beck (1928-1941), fielded several fine teams. Sam Guarnaccia '30, Walter "Duke" Nelson '32, and Walt Boehm '35 (the college's first All-American) spearheaded Beck's early teams. In 1936, led by Captain Bill Craig '37, John Kirk '39, George Anderson '38, John Cridland '38, John Chalmers '38, Vic Seixas '37, Bobby Boehm '38, Swede Liljenstein '38, Paul Guarnaccia '38, John Golembeskie '39, and Randall Hoffman '37, the Panthers recorded the school's first perfect undefeated season.<sup>16</sup> The small squads of those days played "both ways" — offense and defense — and the fans seemed not to miss the "big-time" atmosphere of the 1920s. "In spite of occasional wailings from fanatically loyal alumni who weep at the death of the orgiastic era when 'football was football,'" a *Campus* editor commented in 1933, "we of Middlebury have

The euphoria was short-lived. Many of the best players graduated the following spring, Coach David Morey resigned to coach in the South, and a weakened squad could no longer compete with the best teams in the East. They were routed 53-0 by Yale to open the 1925 campaign and crushed 68-0 by Harvard the following week. For the next several years the stronger Ivy League and eastern university teams considered Middlebury a setup and gradually dropped the school from their schedules. Columbia, the last football power to play Middlebury, stopped in 1933 after severely drubbing the Panthers several years in a row.<sup>11</sup>

President Moody was apparently pleased when the college descended from the ranks of "big-time" football. He told entering freshmen in the late 1930s that he was greatly relieved that the 6-6 tie with Harvard had not led to greater emphasis on sports.<sup>12</sup> Indeed, Moody fought during the 1920s to keep athletics in perspective. In cooperation with the presidents of other New England colleges, he ended the practices of hiring high-paid seasonal coaches, of allowing

come to realize that the greatest good to be gained from athletic competition comes from a season of comparable opposition, and not from futile expense of health and morale against a juggernaut of overwhelming weight and reserve."<sup>17</sup> Following the brief flirtation with big-time football, the most important games each year were with Williams, Norwich, and (until the series ended in 1968) the University of Vermont.<sup>18</sup>

After the war, Walter "Duke" Nelson '32 assumed the coaching duties (1946-1968) and led the club to 6-1 and 7-1 seasons in 1947 and 1948. "Duke" compiled a fine 83-75-10 record during his twenty-two years and coached many outstanding players, including Wendy Forbes '51, John Zabriskie '55, Dick Atkinson '60, Charles Brush, '69, and Lee Cartmill '71. Nelson introduced two-platoon football, which resulted in larger squads, more coaches, and greater emphasis on specialization.<sup>19</sup> Middlebury football had its greatest success in the 1970s, when, under the leadership of coaches John W. Anderson (1969-1972) and Michael G. Heinecken (1973-), the Panthers had the best record of any college-division team in New England and ranked eighth nationally. Men from the class of 1974, one of the most athletically talented in the school's history, helped anchor both the undefeated 1972 team (the first since 1936) and the 1973 squad, which lost only one (disputed) game to Norwich. Quarterbacks Peter Mackey '74 and Doug Cramphin '74, halfbacks Phil Pope '73 and Tom O'Connor '75, tackle Dave Uyrus '73, and linebacker Jim Barrington '75 were among the stars. Roy Heffernan '78, a fine halfback, set new rushing marks and, along with linebacker Duane Ford '78, led the Panthers to three excellent seasons.

The team continued to do well in the early 1980s, with a 7-1 record in 1981, after which Heinecken was named Coach of the Year in New England. Ted Virtue '82, Bill Genovese '82, Jim Loveys '82, Jon Good '84, Jon Peterson '86, Tom Mahon '84, and tight end Beau Coash '82 (who played for the Boston Breakers and later had a try-out with the New England Patriots) were among the outstanding players in those years. After 1985, however, the team did not fare as well (a record of 15-32-1 from 1985 to 1989), perhaps because of subtle changes in the admissions/recruiting strategy.<sup>20</sup>

Aside from skiing and hockey, no other sport approached football in popularity until the 1970s. Basketball never caught on at Middle-

bury as it did elsewhere; this was undoubtedly because of the popularity of outdoor winter sports and the generally poor performance of Middlebury teams over the years. Since 1918, when basketball was declared a major varsity sport, good seasons were rare. Coach Tony Lupien managed a winning record during his tenure (1951-1956), relying on the scoring of Alfred "Sonny" Dennis '55 and the rebounding of Tom Hart '56, who still holds college and NCAA rebounding records. But from 1956 to 1970 the team compiled an abysmal record, 49-232, including several winless seasons. Karl Lindholm '67, who played on several of these hapless teams (including the 1966-1967 squad, which had the worst record, 1-23, of any college team that year) has recalled the frustrations:

I sometimes have thought that we weren't as devastatingly bad as our awful record signified, just especially unlucky. I've since resolved that issue. We were bad. And unlucky. . . . We really tried so very hard. We cried after losses, banged lockers, and rededicated ourselves to greater effort—and continued to lose. And lose and lose. . . . We ran until our tongues hung out. No team was better conditioned. Unfortunately, we were a basketball and not a track team.<sup>21</sup>

Later, under Coach G. Thomas Lawson (1970-1978), the fortunes were reversed, as outstanding players like Kevin Kelleher '80, David Pentkowski '75, Kevin Cummings '76, David Nelson '76, and David "Ben" Davidson '75, led the basketball team through its most successful decade.<sup>22</sup> The team returned to historical form in the 1980s (with a dismal 61-120 record between 1978 and 1987), although individual stars such as Paul Righi '82, Fain Hackney '83, John Thompson '87, and John Humphrey '88 (the school's all-time leading scorer) provided plenty of points and excitement.<sup>23</sup> Righi, a biopsychology major who graduated Phi Beta Kappa, with a grade point average of 3.84, and Pentkowski (a superb student and soccer player as well as a basketball star) were recipients of the prestigious NCAA Postgraduate Scholarship, awarded annually to only ten scholar-athletes.<sup>24</sup>

Spring comes late to Vermont, and spring varsity sports—baseball, tennis, golf, and track—usually attracted limited support from the college community. Baseball, a popular sport before World War I, declined in importance over the years. Schedules were limited and victories infrequent; the 1977 team (11-5) recorded the most wins

since 1915.<sup>25</sup> Middlebury had its first intercollegiate tennis match in 1920 and was playing a nine-game schedule by 1926. The extraordinary growth in the popularity of tennis in America after 1960 was reflected in the large number of Middlebury students who played tennis on campus. The addition of indoor courts after the war enabled them to play in the colder months as well, and students such as Fain Hackney '83 (Middlebury's first tennis All-American) and Pete Bostwick '58 had outstanding careers on the men's team.<sup>26</sup> But tennis as a varsity sport remained relatively minor in importance. Varsity golf and track were first organized in the 1920s. Undergraduates were allowed to use the nine-hole Middlebury Country Club course in 1925, and a team had achieved minor sport status by 1928. The course itself was expanded to eighteen holes between 1974 and 1977 under the direction of Ralph O. Myhre (after whom the course was named following his death in 1979).<sup>27</sup> Although Middlebury had competed with Norwich and UVM in track and field for many years, the first modern schedule was completed in 1924, when Reginald "Doc" Cook '24 led the team to its eighth consecutive state championship.<sup>28</sup>

After 1970 the most important developments in athletics (aside from winter sports) were the introduction and growing popularity of new sports like soccer and lacrosse; a greater emphasis on intramurals, "life-time" sports, and physical fitness; and the extraordinary growth of women's intercollegiate athletics.

Football's postwar supremacy was finally challenged by the successful men's soccer program. In 1954, Frank Punderson '55, who was both captain and coach, led Middlebury's first soccer team to a 4-0-2 record. During the next fourteen years the team compiled a 75-24-16 mark and developed a spate of outstanding players, including Rich Miner '58, Tor Hultgren '60, W. Davis Van Winkle '63, A. Keith Van Winkle '64, David Nicholson '67, Peter Askin '62, George Rubottom '62, John Marks '68, Peter Kovner '67, John Garrison '66, and three-time All-American J. Davis Webb '66. Perhaps the most outstanding teams were fielded in 1972 and 1973 (again, the remarkable class of 1974 was instrumental here), when the college recorded 9-0-1 and 10-0 seasons. The team allowed only one goal during the entire regular season of 1973, as halfbacks David Pentkowski '75, Andy Jackson '74, and Kevin Candon '74 demonstrated outstanding skills.

Between 1975 and 1985, the team continued its winning ways by compiling a record of 71-31-22 and capturing several New England championships. These squads were sparked by Steve Sass '78, Grayle Howlett '81, Chip Doubleday '81, Jamie Hutchins '83, Mike Noonan '83, F. W. Nugent '84, Van Dorsey '86, Marty Wenthe '85, and Chris Parsons '87, who led the 1986 outfit to a 14-2-1 record and the ECAC Division III eastern championship. The success of the team over the years and the growing interest of Americans in soccer spurred a lively following for the three squads that came to compete for the college—men's varsity, women's varsity, and men's "B" teams.<sup>29</sup>

Lacrosse also gained a substantial following after the war, when, with the prodding of Curtis Cushman '50, it was first accorded minor sport status. Many football players became attracted to the lacrosse team in the spring, and this helped Middlebury win nine ECAC New England titles after 1973. Indeed, thirty-four Middlebury men won All-American honors or mention in lacrosse in the period 1960-1990. Powerful midfielder John Burchard '81 starred in both football and lacrosse and was considered by his coaches to be "one of the best college athletes in Division III."<sup>30</sup> Other lacrosse stars who helped the Panthers to a 105-30 record between 1975 and 1985 included Will Graham '76, Peter Boucher '76, Bill Kuharich '76, Tom Callanan '77, Roy Heffernan '78, Roger Nicholas '80, Eric Kemp '80, Chip Clark '80, Jeff Thomsen '83, Mark Chafee '85, David Hennessy '85, Kevin Mahaney '85, and Steve Kirkpatrick '87. In 1988, the team had a 13-1 mark, won the ECAC championship, and ranked seventh in the country in Division III.

Other sports caught on later in the century. Men's cross-country first introduced in 1921, was reorganized in 1968 by skiing and cross-country coach John Bower and grew in popularity, undoubtedly helped by the national running and jogging craze of the 1970s and 1980s.<sup>31</sup> After several years as a club sport, men's swimming was elevated to varsity status in 1985. By 1990, a variety of men's club sports teams, including volleyball, squash, and rugby (as well as a coeducational rowing club) had been organized to compete on an ad hoc basis with other schools.<sup>32</sup>

Although only a minority could participate in varsity sports, most Middlebury students were involved in physical education and intramurals. Indeed, men and women were required to attend physical

education classes—segregated by sex—for most of the years between 1921 and 1970.<sup>33</sup> There was a physical education major until it was eliminated in 1957–1958, after which every male still had to complete a four-semester physical education requirement. In 1970 the board accepted a plan presented by the new director of athletics, Richard Colman, to integrate the men's and women's staffs and programs into one Department of Physical Education and Athletics.<sup>34</sup> Colman, with the assistance of Coach Mary Lick and the rest of his staff, also revised the unpopular four-semester men's physical education requirement by instituting a flexible (though still required) one-year coeducational curriculum, which emphasized (as the women's physical education program had previously done) lifetime sports and the recognition of previous athletic achievements.<sup>35</sup>

The physical fitness boom of the period 1960 to 1990 was particularly apparent among the type of upper-middle-class youth who attended Middlebury, and the demand for additional athletic and recreational facilities by varsity teams, individuals, and the intramural program led to the construction of Fletcher Field House in 1974 and its annex in 1989. Furthermore, Dean Steven Rockefeller arranged for the reopening of the outdoor skating rink at the base of Hepburn Hall, where it had been located until the construction of the Memorial Field House in 1949.<sup>36</sup>

An even more significant phenomenon after 1965 was the growing opportunity for women to compete in varsity athletics. From the founding of the Women's Athletic Association in 1912 until the late 1960s, women's athletics were a relatively unimportant and almost hidden part of college life. Instead of playing sports, the women were (according to the men) apparently expected to spend their time cheering for the men's teams. Indeed, as late as World War I, women were not supposed to appear in public in athletic garb, and only gradually were men allowed to attend women's games. A faculty member complained to the dean of women in 1919 that the "Department of Physical Education permitted women in gym costume, without skirts, to cross the public road" en route to Porter Field. After that, the women tried to use Porter at times they might "manage to escape the gaze of the men." The trustees finally allocated \$2,500 in 1921 for a new athletic field next to Pearsons in the relative privacy of the women's campus.<sup>37</sup>

Customs changed somewhat between the wars, and women had more freedom to dress appropriately for athletic activities. They began to take up ice skating, horseback riding, archery, golf, volleyball, field hockey, basketball, badminton, tennis, skiing, tobogganing, and fencing.<sup>38</sup> However, except for skiing, they primarily participated in physical education classes, intramural sports, and in occasional "sports days" at which Middlebury women competed against teams and individuals from other schools in sports such as tennis, basketball, or field hockey.<sup>39</sup> The annual sum allocated to women's sports was relatively tiny: \$300 in 1931–1932, for example, compared with nearly \$21,000 for men's sports.<sup>40</sup>

Beginning in the late 1960s, however, the women's movement and, more specifically, the phenomenal rise of women's intercollegiate athletics, had a major impact. Middlebury women organized varsity teams in field hockey (1968), swimming (1969), lacrosse (1969), tennis (1971), cross-country (1975), track (1975), squash (1976), basketball (1977), soccer (1979), and ice hockey (1981). In several of these sports, enough women turned out to form "B" teams, which also competed with other schools. Women's rugby and riding were also organized on a club level in the 1980s.<sup>41</sup>

The field hockey team had particular success, posting several undefeated seasons and excelling in postseason play. Edie MacAusland '75, Deb Daniels '75, Lisa Hill '81, Sue Butler '81, Michelle Plante '83, Helen Ladds '81, Julie Ewing '80, Ann McCollum '86, and many other fine players contributed to this outstanding record.<sup>42</sup> Other outstanding athletes include Karin VonBerg '81, an All-American distance runner and one of the best collegiate cross-country performers in the nation; Tina Ilgner '86, an All-American middle-distance runner in each of her four years at the college; Dorcas DenHartog '87, a gifted long-distance runner and cross-country skier who won the NCAA Division III women's cross-country championship in 1986; Megan Kemp '88, an All-American lacrosse player who led her team to an 11–3 record and a regional championship in her senior year; Victoria Hoyt '89, the first Middlebury woman to earn All-American honors in squash; Caroline Leary '92 and Kathy Dubzinski '90, who helped the basketball team win eighteen games in 1989–1990; and Debbie Gow '90, a high-scoring tri-captain of the ice hockey team.<sup>43</sup>

Athletic facilities also improved after 1970, as coaches such as

Mary Lick spoke out in favor of equality for women. In 1973, a small addition to the Memorial Field House, which was used for women's office and locker space allowed women for the first time to have realistic access to facilities other than McCullough Gymnasium.<sup>44</sup> The trustees remained concerned that the college was not in compliance with Title IX, and the extensive renovations of the old field house in 1981-1982 and the four new practice fields were designed to give women and men more equal facilities.<sup>45</sup> Some students expressed concern in the 1980s that the college should have more women coaches, and a number of women athletes again complained in 1988 about inferior facilities and coaching. "Middlebury College guarantees us equal educational opportunities," lacrosse captain Megan Kemp '88 stated. "We just want equal athletic opportunities as well. We just want them to respect us as athletes." In the fall of 1988, the college promised to remedy the situation, particularly to ensure that coaches for the women's teams were qualified.<sup>46</sup>

Middlebury's location in the hills of northern New England permitted an emphasis on winter sports, particularly skiing and hockey, as key elements in the athletic and recreational programs. In particular, the development of the Snow Bowl as a ski area set Middlebury apart from other schools, even as the growing popularity of skiing among middle- and upper-class families enhanced Middlebury's desirability among the very class of people the college sought to attract (see chapter 10).

Before World War I, Middlebury students apparently did not, at least in any organized way, take advantage of the snow that blanketed the Champlain Valley and the Green Mountains for months each winter. But several men formed an Outing Club in 1917, on the model of Dartmouth's successful group, and hoped to send a team to participate in the Dartmouth Winter Carnival. One member urged every Middlebury man to "take an active part in some winter sport" and to try out for the team, not only for the benefit of the club but also because "this will do much to bring Middlebury to the front in New England as several of the larger colleges would be represented there at that time."<sup>47</sup> The major events in those early days of intercollegiate skiing competition involved various kinds of ski and snowshoe races, including dashes, cross-country, and obstacle races.<sup>48</sup> Throughout the 1920s, although its teams often suffered from "a lack of student

interest" and poor organization and preparation, Middlebury men ventured to skiing meets and winter carnivals at Dartmouth, McGill, Norwich, and elsewhere.<sup>49</sup> Occasionally they even were victorious, as in 1922, when they swept the snowshoe race at McGill to become, as the *Campus* trumpeted, "the foremost collegiate snowshoers in this country."<sup>50</sup> Arthur Ferry '24, Roger Hall '22, Ray Noonan '21, and Cy Shelvey '23 (the first captain of a Middlebury ski team) were some of the stars of the early 1920s.<sup>51</sup>

The Outing Club also organized winter sports events just for Middlebury students, and the first Winter Holiday (forerunner of Winter Carnival) was held on February 23, 1920, on Chipman Hill (for the women) and at Noble's Grove (where the men competed). Although the affair was only a qualified success, the *Campus* urged (with some prescience) that it become an annual event. "Next year with a little more work and more enthusiasm we might turn the snow and cold of the winter months into advantage for the whole college. . . . here in Middlebury, where there is so much territory to tramp over, and where Breadloaf Inn and the cabins of the Green Mountain Club are not far distant."<sup>52</sup> After another Winter Holiday in 1921, the name was changed to Winter Carnival in 1922. Coach Morey expanded the activities the following year to include interclass and interfraternity contests designed to "entertain" more of the college community.<sup>53</sup> The early carnivals, which included ski and snowshoe races for men and women, ski jumping, and toboggan sliding, really had two purposes, as the *Campus* explained: "If the Winter Carnival is established as an annual fixture in Middlebury's program of college activities, it will aid in developing spirit, and, we hope, will speedily place the Outing Club's teams on a par with those of our New England and Canadian neighbors."<sup>54</sup> By 1924, however, the interest in organized winter sports (other than ice hockey) was waning, and the carnival was held only occasionally until 1934.<sup>55</sup> On the other hand, Coach Arthur Brown, who came to Middlebury in 1926, agreed to coach the ski team (although he apparently knew almost nothing about skiing), and Middlebury continued to compete with other schools in an increasing number of meets.<sup>56</sup>

Interest in skiing grew rapidly in the 1930s, particularly after the 1932 Winter Olympics at Lake Placid. W. Wyman Smith '35, Coach Brown, and Professor Perley Voter brought back a blueprint of the Municipal Jump at Lake Placid, and a twenty-seven-meter ski jump



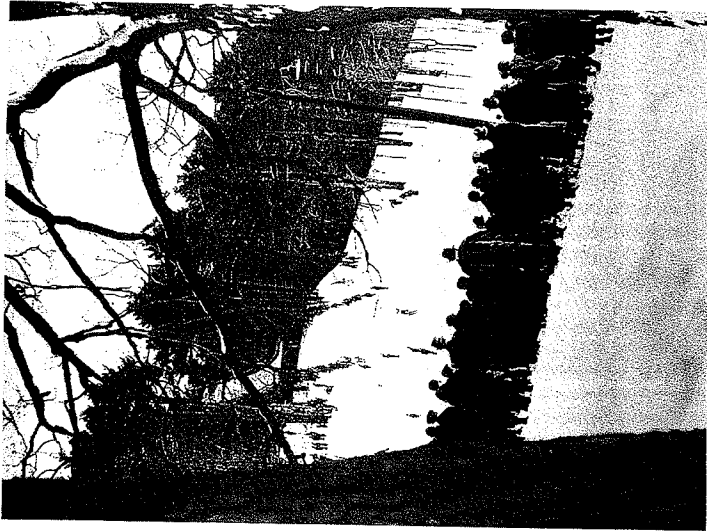


*Interfraternity rivalry created confections of snow and ice during Winter Carnival.*

was constructed on Chipman Hill in time for the college's first intercollegiate Winter Carnival on February 10-12, 1934.<sup>57</sup> That carnival, organized by the Mountain Club, featured the first women's intercollegiate meet at Middlebury, with women from UVM, McGill, and Skidmore competing.<sup>58</sup> In 1935-36, they improved the Chipman Hill trails and constructed a new ski jump. Although the new jump was a welcome addition, there was not much room to run out after the jump, and as Marion Holmes '33 has recalled, one jumper at the end of his run took a faculty wife with him over a fence.<sup>59</sup>

The first trails were cut (by people from both town and college) on Worth Mountain under the leadership of J. J. Fritz, the college's business manager, and R. L. Rowland, assistant district ranger. One of the men involved, Richard Hubbard '36, recalled that a Middlebury Ski Club was organized in 1935 and that Robert Holmes, Beach Bly, Ellsworth Cornwell, Perley Vorer, and others would go up to Bread Loaf with their families on Sundays in the late 1930s to enjoy picnic lunches and cut down trees to form the Worth Mountain Downhill Trail and a log cabin warming hut. According to Hubbard,

*Middlebury's ski jump on Chipman Hill was patterned on the jump at the Lake Placid Olympic site of 1932. It was improved and resited to Bread Loaf after World War II. Ski jumping was a spectacular feature of Winter Carnival until the 1970s.*



two "Rube Goldberg-types" — John Phillips and his brother Harry — rigged up the first rope tow on an old automobile.<sup>60</sup>

By the winter of 1935-1936, ski fever gripped the northernmost parts of the United States, and skiing became one of the most popular activities at the college, as W. C. Heinz '37 (later a well-known sportswriter) remarked in one of his *Campus* columns:

Yes sir. Middlebury, it seems, has truly taken the time off to keep abreast of the times and go ski-crazy. An hour after the snow stops falling, Chapel Hill and all surrounding slopes are a maze of crisscross tracks and odd patterns. Daily and nightly, wherever you look, the eye falls on dozens of little "Ski-Boys" and "Ski-Girls" earnestly endeavoring to display the technique that will qualify them for membership in that great fraternity of Ski Heilers. . . . So it goes — Middlebury eats, breathes, walks, talks, and lives skiing.<sup>61</sup>

Dick Hubbard '36 was hired in 1937 as the first paid coach of the men's ski team, and by 1939, following the lead of several other col-

leges and ski schools, Middlebury imported a coach — Arthur Schlatter — from Europe. Schlatter was a big success. In 1939 he not only directed the men's team to its first Middlebury Carnival victory (over six opponents) but also organized (with Hubbard) the college's first women's ski team. Women students — eighty-seven of them — were taking lessons on Chapel Hill from the popular coach only a few weeks after he arrived at Middlebury.<sup>62</sup> The men's team continued its winning ways in 1940, led by tiny Eddy Gignac '43, captain Elbert "Mole" Cole '40, Ray Unsworth '41, Ike Townsend '42, and Bob '41 and John Gale '43.<sup>63</sup>

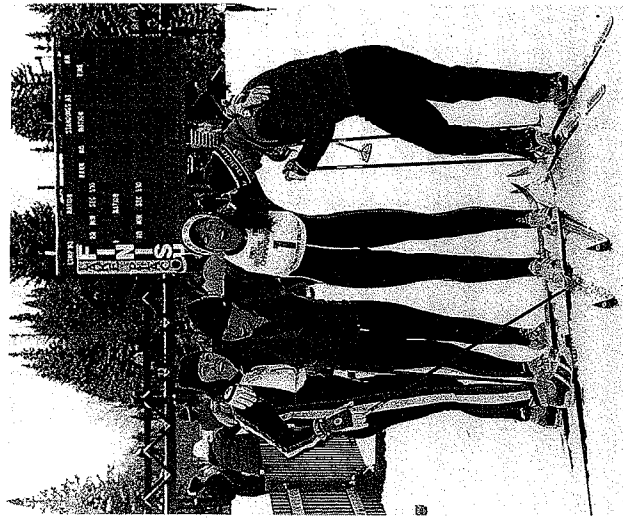
During the war there was little skiing activity at the college, but the legendary U.S. Army 10th Mountain Division was skiing up a storm in Europe, and one of its veterans, Joe Jones, was hired by President Stratton in 1945 to coach the ski team and manage the Snow Bowl. Jones recruited a number of his war buddies to join him, and for the next several years Middlebury was a power in American college skiing. Although Jones left in 1947, Robert "Bobo" Sheehan '44, an outstanding skier in his own right, took over the coaching reins, and under his leadership, the men's team of Joseph "Tink" Bailey '48, Phil Deane '49, Don Henderson '49, Paul Kailey '50, Tom Jacobs '51, Fred Neuberger '50, and Jack Valentine '49 won the North American Championships in Sun Valley in 1948.<sup>64</sup> The college did not have the funds to send that team on the three-day train trip to Sun Valley, but the student body raised most of the necessary expenses so that the team could compete.<sup>65</sup> The men's team repeated as North American champions at Aspen in 1949. The team was aided by improvements to the Snow Bowl after the war, as Dr. Stewart Ross '20 influenced his fellow trustees to underwrite the construction of new ski trails and a fifty-meter jump.<sup>66</sup>

The women's team was even more famous in the 1940s, due, first, to a raft of publicity in the *New York Times* and other papers about the star skier, Becky Fraser '46, who in 1948 became the first Middlebury athlete to compete in the Winter Olympics; and second, to a popular movie about Middlebury skiing — *Sno' Time for Learning* — which was produced in 1948 and featured Middlebury women skiers. President Stratton proudly told the trustees in 1949 that the movie had been shown in seven thousand theaters across the United States and in foreign countries and that the college was receiving unprecedented recognition.<sup>67</sup>

In the 1950s, although unable to win the Dartmouth Carnival or dominate eastern skiing until 1959, the men's team remained successful (third in the nation in 1955 and 1956, fourth in 1958), and individual students and coaches made their mark in international competition. Tom Jacobs '51 and Verne Goodwin '53, who competed in the 1952 Winter Olympics in Oslo, were the college's first (male) winter Olympians, while Doug Burden competed for the United States in the 1954 world championships, Les Streeter '55 skied on the 1956 Olympic team, and Bobo Sheehan was chosen to coach that team; Bob Beattie '55, who would coach the U.S. team in the 1960s, took over at Middlebury. At the end of the decade, Peter Lahdenpera '59, Gordie Eaton '65, and Herb Thomas '60 led the men's team to three undefeated seasons (1958–1960), as well as a victory at the Dartmouth Winter Carnival for the first time since 1948.<sup>68</sup>

Fred Neuberger '50 developed an outstanding women's program in the 1950s, and, at Squaw Valley in 1960, one of the most famous women to ski at Middlebury, Penny Pitou, became the first American to win an Olympic medal in downhill. In 1956, during the one year she was enrolled, Pitou tried to put in some extra training hours but was stymied, she later recalled, by contemporary attitudes toward women and sports: "In those days women didn't 'sweat' so it was a little difficult to train and still look 'preppy.' I lived in the Chateau and trained in my sweat suit in the brambles behind the dorm. Lots of fun?! More than once Mrs. Kelly (then Dean of Women) asked me to 'please try to fit in and not be so much of a jock.' I didn't heed her however."<sup>69</sup>

Women skiers continued to put the college on the map after 1960. Renie Cox Gorsuch '60 (a 1960 Olympian), Nancy Sise Auseklis '63, and Pamela Reed '72 were standouts, but the peak years were 1976–1981, when Middlebury women captured four national championships and one second-place finish while remaining undefeated in the East.<sup>70</sup> Among the many fine athletes of that era, alpine skier Sara McNealus '79 was particular successful. After winning the giant slalom and finishing second in the slalom at Nationals in 1979, she was named an All-American and National College Competitor of the Year by *Ski Racing Magazine* and was the first woman at a New England school to win the prestigious Broderick Award for excellence in skiing. Coach Terry Aldrich called McNealus "one of the finest athletes to ever attend Middlebury."<sup>71</sup> Foreign skiers began to domi-



*The Women's cross-country relay team locked in Middlebury's Winter Carnival victory during the nearly snowless winter of 1980. Their victory was only sweeter for taking place at the site of the just completed Lake Placid Winter Olympics.*

'72, Dennis Donahue '66, Don Henderson '49, Fred Neuberger '50, Terry Morse '65, Hank Tauber '64, Finn Gunderson '69, and Craig Ward '76. Other fine male skiers were Peter Swallow '65, Roger Buchika '66, Steve Lathrop '73, Paul "Rat" Reed '70, Hugh Barber '73, John Jacobs '78, and Jim Goodwin '79. In the 1980s, Mike Graham '84 (an excellent cross-country skier) and NCAA slalom champion Rob McLeod '88 were standouts.<sup>73</sup>

One of the reasons these skiers enrolled at Middlebury was the rapid improvement of the Snow Bowl. As President Stratton commented in 1954: "Winter sports activities undeniably are a feature which attracts students, both men and women, to Middlebury and certainly part of our educational objectives is to provide healthy recreational sports facilities during our Vermont winters."<sup>74</sup> The college proceeded to do so — by completing a 300-foot-wide, 1,500-foot slalom slope and a 1,300-foot rope tow and by widening the beginner's slope to 400 feet and servicing it with a double rope tow, all in 1946; by constructing a 50-meter ski jump — for many years the nation's largest collegiate jump — in 1947; by opening the Proctor, Ross, and Voter trails and installing a 3,185-foot Pomalift in 1954; and by adding an 1,800-foot Pomalift ten years later.<sup>75</sup> Indeed, by 1971 the Snow Bowl could boast a 15-kilometer cross-country ski trail, three Poma ski lifts, a 4,200-foot double chair lift, 14 slalom and downhill trails and slopes, and 3 jumps.<sup>76</sup> These facilities, together with the Neil Starr Ski Lodge (see chapter 7), a base building with food service, library, and rest areas; and the Carroll and Jane Rikert Ski Touring Center, added in 1983, arguably made the Snow Bowl the finest college ski area in the country.<sup>77</sup>

The major driving force behind the development of the Snow Bowl was Ralph O. Myhre, its manager from 1951 to 1978. It was Myhre's insistence that rope tows were obsolete that led to the installation of the Poma lift in 1954 and the modernization of the Bowl thereafter. Myhre was also responsible for the development of the Ski Patrol and Ski School. In the mid-1970s he designed and built the 3.5-kilometer John "Red" Kelly '31 Ski Trail for cross country skiing and running. The trail, which circles the golf course, was named for a popular coach (1932–1970), who was also, at various times, director of intramural athletics and chairman of the physical education department.<sup>78</sup>

For nearly three decades the Bowl was the favorite skiing area

nate women's and men's skiing in the 1980s, but several Middlebury women, including Alice Tower '81, Sue Long '82, Tara McMenamy '82, Leslie Baker '84, Ingrid Punderson '88, Claudia Stern '89, and Leslie Smith '83 (a 1976 Olympian and four-time All-American — the only Middlebury skier, male or female, to manage that) performed splendidly.<sup>72</sup>

Although the men's teams after 1960 did not fare quite as well as the women's, there were a number of outstanding individual performers. In 1961, Gordie Eaton '65 won the NCAA downhill championships at the Snow Bowl. At that same meet, John Bower '63, the finest Nordic skier ever to compete for Middlebury, won the NCAA championship in the Nordic combined. John Clough '64 also won national titles, in both the slalom and downhill and at the 1964 national meet at Dartmouth took the alpine combined title as well. After competing in the 1964 and 1968 Olympics, Bower won the Nordic combined trophy at Holmenkollen — a feat never before accomplished by a non-Scandinavian. Bower later was Middlebury's coach (1969–1975) and a member of the coaching staff for the U.S. Olympic teams in 1976 and 1980. Other graduates who competed or coached in the Olympics included John Morton '68, Joe McNulty

for thousands of Middlebury students. In the 1960s and 1970s an estimated 30 percent of the student body purchased season passes, and some 90 percent of students who skied went frequently to the Bowl.<sup>79</sup> The lack of snow between 1980 and 1984, however, led to a dramatic decline in student use; in 1983-1984, only twenty-eight students purchased passes, as Middlebury facilities were being "out-classed by the newer ski resorts."<sup>80</sup> The ski team had to drive long distances just to practice, there had been only one Winter Carnival with a full complement of skiing events in five years, and the 1984 Eastern Collegiate Skiing Championship alpine events had to be moved from the Bowl to Pico Peak—with much embarrassment to the college—all because of lack of snow.<sup>81</sup> The trustees responded by appropriating nearly \$850,000 in 1984 to purchase snowmaking equipment and to install more chair lifts and other necessary equipment. The improvements helped. In 1984-1985, 560 students bought passes, and the college was able to maintain its position as a top skiing institution.<sup>82</sup>

Ice hockey had its origins at the college in the early 1920s. At first, some pick-up games were played on Porter Pond off South Street, but a better rink was needed.<sup>83</sup> In 1922-1923, Paris Fletcher '24, Don Ross '25, and Malcolm Ross '23 took matters into their own hands and created the first successful boarded on-campus rink (a previous attempt near Votter had unfortunately been set up on the steam lines), as Fletcher later recalled.

On the site of what is now Munroe Hall, there were three tennis courts cut into the side of the hill and they had square wooden posts to hold the nets. We secured an old two-handed cross-cut saw and cut them off nearly at ground level. I don't recall consulting the College authorities in advance, but once we had removed those obstacles, we had a nice flat area large enough for a hockey rink, and it was *fait accompli*. . . . I have some pretty vivid memories of sub-zero, moonlight nights holding the nozzle of a borrowed Middlebury Fire Department hose in the air watching the water freeze almost before it hit the ground.<sup>84</sup>

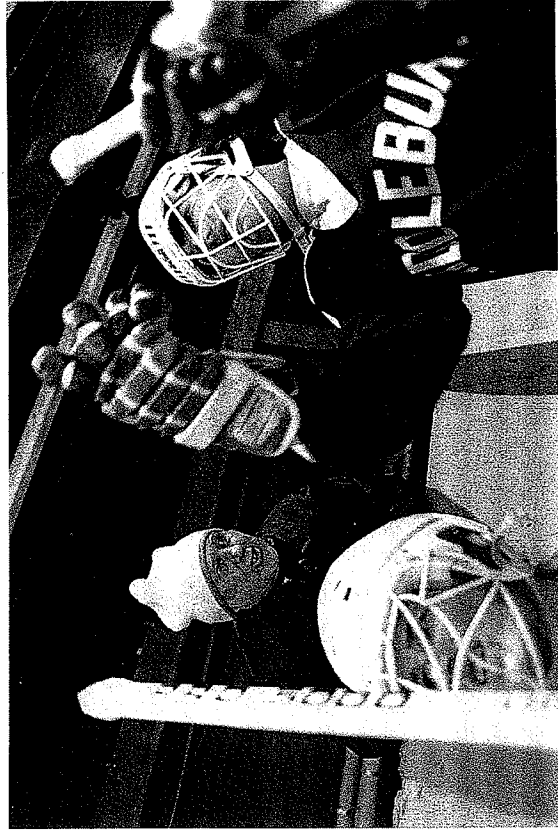
Fletcher helped organize an intercollegiate team in 1922-1923, and they ventured to Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute for their first game, which, as Max Petersen has written, was memorable: "There wasn't any coach, substitutes were unheard of, and the big Irish



*Hockey was still a club sport when Middlebury defeated Clarkson in 1928. Enthusiastic audiences and a 9-1 season contributed to hockey's becoming a major sport in 1930. Games moved indoors with the completion of Memorial Field House in 1949, but the ice rink in front of McCullough was revived during the snowless winter of 1979-1980 by Dean Steven C. Rockefeller.*

goaltender, who couldn't skate, relied on his first basemen's glove to stop the puck."<sup>85</sup> That goalie, "Rip" Gallagher '25, had practiced without a stick (the team did not have one for him), but Fletcher purchased one at R.P.I. just before the game. Gallagher, later a New York State Supreme Court judge, soon discarded it for the glove, however, and did a creditable job, giving up only five goals in the three games (all losses) that season. The first victory did not come until the team's third season, in 1924-1925 (after nine losses and one tie), with a 1-0 win over R.P.I.<sup>86</sup> In 1926-1927, after player-coach Carleton Simmons '28 and fellow linesmen Hal Whittemore '28 and Stillman Kelley '29 led the team to a 6-0 season and the Vermont championship (for the second consecutive year), hockey was granted minor sport status, and eight men were awarded "M" sweaters.<sup>87</sup> After a 7-1 season in 1927-1928, the Panthers settled into nearly two decades of solid but unspectacular records.

From 1946-1964, however, under Coach Walter "Duke" Nelson '33, a superb defenseman and 1930 honorable mention All-American, Middlebury became a dominant force in eastern hockey, winning the



*"Duke" Nelson '33 advised the women's ice hockey team in 1980, long after he had officially retired from coaching.*

Vermont championships for five consecutive years in the late 1940s and compiling a 47-23-2 record. The college competed in the old Tri-State League, with St. Lawrence, R.P.I., Clarkson, and Williams until 1959, and played strong Division One schools such as Clarkson, Army, Yale, Dartmouth, Northeastern, Boston College, and Boston University in the 1950s and early 1960s, an era that has been called the "Golden Age" of Middlebury hockey.

The peak years were 1959-1961, when the team recorded 16-7 and 19-2 seasons. Those squads were led by three-time All-American Phil Latreille, the greatest college hockey scorer of all time; Mike Karin '59, who still holds the NCAA assist record for one season (sixty-two in 1958-1959); and the Fryberger brothers—Bob '61, Jerry '61, and Dates '63—who in 1960-1961 formed the only all-brother line in college hockey. That 1960-1961 squad, which lost only to Clarkson and R.P.I., outscored its opponents by an astounding 192-59, as Latreille set the NCAA single season mark of 108 points (80 goals and 28 assists). That record still stands, as does Latreille's career scoring record of 346 points and career goals record of 250. Dates Fryberger, whose 236 points ranks him among the fifty

top college scorers, went on to be an All-American in 1962 and 1963 and started on the 1964 U.S. Olympic hockey team.<sup>88</sup>

Coach Nelson, a cum laude graduate, compiled a record of 210-163-7 before giving up the reins in 1964 to one of his best players, Wendy Forbes '51. Nelson, who also coached football (1946-1968), golf (1947-1962, 1964-1972), and lacrosse (1954-1958), even came out of retirement briefly in 1982-1983 to coach the women's hockey team (which later developed into a regional power with an 11-3 record in 1988 and 12-4-1 in 1990). The college honored Nelson in 1981 by naming a lounge in the Alumni Center after him and, in an even more fitting dedication, named its artificial ice rink in the field house the Duke Nelson Arena in 1986. Participating in college and community athletic activities almost until his death in 1989, "Duke" will long be warmly remembered as a fine human being and a great asset to Middlebury, town and college alike.<sup>89</sup>

Forbes, who compiled a 254-232-18 record before he retired in 1985, was named national coach of the year in 1975 and took his team to the ECAC playoffs seven times, winning the ECAC Division II West title in 1978-1979. His successor, Bill Beaney, directed the 1989-1990 team to a 21-5-1 record—the most wins ever for a Middlebury hockey team—and was named Division III National Coach of the Year by his fellow coaches.<sup>90</sup>

The winning tradition of Middlebury teams in winter sports, particularly skiing, helped put the college on the map after 1945. Its northern and mountainous location, so great a detriment in earlier years, now became an enormous magnet that attracted skiers and skaters, and Middlebury built proper winter sports facilities to take advantage of this. The mountains became not only a backdrop to the beauty of the valley but also the center of most extracurricular life in the winter months. Many students—notably, wealthy eastern youngsters who enjoyed skiing—came because of the hills, and the college was transformed.

that need is related to a war which is increasingly destructive of two societies, Vietnam and our own.

—Minority Report of Ad Hoc Committee on R.O.T.C., quoted in Faculty Minutes, 1969-70, p. 33

CHAPTER 14

## STUDENT INVOLVEMENT: COLLEGE GOVERNANCE AND THE WORLD OUTSIDE

Greatly liberalized parietal hours would create social pressures in the area of sexual conduct which would encroach on individual freedom and might cause serious psychological impairment to some students.

—Dean Dennis O'Brien, *Middlebury Campus*,  
March 2, 1967

The deeper issue is that of the student role in the decision-making process at Middlebury. Students sense a growing movement to revoke privilege and restrict freedom, and the natural reaction is to resist the tendency. . . . The intent of the Administration is not to deceive or subvert, and Old Chapel is not insensitive to student concern, but perhaps merely unaware or inattentive. . . . At any rate, students should be shown what is happening, not told; the rationale should be presented and explained when action is taken; and student input should be solicited.

—Lucy Newell '78, *Middlebury Campus*, April 20, 1977

It would be dishonest to say that this judgment to turn aside from ROTC in favor of national needs closer to home is unrelated to the war in Vietnam. When ROTC came to this campus, United States military forces operating under a United Nations mandate were attempting to check a war of aggression. Today, the bulk of our armed forces are engaged in a war regarded by many as unjustified and which lacks even the clear sanction of the United States Congress. One cannot talk about the need for military forces entirely in the abstract; today

What began to emerge here, over the past few days, was visible, palpable, compelling, and in its small way magnificent—or so many of us thought. I refer to the spirit which, despite continuing differences of opinion (of all shades) as to the size and nature of the problems at hand and the best ways of dealing with them, provided a common denominator, a unifying bond, and a sense of direction for nearly all our efforts. . . . If what we saw happening has the meaning and the potential—I am tempted to say the beauty—that so many of us glimpsed, it will not dissipate or disappear because of a blackened building.

—Professor William Catton, in a speech to the Middlebury Community during the student strike of 1970, printed in the *Weekly News Calendar*, vol. 1 (May 13, 1970)

There were two other extracurricular activities of intermittent importance at twentieth-century Middlebury: student interest and participation in college governance and periodic student involvement in national and international political and social issues. In both areas the times of greatest concern occurred after 1960; the earlier decades, with a few exceptions, featured a prevailing contentment with (or willingness to accept) the status quo.

Between 1915 and 1960, separate student governments in the men's and women's colleges exercised some control over internal matters but commanded only mild student interest or support. The men's government, in particular, was often viewed as a mere arena for fraternity politics.<sup>1</sup> Under the rules of the Undergraduate Association, which replaced the Student Union as the men's governing body in 1919, the men had some power in devising freshman rules and, briefly, athletic policy.<sup>2</sup> In 1927 the presidents of the men's and women's student governments were allowed to sit on the Student Life Committee, which had wide-ranging control over campus activities. This decision to include students in the governing process was hailed as the removal of the "last vestige of adminis-

trative conservatism."<sup>3</sup> Students were also involved in judging and punishing those who violated some of the myriad college rules and regulations.<sup>4</sup>

Indeed, the list of rules was almost endless, particularly for the women, yet for the most part students went along with the college's *in loco parentis* role. June Brogger Noble '46 recalled her reaction to the rules set down by the college regarding the mixing of Navy V-12 men and Middlebury women at "the Lodge," the temporary wartime student union in Chi Psi:

Opening Day at the Lodge goes a long way to aid fraternization between the saddle shoes crowd and the apprentice seamen, but a troubling Administration with visions of petting and fornication issues an edict to the Women's College: "Until such time as we can secure suitable permanent chaperones, you will be able to use the Lodge only when faculty chaperones are present."

The Administration *in loco parentis* had spoken, and, brain-washed as we are into believing that each new privilege must be tediously earned, we go along with it.<sup>5</sup>

Before 1960 women were expected in at 12:30 A.M. on Saturday evenings and at 10:00 P.M. on all other nights, and they needed a chaperone if they went to dine with a man at a hotel unless it was one of the eleven inns on the approved list. Coeds could not walk alone in the evening off campus and were not allowed to smoke "while walking, attending athletic events, in the living room or entrances of halls of dormitories, or outside of buildings." There were dress codes (no slacks for women in Old Chapel, the library, or downtown), behavior codes (no card playing or dancing in public places on Sundays), and nearly undecipherable codes ("Driving between dormitories is permitted to one couple when going to and from a dance.") Of course, men and women were not allowed to visit each other's rooms, and after 10:00 P.M., woe to the individual who was spotted on the wrong side of College Avenue (the dividing line between the two campuses).<sup>6</sup>

For the most part, as late as the 1950s, students took for granted that the administration should impose rules on them, and they rarely questioned the regulations or gave them a second thought.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, the rules were enforced. Under the firm hand of Deans Eleanor Ross (1915-1944) and Elizabeth Baker ("Ma") Kelly (1951-1970), the women generally conformed, as Dean Kelly once recalled: "If a



Dean Elizabeth Kelly reinforced the college's regulations governing women with the milder influence of tea at her home.

girl wasn't in her room at night and you didn't know where she was, she wouldn't really need to bother to tell you because she wouldn't be here long enough to do it."<sup>8</sup>

But the sexual urge was strong, and students found spots to neck in out-of-the-way places in nearby fields, on Chipman Hill, in fraternity houses, and in automobiles. Nevertheless, as one coed put it, virginity was still "as native to Middlebury as maple syrup," and premarital sexual intercourse appears to have been relatively rare before the mid-1960s. Most students who matriculated before World War II recall a rather innocent student body, in which fraternity men would serenade the women in their residence halls. By 1967, 61 percent of the men and 34 percent of the women reported that they had experienced sexual intercourse. Ironically, many women found the old rules convenient at times: being forced to return to one's dormitory by 10:00 P.M. could provide a wonderful excuse to end an otherwise dreary date or to fend off an overeager suitor.<sup>9</sup>

The whole system of regulations was gradually discarded during the 1960s; in its stead came coed residence halls, unlimited visitation

hours, and few if any restrictions on the conduct or activities of women students. The 1960s were a truly revolutionary decade in this regard, and it was the students, at every juncture, who, demanding that they be treated as adults, won their "freedom." The fact that the struggle against paternalistic administrations was a nationwide phenomenon helped greatly in spurring students on and, ironically, gave hard-pressed officials one good answer to the angry questions from parents, trustees, and alumni who disapproved of the changes: everybody else was doing it, and the colleges that refused to accede to student demands were facing insurrection or a precipitous drop in applications for admission, or both.<sup>10</sup>

The agitation to end parietal rules and other regulations began innocently enough in 1960-1961 when women petitioned successfully to extend their nightly curfew from 10:00 to 11:00 P.M. Required chapel was also abolished that year, as we have seen. The *Campus* claimed that the later curfew, the abolition of required chapel, and the addition of independent study and honors projects to the curriculum were all part of a national trend toward giving students more freedom and responsibility.<sup>11</sup> In 1963, although the Student Life Committee again extended the curfew for women to midnight each evening and to 1:00 A.M. on Saturdays, there was growing discontent with the lack of any place on campus to engage in discreet private contact. "Where does one go to improvise, listen to music with friends, make love?" wrote one student.<sup>12</sup> The *Campus* agreed. "Student complaints basically concern a lack of privacy on the campus. There are no places where students can find privacy except outside in the grass or in cars. Sophomores and freshmen only have the grass, and the winters in Vermont are long and cold."<sup>13</sup>

For the next five years, students continually nagged the administration to liberalize the rules, and a few changes were made, allowing unchaperoned females in men's fraternity and dormitory lounges for a few hours each week; by 1966-1967, women could be in men's rooms with doors open, no alcohol present, and proctoring.<sup>14</sup> The administration was reluctant to go any further. As Dean Reynolds stated in 1966, "the college feels very strongly that at the present time the privacy for students to retire into a room and close the door is not something the college wants to condone."<sup>15</sup> He and Dean O'Brien both argued that "greatly liberalized parietal hours would

create social pressures in the area of sexual conduct which would encroach on individual freedom and might cause serious psychological impairment to some students."<sup>16</sup>

The gradual change was not nearly fast enough for many, and the frustration showed itself in several ways. The Student Association, the coeducational student government formed in 1961, complained that it was powerless to change anything on campus and agreed to allow students to vote on whether to dissolve the organization. As one member put it just after resigning, "There really isn't any sort of student government at Middlebury." Things are changed, he continued, only when the administration wants them changed. The student body agreed and dissolved the Student Association in March 1967 by a vote of 407-70.<sup>17</sup>

It was clear that students wanted both a real voice in college governance and more freedom from college restrictions. In response, President Armstrong appointed the Commission on Student Life in the fall of 1967, to reexamine the conventions, customs, and rules of the community "to see whether these make sense as guidelines for student life today."<sup>18</sup> The commission, composed of four students, three deans, and three professors, reported to the trustees on April 13, 1968, and advocated sweeping changes: no more curfews for upperclasswomen, expanded hours for sophomores and freshmen women, residence halls to determine their own parietal hours, and students allowed to be with each other in their rooms with the doors closed. Although some trustees were upset over the "closed doors" policy, two student on the commission—Gilbert Kujovich '69 and Susan Shattuck '69—apparently convinced the board that the new system would permit greater responsibility through self-governance and that the social rules were not keeping up with the educational changes. Dean Kelly, who had opposed liberalization of the rules in the past, admitted that the students had changed her mind over time.<sup>19</sup>

The trustees finally agreed to these proposals with certain reservations, including the assurance that a new student government would be formed to replace the dissolved Student Association. The commission had also developed a plan for student government with dormitory councils as the basic unit, a student senate as the representative body (primarily elected through the dormitories), and a College



Council (later renamed Community Council) comprising four student officers of the senate, three faculty members, and three deans, which would have the final say on all proposals passed by the Senate. The College Council was viewed "as the fundamental meeting place of the various competencies and concerns of the college—student, faculty, and administration."<sup>20</sup>

While this new system was acceptable to the trustees, there were some initial difficulties in defining spheres of power. When each dormitory submitted its proposal for social rules to the Student Senate, Gifford Hall asked for complete autonomy in all matters concerning social life in the dormitory. The College Council denied the request, arguing that autonomous dorms would weaken the community. Eight of the eleven members of the Gifford Dormitory Council resigned in protest, but finally the dormitory gave in and submitted rules for senate and council approval.<sup>21</sup>

The students continued to press for further liberalization. Over the next few years, they sought twenty-four-hour parietals, coeducational dormitories, the end of all curfews, and unrestricted driving privileges.<sup>22</sup> Gradually, they succeeded; by the mid-1970s most students lived in coeducational dormitories, many of them unaware of the tremendous changes that had been wrought during the previous decade.<sup>23</sup> The immediate results of the new freedom were not all positive. The incidence of abortions and venereal disease rose dramatically, until Dr. George Parton, the school physician, began to dispense birth control information and contraceptives. The Student Sex Information Service, formed in the early 1970s, was also helpful in this regard.<sup>24</sup> Dean Kelly worried about several other unfortunate effects of the removal of most student rules—the shy person's rights were no longer protected, the women's dorms might no longer be quiet because the men (who had never known a quiet dormitory) would bring their noise to the coeducational residences, and students were displaying a growing lack of consideration toward each other and toward college property.<sup>25</sup>

On the other hand, the well-intentioned demands based on principles of freedom and responsibility were difficult to deny. President Armstrong, looking back on the revolutionary changes, concluded: "We did move beyond the woodenness of rules. Once we saw it as the age of majority, we came gradually (rapidly in history's eye) to

understand that these young people—these young adults—must live as young adults."<sup>26</sup>

Students also pressed for a greater voice in college affairs after the formation of the new government apparatus in 1968. They prodded the faculty in 1969 into allowing student representation on all faculty committees,<sup>27</sup> and they persuaded the trustees in 1971 to elect two "young" trustees for two-year terms, to be nominated by the ballots of the current graduating class and the two most recent classes.<sup>28</sup> And when the institution, at President Armstrong's request, completed a full-scale reexamination of college governance in 1969–1970 and recommended that four councils—faculty, community, resources, and education—should replace or oversee the work of twenty-one existing committees, students were awarded representation on each of the councils except resources.<sup>29</sup> Students also flexed their collective muscle by pressing the faculty to eliminate distributional requirements (see chapter 8), and as we shall see, by persuading the faculty to abolish the R.O.T.C. requirement.<sup>30</sup>

Thereafter, except for some halfhearted demonstrations in favor of fraternities, divestment (see below), and more moderate tuition increases (see Chapter 10) the only major displays of organized protest against college policies and requests for greater control over decision making occurred in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Some students were upset in 1976–1977 when President Robison would not elaborate on the sudden and mysterious resignation of Gordon B. Bridges, director of dining halls.<sup>31</sup> When the administration decided to end rebates to nonfraternity students living on campus, who did not eat on campus, and to reduce the number of room blocks and suites available in the dorms, one thousand students signed a petition calling for more consultation and conversation before decisions were made. Lucy Newell '77, co-chairman of the Community Council, ably invoked the issue of college governance:

The deeper issue is that of the student role in the decision-making process at Middlebury. Students sense a growing movement to revoke privilege and restrict freedom, and the natural reaction is to resist the tendency. . . . The intent of the Administration is not to deceive or subvert, and Old Chapel is not insensitive to student concern, but perhaps merely unaware or inattentive. . . . At any rate, students should

be shown what is happening, not told; the rationale should be presented and explained when action is taken; and student input should be solicited.<sup>32</sup>

A compromise was arranged, but some students were unhappy with Robison's leadership and the "atmosphere of distrust" on campus, and they called for a student trustee to sit on the board so that they could learn the truth about and have a greater say in college policies.<sup>33</sup> Another group of unpopular decisions in 1978-1979 caused the usually apathetic student body to protest in earnest.<sup>34</sup> When students learned that the popular French professor, Susan Hayward, had been denied tenure, they staged a sit-in at Old Chapel. They also were angry over the Coffrin Committee report eliminating fraternity dining. They were unhappy about the crowded conditions in Proctor Dining Hall; the discontinuance of the program in Bath, England; the administration's unwillingness to break down the comprehensive fee; and the necessity to register all parties. Generally, the students did not feel they were being heard or having any impact in college decisions.<sup>35</sup>

On March 22, 1979, over six hundred of them attended a "student-wide meeting" sponsored by the ad hoc group Middlebury Awareness Development (MAD). The meeting considered six areas of concern: student activity space, tenure and reappointment, women's union and *Artemis Magazine*, programs abroad, treatment of fraternities, and student representation on the board. They also approved "solutions." They sought more activity space, greater and more timely input in tenure decisions by each department's student advisory committee, more active recruitment of women and minorities, standardized requirements for the study-abroad program, more contact with President Robison "in order to better inform the Trustees of Middlebury College of prevailing student opinion," a statement by the college supporting fraternities as an integral part of the community, and the annual election of a student to serve as a nonvoting member of the board's Undergraduate Life Committee.<sup>36</sup>

President Robison responded directly to the MAD proposals on March 26 in an address to seven hundred students in Mead Chapel. Robison, who had described the MAD agenda to the trustees two days earlier, agreed that nonvoting student representation on trustee

committees was a good idea, and he promised that he would urge the board to place two students on the Undergraduate Life Committee and two on the Athletic Committee. Otherwise, Robison primarily defended current policy. He pointed out that they had tried diligently to hire more minorities and women, that the college would most likely renovate Proctor to provide more activity space, that student input into the tenure-decision process was welcome but that in the end such decisions called for peer-group review, and that while the programs-abroad committee and MAD representatives could discuss problems, Middlebury would remain rigorous in its academic standards for study abroad.<sup>37</sup> Although Robison had acceded to few of the MAD demands, his straightforwardness and the promise of possible student representation on trustee committees (later approved) apparently defused much of the unhappiness.<sup>38</sup>

Two years later, however, another set of issues led to the organization of Students Concerned about Middlebury (SCAM), and on March 24, 1981, students again filled Mead Chapel to express their displeasure. This time the issues included the administration's unwillingness to allow Zeta Psi fraternity members to have a meal plan in the house, divestment of college funds in South Africa, low faculty and staff salaries, minority concerns, and the lack of student input into the redesign of Proctor. The Student Forum discussed these matters somewhat vehemently with members of the administration, and by the next fall, some progress had been made in addressing the students' concerns.<sup>39</sup>

Aside from MAD and SCAM (and the "strike" in 1989 in response to the increased comprehensive fee, described in chapter 10), there were no major bursts of student interest in campus governance per se. The great majority remained "completely indifferent or uninvolved in" student government.<sup>40</sup> Moreover, representation on three trustee committees and several faculty committees, departmental student advisory bodies (with input on tenure and hiring decisions), and the perception that the college was responding to student demands in a variety of areas helped to keep protests regarding governance to a minimum in the 1980s.

After 1960, Middlebury students also devoted more attention than their predecessors had to national and international issues, particu-

larly civil rights and the Vietnam War in the 1960s and early 1970s and a variety of other topics in the 1980s, especially apartheid in South Africa.

Students in earlier years were not, for the most part, particularly interested in national and world affairs. The men organized a Discussion Club in 1919, and a Student Forum met in 1924 to discuss issues, but both groups were short-lived.<sup>41</sup> By the 1930s many students were more seriously concerned about national and international developments and were becoming somewhat more liberal in outlook. In the spring of 1928, over two-thirds of the students polled favored the Republican Herbert Hoover over Democrat Al Smith and all other candidates. But in 1932 the Socialist Norman Thomas finished second to Hoover in the student poll by a vote of 318 to 144, with Democrat Franklin Roosevelt trailing badly with 45 votes. In 1934, when students were asked, "To the beliefs of which party do you most closely subscribe?" 179 answered Socialist, 162 Republican, and 40 Democratic. This represented but a momentary loss in Republican hegemony; in 1936 students favored the Republican Landon over FDR by 398 to 175, with Socialist Norman Thomas polling only 33 votes.<sup>42</sup>

International peace became a concern in the 1930s. The Liberal Club, formed in 1932, discussed political issues and attempted to educate the rest of the community about certain matters, particularly peace and war, through questionnaires, speakers, and even participation in a national collegiate peace strike in 1936.<sup>43</sup> The strong antiwar sentiments of many students were occasionally expressed in the *Campus* until shortly before Pearl Harbor.<sup>44</sup>

During the war, students were naturally more concerned with international and national issues than before, forming the liberal Student Action Assembly and organizing the first Middlebury Conference in 1943.<sup>45</sup> June Brogger Noble '46 recalled that Granville Hicks, "who would later be termed a parlor pink by the reactionary right," came to campus as part of the conference, and "[led] us beside the still waters of unchecked capitalism and [showed us] the starving people on the other side."<sup>46</sup>

The veterans returned with firsthand knowledge of foreign lands and the horrors of combat and a strong antipathy toward undemocratic and elitist views.<sup>47</sup> President Stratton, a political conservative,

had watched warily the activities of student liberals during and after the war and shared his observations with the trustees in 1947:

On my arrival in Middlebury there existed a strong and fairly numerous group of students of various degrees of Left of Center opinions. They gave voice to their ideas in the Student Action Assembly and the Cultural Conference which had been organized by joint faculty and student groups. They were equally critical of the "undemocratic" organizations of the college and the lack of "economic democracy" in our capitalistic system. It is my impression that this group is now fewer in number and less bitter in their attacks than four years ago. There are, of course, a group of students under the influence of a few professors who are antagonistic toward the administrative policy of the college.<sup>48</sup>

After the veterans departed, this liberalism waned. The increased number of men from preparatory school backgrounds restored the moderate-to-conservative Republican mood that had existed during the 1920s. Although there continued to be discussions of politics, particularly around election times, and occasional conference speakers like Ralph Flanders, who discussed McCarthyism, the general tone of political life in the 1950s was self-satisfied, conservative, and apolitical. There were no crusades and few crusaders.<sup>49</sup>

In the 1960s the mood of the nation changed, and reform impulses began to appear on college campuses. Young people were especially active in the civil rights movement, and Middlebury students (as we saw in chapter 10) were no exception. They also worked to effect changes on campus that were consistent with the goals of the broader movement. This same pattern occurred later in the decade, when many students participated in the national protests against the Vietnam War and simultaneously urged the faculty to deemphasize the Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC) program.

In the spring of 1965, eight Middlebury students joined in the March on Washington to protest the war, along with twenty-five thousand other students from across the nation. It was followed a week later by a confrontation between the administration and some forty students who wanted to demonstrate their dissatisfaction with the compulsory ROTC program. The administration persuaded the demonstrators not to march and assured them that the college was

seriously considering changes in the requirement that each male student participate in the ROTC program during freshman and sophomore years.<sup>50</sup>

The army had established an ROTC unit at Middlebury in 1952 at the urging of President Stratton, who believed that such a program would help stabilize male enrollment during the Korean War.<sup>51</sup> It apparently worked. The program allowed students to fulfill part of their military obligation as undergraduates, and between 1952 and 1969 the Middlebury unit produced 623 commissioned officers, all of whom completed an optional two-year advanced course during junior and senior year and a stint at summer camp after the required work as underclassmen.<sup>52</sup> By the early 1960s, however, many students were opposed to the compulsory nature of the program's first two years. "Compulsory ROTC at Middlebury is an anachronism," argued Howard B. Tolley, Jr., the *Campus* editor, in January 1965.

No longer can Middlebury afford to dilute its academic curriculum with compulsory courses in Military Science and Tactics. . . . A Reserve Officers Training Corps unit is undoubtedly a convenience for the 113 junior and senior men currently enrolled in the advanced program. But consider the 448 freshmen and sophomores required to drill each week so that upperclassmen can gain practical experience. Since a mere one-third of those in the lower classes will opt to continue army training, the majority are little more than guinea pigs for their more military minded classmates. Too many valuable hours each week are devoted to course materials of no intrinsic merit or relevance for the liberal arts student.<sup>53</sup>

The faculty and trustees, in apparent agreement, voted in April 1966 to retain ROTC but on a totally voluntary basis.<sup>54</sup> But opponents of the war in Vietnam favored the more drastic option of discontinuing ROTC altogether, and for the next two years, as they demonstrated against the war, these students and faculty also lobbied for the end of ROTC.<sup>55</sup> Between 1967 and 1970, Middlebury students and professors organized antiwar teach-ins, demonstrated against Dow Chemical interviews, staged a large sit-in at the local draft board, and participated in activities associated with the October 15, 1969, moratorium against the war. Some traveled to Washington to march against the war in 1967 and 1969; others worked in 1968 for antiwar presidential candidate Eugene McCarthy, who was a heavy favorite among Middlebury students. Although only a minority were actively involved in these activities, 65 percent of those polled in

March 1968 felt that the war was not in the country's best interests, and 32 percent called it unjust.<sup>56</sup>

The faculty began to consider further action against the ROTC in the fall of 1968. They were badly divided over the issue. Some wanted to eliminate it entirely; others hoped to relegate it to a noncredit, paracurricular program; a minority favored keeping it as it was. A large majority of students—71.4 percent—also favored a downgrading of the ROTC role, although only about 25 percent favored its total elimination.<sup>57</sup> In 1968–1969 the debate revolved around the question of whether to continue granting credit for ROTC. On February 3, 1969, the faculty voted tentatively (46–42) to deny ROTC representatives faculty voting privileges and (46–43) to stop granting credit for ROTC courses.<sup>58</sup> An ad hoc committee, composed of six professors, one student, and an ROTC representative, was formed to consider the issues further and report. A petition presented by 250 students at the May 5 faculty meeting urged that ROTC become merely an extracurricular activity. The army let it be known that they would not accept that status but were willing to negotiate. On May 14, the ad hoc committee met with an officer, who assured them that the army's main concern was to keep the unit on campus, even if it meant changing its status.<sup>59</sup>

The committee gave its final report at the May 26 faculty meeting.<sup>60</sup> Four members favored a "modified" system, which would allow the ROTC to remain on campus but would downgrade it in several ways: the Department of Military Science would cease to exist as a college department and would remain only as a "program," no ROTC courses would carry credit, none of the ROTC staff would have full faculty status or voting rights, and the program would be conducted by a faculty-student committee. Three members—two professors and the student—asked for elimination of the program entirely, and the ROTC representative, not unexpectedly, voted for no change in the program's status.

Since the May 26 meeting was so close to final exams, it was decided to vote on the question in the fall. President Armstrong was worried that the delay would hurt the chances of the "modified" plan because Vietnam was becoming an increasingly volatile issue.<sup>61</sup> Indeed, the rationale presented by the three committee members who favored total elimination of ROTC was essentially based on opposition to the war:

It would be dishonest to say that this judgment to turn aside from ROTC in favor of national needs closer to home is unrelated to the war in Vietnam. When ROTC came to this campus, United States military forces operating under the United Nations mandate were attempting to check a war of aggression. Today, the bulk of our armed forces are engaged in a war regarded by many as unjustified and which lacks even the clear sanction of the United States Congress. One cannot talk about the need for military forces entirely in the abstract; today that need is related to a war which is increasingly destructive of two societies, Vietnam and our own. In rejecting the necessity of the Vietnam war, we must, in part, diminish the argument for the necessity of ROTC at Middlebury.<sup>62</sup>

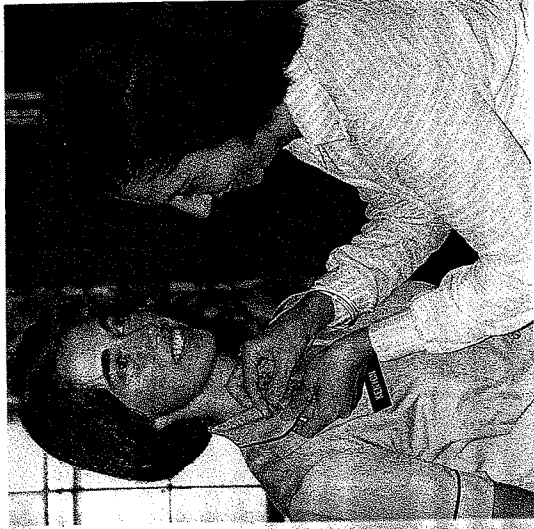
This threesome also argued that the army, not the faculty, would be controlling the content of courses, and pointed out that the "inherent logic of a program in Military training can never be made to fit the criteria applicable to a liberal arts education."

The four supporters of the "modified plan" countered with several arguments, the most telling of which was simply that it was rash and possibly injurious to the college to eliminate the program completely.

In recommending the retention of ROTC at Middlebury College on a modified basis, we are primarily concerned about the welfare and interests of the College *in the long run*. We make no claim to powers of clairvoyance, but we hope that events of the past can throw some light on the future. We fear that an urge to terminate ROTC at this time is a response to current pressures which are highly subject to change. Within the last thirty years Middlebury College has been twice sustained by the presence of military organizations: first by the V-12 unit of the Naval Reserve Program during World War II, and then by the establishment of the Army ROTC unit in 1952, during the Korean War; both events insured that the College could retain its chosen coeducational status at times when this status was very much in doubt.<sup>63</sup>

After lengthy discussions during the fall of 1969, the faculty voted on October 7 to accept the "modified plan" by a vote of 53-51. The *Campus* claimed that students had heavily influenced the voting and may have signaled a new emphasis on student input into the decision-making process.<sup>64</sup> ROTC continued as a voluntary program until 1976, when it was phased out due to lack of participation.<sup>65</sup>

Student participation in the antiwar movement reached its height in 1969-1971. The peak occurred in May 1970, after United States



At the penultimate ceremony commissioning ROTC officers, Susan Keryon '77 became Middlebury's first woman to receive her second- lieutenant's bars. Her mother pinned them on.

forces entered Cambodia and students and onlookers were killed at Kent State University on Monday, May 4, during demonstrations against the Cambodian invasion. On the morning of May 5, hundreds of Middlebury students signed a petition protesting the deaths at Kent State and the invasion of Cambodia.<sup>66</sup> The College Council responded immediately by holding a special noon meeting at which they resolved that the college should "suspend normal activities" for the next six days:

WHEREAS our nation is in a state of crisis precipitated by the expansion of the war in Southeast Asia and by the deaths of four Kent State University students, and WHEREAS we are in a state of personal and community distress.

Be it resolved,  
that the Middlebury College Community shall suspend normal activities until Monday, May 11, 1970.

First, for the purpose of striking against the expansion of the war in Southeast Asia;

Second, for the purpose of mourning the deaths of the four Kent State University students; and

Third, for the re-examination of our collective and individual directions and purposes.

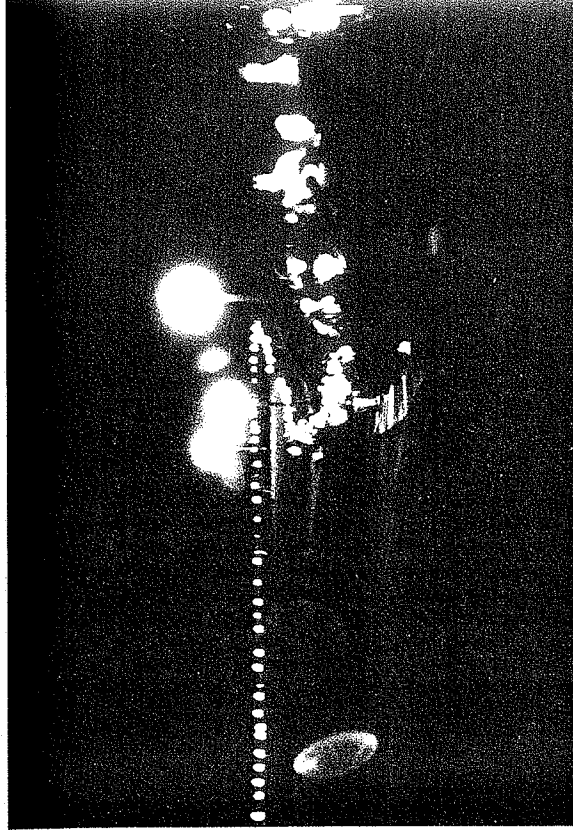
We recognize the right of individuals to teach and learn according to the dictates of their consciences without being subject to communal criticism or penalty.<sup>67</sup>



*Students and faculty protested the draft in March 1970 with a march into town.*

That evening the faculty approved the council proposal by a vote of 79-11 with 4 abstentions. Immediately after the faculty meeting, an overflow crowd assembled in Mead Chapel for a service in memory of the people who died at Kent State. President Armstrong (who had rushed back from New York to chair the faculty meeting) gravely told the hushed crowd that he had joined a large number of other college and university presidents in an appeal to President Nixon to end the war. The presidents told Nixon that they shared the "severe and widespread apprehensions on our campuses" raised by the invasion of Cambodia and the resumption of the bombing of North Vietnam: "We implore you to consider the incalculable dangers of an unprecedented alienation of America's youth and to take immediate action to demonstrate your determination to end the war quickly."<sup>68</sup> After the memorial service, a rally in the chapel was addressed by Dean O'Brien, history professor Nicholas Clifford, and a number of students. On Wednesday, another rally was held, with Lieutenant Governor Hayes as the keynote speaker.

Plans were made to canvass the Middlebury area against the war and continue the activities of the strike (as it was styled by some of the more radical members of the student-faculty ad hoc committee) or "extraordinary session" (as it was termed by the administration).



*A candlelight procession following the burning of Recitation Hall in 1970.*

One observer described it as "a confusing array of meetings, informational workshops, planning sessions, and projects." The more radical students and faculty formed a "strike committee," which was busy, as one student wrote, "discussing various ways of extending the strike at Middlebury, aligning the College with the goals of the national movement and organizing more efficiently the efforts of the hundreds of students who daily crowded into the strike headquarters in Proctor Hall."<sup>69</sup>

At dawn on Thursday, May 7, the community received a frightening jolt when Recitation Hall, the old wooden structure just east of Carr Hall, was virtually destroyed in a fire set by an arsonist. The culprit was a former student with apparent psychological problems. Although Recitation Hall had been scheduled for demolition, the loss of the building and the threat of similar acts cast a pall over the institution. After the fire was put out, President Armstrong, fearful that "things might fall apart," held a staff meeting at his house at 5:30 A.M. Over breakfast, it was decided that the president should address the entire college community and assure them that Middlebury "could sustain itself under these trials."

Armstrong was greatly encouraged by the reception he was given

at the speech before a jam-packed chapel ("I have never seen the Chapel so full," he remarked later).<sup>70</sup> He told the audience that the loss of a college building reminded the community of its vulnerability to force and violence and that perhaps there was "real danger" in continuing in extraordinary session. However, he argued that "we have witnessed a great outpouring of good will, even when in strong disagreement, an openness all deeply felt, and this may be a basis for our carrying on in extraordinary session until Monday."<sup>71</sup> History professor William Catton supported the president's remarks, and urged the college not to be deterred from its purposes by the work of an arsonist:

What began to emerge here, over the past few days, was visible, palpable, compelling, and in its small way magnificent—or so many of us thought. I refer to the spirit which, despite continuing differences of opinion (of all shades) as to the size and nature of the problems at hand and the best ways of dealing with them, provided a common denominator, a unifying bond, and a sense of direction for nearly all our efforts. . . . If what we saw happening has the meaning and the potential—I am tempted to say the beauty—that so many of us glimpsed, it will not dissipate or disappear because of a blackened building.<sup>72</sup>

Several students also spoke, urging that the extraordinary session continue despite the fire. The student-faculty ad hoc committee issued a statement that characterized the arson as a "wanton, irrational, manifestly apolitical" act. Later that day the College Council, in open meeting, voted to continue the suspension of classes until Monday as planned. During the meeting, the audience was shocked and dismayed at the report that someone had defaced the set for the play *Alice in Wonderland*, which was to be produced during the week. That evening, Dean Bruce Peterson organized a number of students and faculty to help the campus security team guard all the college buildings against further damage. They continued this surveillance throughout the week and were applauded for their efforts by the grateful chief of campus security, Fred Spencer, Jr.: "We would have been lost without the students; there are only four of us in Security. We depended upon them and they did not fail us."<sup>73</sup>

The rest of the extraordinary session was busy and, for many, exhilarating. Later that month, Armstrong told the trustees that "education was going on" during that week although most classes were not held: "The achievement of the week was not that students did

not disrupt, rather it is that they took positive and concerned steps to improve their understanding of themselves and the world around them. . . . There was a free flow of ideas, a spirit of profound concern both political and moral."<sup>74</sup> Efforts to extend the strike past May 11 were not successful, but the faculty voted to be flexible and lenient in handing out incompletes to students who wished to pursue political activities during the rest of the semester.<sup>75</sup>

While the strike of 1970 was undoubtedly the high-water mark of the Middlebury protests against the war, some students continued to be active in various causes. A few weeks after the strike, an ROTC classroom was vandalized (apparently by a small group of students), and in 1971 fifty Middlebury students participated in May Day demonstrations in Washington; twenty-six of them were arrested.<sup>76</sup> The following spring, after the United States resumed the bombing of North Vietnam and mined Haiphong Harbor, a strike was called on April 27 by the Radical Education Action Projection (REAP), a left-wing student group that had been formed in early 1971. REAP took over the ROTC building and turned it into a "peace center." A strike was not called, but on May 9, 1972, the faculty declared (by a vote of 46-12, with 28 abstentions) that it deplored the resumption of bombing and the mining of the harbor.<sup>77</sup>

Other groups now began to compete with antiwar activists for support. Many students became interested in the struggle for environmental quality during the 1970s and 1980s, and the student group EQ was often active, sponsoring a week-long series of lectures and discussions in 1989, for example, that culminated in a Saturday afternoon festival.<sup>78</sup> After 1972, however, Middlebury (along with other American campuses) settled down into a more conservative and apolitical—some might say apathetic—mood. It was not until the mid-1980s that the college awakened again over apartheid in South Africa, the activities of the CIA, and the rights of women and gays.

The faculty expressed its support in 1978 for the struggle for human rights and civil liberties in South Africa and asked the trustees to determine whether the companies in which the college had investments were adhering to the Sullivan Principles. By 1981 the faculty was calling for complete divestment, but the trustees agreed only to end investments in firms not adhering to the Sullivan Principles.<sup>79</sup> The

students came around more slowly; it was not until 1985 that representatives of the Black Student Union met with the Undergraduate Life Committee to ask the college to divest.<sup>80</sup> Although other students and faculty also urged divestment, the trustees held firm in their stance.

During the winter of 1986, students formed several antiapartheid groups, including the Armadillos, who built a small rock wall on campus to symbolize the South African cause, and the Students against Apartheid, who organized a sit-in in President Robison's office in February.<sup>81</sup> The board, while influenced by campus pressure, was even more concerned with the deteriorating situation in South Africa during 1986. As President Robison put it: "The tragic unfolding of events in South Africa has sharply focused our energies, and our consciences. With each new outrage, each life surrendered, each freedom denied, we find ourselves, as citizens and human beings, baffled by the complexity of the situation yet still hoping for a path to peace in that troubled land."<sup>82</sup> For this reason, the board moved away from its previous policy of selective divestment and finally voted, on July 28, 1986, for full divestment over a two-year period.<sup>83</sup>

The question of whether the Central Intelligence Agency should be allowed to recruit at Middlebury also activated the campus in the mid-1980s. CIA recruitment became an issue because the organization supposedly would not hire gays and was allegedly involved in controversial covert activities in Latin America. A number of faculty, staff, and students demonstrated in February 1987 against CIA recruitment on campus. Several months later, the Student Forum and the Community Council passed a proposal that the CIA no longer be allowed to recruit at Middlebury. President Robison rejected this proposal in October on the grounds that the campus should remain open to "those organizations whose recruiting policies conform to federal laws."<sup>84</sup> But CIA recruiters would be asked to hold an open educational session and answer questions about their hiring procedures and activities.

Disappointed, the anti-CIA forces quickly organized a teach-in to discuss the issues, and the faculty voted 63-23 in December that "the College should permit recruitment on campus only by employers who will sign statements affirming a policy of hiring and promoting personnel without discrimination on the basis of race, religion, gender, or sexual orientation."<sup>85</sup> Although concerned students made

their case before the Trustee Committee on Undergraduate Life in the spring of 1988, the college's position did not change, and CIA recruitment continued in 1988-1989 even though the *Campus* and the Community Council continued to oppose it. Not surprisingly, protests and counterprotests accompanied the appearance of CIA recruiters in the fall of 1988, despite the claim that the organization no longer discriminated against homosexuals.<sup>86</sup>

CIA representatives signed the Middlebury employment policy statement in the fall of 1989, thereby formally affirming that they would not discriminate against homosexuals. The protests continued, now focusing directly on the agency's activities. On October 17, fifty faculty members, students, and townspeople, some of them members of the activist group ACT NOW, entered the Career Counseling and Placement offices and attempted to stop the CIA representatives from holding their scheduled interviews. The protest group sang and chanted so loudly that the recruiters were unable to go on. Finally, a deal was struck. The chief recruiter agreed that the organization would not return to Middlebury as long as he was in charge of the Northeast region if the protesters would quiet down so that he could finish the interviews that day. The students concurred and wrote up the verbal agreement in the form of a document for the recruiter to sign. He was at first reluctant but eventually signed it.<sup>87</sup>

These protests, in part touched off by the alleged CIA policy of discrimination against homosexuals, marked one of the few times in the college's history when the issue of homosexuality had been a focus for campus discussion. Until the mid-1970s, gay men and lesbian women kept their sexual orientation pretty much to themselves. Some "came out of the closet" on September 16, 1975, when gay and lesbian students held their first open meeting.<sup>88</sup> The Gay People at Middlebury, as they called their group, was relatively successful for a few years but went downhill in the early 1980s and disappeared in 1983-1984 as homophobia grew and gay students claimed they were too uncomfortable to meet as a group.

The gay community reorganized itself in 1988-1989 as the Middlebury Lesbian and Gay Alliance (MLGA).<sup>89</sup> A major difference then, according to Professor Richard Cornwall, was the presence of some support from heterosexual members of the community, who believed that homophobia could have deleterious effects on the college and the educational process. In 1985, Cornwall and Professor



David Prouty helped persuade the faculty to pass (by a vote of 58-21-5) a recommendation that the trustees include sexual orientation in the college's official nondiscrimination statement.<sup>90</sup> The trustees argued that "since the nondiscrimination statement is simply a statement of compliance with the law, it would not be advisable to go beyond such compliance."<sup>91</sup> The CIA protests also allowed gay and lesbian students and faculty to ally themselves with people who opposed the CIA for reasons other than that of discrimination. The result was at least a momentary end to the political isolation of the gay movement, and in 1989-1990 the MLGA became the MGLSA—the Middlebury Gay Lesbian Straight Alliance.<sup>92</sup>

Another important area of student involvement—women's rights—deserves a little background. One of the most remarkable changes at Middlebury between 1915 and 1990 was the development of a more truly coeducational college. Since much of this transformation is chronicled in other chapters, only a brief analysis and summary will be attempted here.

Until the 1960s, the situation of Middlebury women was similar to that of most women in American society—they were second-class citizens, discriminated against and segregated on the periphery of a college that concentrated primarily on the activities of its men.<sup>93</sup> Middlebury women were not allowed to direct (or sometimes even participate in) the major political, social, and athletic aspects of college life. In those few cases outside the classroom where they worked with men, they served in traditionally subordinate roles; otherwise, they engaged in sex-segregated social and athletic activities that were of much less importance than those of the men.

Only after 1960 did women begin to gain an equal place at Middlebury College. This had several causes: the decline of the fraternities, the end of curfew hours and discriminatory social regulations, the integration of dining and living facilities and of many extracurricular activities, the crumbling of the last vestiges of the coordinate college system, the increased support for women's intercollegiate athletics, and the hiring of more female faculty members and administrators.

Fraternities were the center of campus social life before 1965, which excluded women from most of the social decisionmaking.<sup>94</sup> Until 1955, when coeducational freshman dining began on an experimental basis, men and women had eaten separately—most of

the men in fraternities and the women in campus dining halls.<sup>95</sup> When Armstrong determined in 1964-1966 that fraternities should be abolished or deemphasized, he made clear that his decision was based in part on the desire to provide an equal social life and dining opportunities for women.<sup>96</sup> Progress toward this goal accelerated in the 1980s as fraternity dining facilities were closed and women began to be integrated into the formerly all-male chapters.

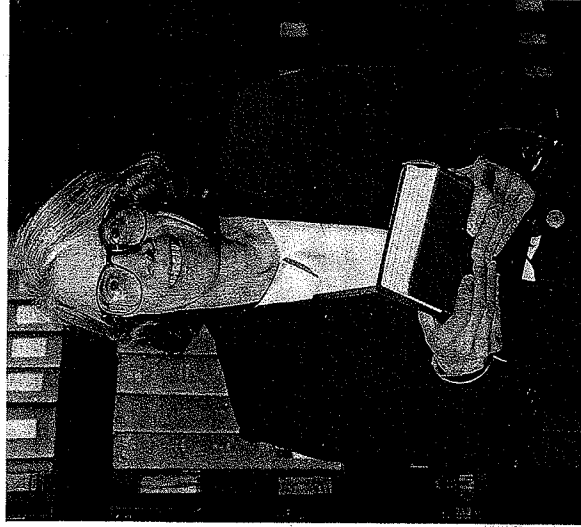
Women gained equality slowly after World War II. Not until the 1970s did they begin to have similar opportunities to compete in intercollegiate athletics. The sexes maintained separate student governments from 1915 to 1961, with the men's organization receiving much greater *Campus* coverage, especially before the war. The Men's and Women's Undergraduate Associations merged in 1961 to form the Student Association (SA), but the president was required to be a male.<sup>97</sup> Indeed, the *Campus*, *Kaleidoscope*, and other coeducational clubs and activities traditionally elected men as president (or editor-in-chief) and treasurer (or business manager), while women held the subordinate offices of secretary, vice president, assistant business manager, and assistant editor. Women ran all the activities and publications during the war but were once again consigned to their subordinate stations after the men returned to campus. As late as 1966 a study sponsored by the National Institute of Mental Health called Middlebury a masculine college run primarily by men with women in the background. The authors pointed out that a man headed the SA and most other important organizations. Still, there were exceptions. Women were co-chairs (or co-editors) of the Middlebury Conference (founded by women as the Cultural Conference during the war), the Religion Conference, and *Kaleidoscope*. Explanations for male dominance included the claims that men could not work for women and that women tended to be submissive in their relations with men.<sup>98</sup>

Male domination began to decrease after 1965, due in part to the influence of the national women's movement, which sensitized college women (and some men) to the many-sided issue of sexist assumptions and practices. The end of parietal and curfew hours for women and the opening of coed dorms helped eliminate some of the artificialities of the segregated system and allowed men and women to form friendships and closer attachments more naturally and in a more egalitarian atmosphere.

All of this is not to say that Middlebury women were unhappy prisoners of a discriminatory system. For the most part, they were happy to be at Middlebury, proud of their college, and fairly active in campus activities. One observer claimed in 1941 that women at Middlebury were better treated than their counterparts elsewhere. "In most institutions with an arrangement of this sort, the women still remain secondary to the men, but that is far from the case here. Probably in no other college in the country where women and men tread the same campus walks is there the same spirit of equality in social and educational prerogatives."<sup>99</sup> What equality there was should be attributed to the dignified efforts of Dean Ross (1916-1944), who apparently believed that women were discriminated against at Middlebury and may have encouraged the separation of the two colleges in the hope that women would do better on their own.<sup>100</sup>

It was during Armstrong's presidency that the dual structure of the coordinate college was dismantled. Armstrong created a single dean of students office, a unified admissions office, and a single department of physical education. Discrimination against women in admissions diminished after 1970, as nearly equal numbers of men and women began to be admitted for the first time, and the men and women admitted were of equal academic potential.

The struggle for equality and an end to discrimination against women engulfed American society and academe in the 1970s and 1980s; not surprisingly, it had an impact on the college as well. Women at Middlebury made important gains. The number of female faculty members increased dramatically (from twenty-two in 1976 to sixty-six by 1987), and several women were appointed or elected to important positions—such as chemistry professor Jane Margaret O'Brien, who became associate provost in 1988; Ann Hanson, appointed acting dean of the college in 1989; and Professor of Spanish Chela Andreu, who, in 1989, was the first woman elected to the powerful Committee on Reappointment.<sup>101</sup> By 1989 the college was considering a proposal for a woman's studies major; the Women's Culture Series, featuring a schedule of lectures and presentations by female artists and writers, was in its fourth year; faculty members were being trained (in a winter term seminar) on how to teach women's studies in their classes; a feminist magazine, *Womyn*, was about to appear; Fletcher House had been set aside as an all-female



In 1976, Marjorie Lamberti became the second woman at Middlebury to be appointed full professor; Clara Blanche Knapp had been appointed professor of home economics in 1925. Marjorie Lamberti's scholarship, in nineteenth- and twentieth-century German educational systems, as well as her animated classes in modern European history, made her an exemplar of the teaching scholar to her colleagues and a model to the women who entered the faculty in significant numbers in the years after her appointment.

residence; and some of the inequities in the athletic program were being addressed. Robison announced at the start of the 1988-1989 academic year the formation of a committee of students, faculty, and staff to look at "attitudes toward gender."<sup>102</sup>

Still, equality had not been reached. Sociology professor Margaret Nelson stated in 1989 that women—faculty and students—"are made to feel like they are not full-fledged members of the community."<sup>103</sup> The bloodied mannequin at Delta Upsilon in the spring of 1988 reminded everyone that mindless, even unconscious misogyny existed at Middlebury; as one female student put it at the hearings following that incident: "I have been afraid of you [fraternity men] since my freshman year . . . why does the social space on this campus almost all belong to men?"<sup>104</sup> As we have seen in chapter 13, women athletes complained of unequal treatment—less money for their teams, inexperienced coaches, inferior facilities and equipment.

The report of the Special Committee on Attitudes toward Gender, appearing in the spring of 1990, painted a rather dismal picture. Surveys revealed that younger women faculty did not appear to be advancing as quickly as their male counterparts, that female staff

members saw serious gender inequities in the workplace, and that many students described "social life" at Middlebury as approaching a meat market. The committee offered fourteen recommendations, including the formation of a standing committee on gender issues to address the problems raised in the report. President Robison hailed it "as the basis for discussion and action" and hoped that it would provide "the proper setting for correction and change."<sup>105</sup>

Historians, like journalists, sometimes tend to overemphasize the importance of political activities, and I plead guilty: in this chapter I have certainly written at length about those rather rare periods when Middlebury students, happily ensconced in rural Vermont, overcome their normal lack of interest in the political world. Countless *Campus* editorials and letters during the past century have blamed Middlebury's isolation for this lack of student concern; a political forum was organized in 1977 to "combat isolation and apathy, caused by living in a location such as Middlebury."<sup>106</sup>

Although location may have been a factor, there are perhaps other explanations for the customary student apathy. Some studies suggest that student activists—those who are "protest-prone"—are from homes in which parents have liberal or radical political leanings.<sup>107</sup> But most Middlebury students have traditionally come from conservative or apolitical families. One could also argue that the type of student who would choose to attend a small school in a beautiful and isolated setting is not as likely to be an activist in the first place. Only when large numbers of students at other schools have already initiated an organized political cause—the peace movement of the 1930s, the civil rights and antiwar movements of the 1960s, the South African divestment issue in the 1980s—do Middlebury students tend to become involved. That seems unlikely to change in the near future.

## CHAPTER 15

# " . . . AND A CAST OF THOUSANDS"

Improvement and recruitment of fine faculty continues to be the College's principal area of concern. The first is recruitment, the second is improvement, and third, very close to it but slightly different, the creation of an atmosphere and working circumstances which make maximum use of a faculty's many talents. . . . In the area of faculty improvement, the new programs for research grants to faculty members and for leaves of absence for self-improvement are making a magnificent contribution. The morale of the faculty, in this respect, is higher this year than I have ever known it.

—Thomas Reynolds, Report of the Dean of the College, 1965, pp. II-12

Counsel from townsmen was free, and in those days [1924-1928] they offered a generous supply of enlightenment that wasn't to be found in textbooks. The College was still an enclave of the town—or vice-versa. Together they composed the community, one dependent on the other. Then, symbolically, we were graduated from Middlebury, Town and College, when we were handed our diplomas on the platform of the Congregational Church, whence they had been dispensed for a century and a quarter.

—W. Storrs Lee '28, "In Retrospection,"  
*Middlebury College News Letter*, 52 (summer  
1978): 15

The previous five chapters have been dominated by students, because I believe that campus life is essentially determined and played out by students. But the social history of Middlebury College has had other key players—faculty, administrators, staff, trustees, alumni,

and townspeople. In this final chapter, they will all receive some well deserved (if relatively brief) attention.

When President John Thomas and Paul Moody went looking for new faculty, they often searched for men (and a few women) with good character, experience in the real world, and strong teaching skills. If the candidates had a doctorate or research interests, that was fine but not necessary. This changed significantly after World War II, as Presidents Stratton, Armstrong, and Robison increasingly looked for scholarly potential and productivity in candidates. In the Stratton years, the Ph.D. and a solid attempt to stay current in one's field was usually considered sufficient for a faculty member to remain at Middlebury.<sup>1</sup> But by the 1960s faculty members were expected to continue publishing beyond the dissertation, and tenure decisions came to be based as much (or more) on scholarly output as on teaching ability or community service. Untenured faculty began feeling tremendous pressure to publish, which led them to seek sabbaticals and leaves of absence during their early years at the college.<sup>2</sup> The period 1960-1990 witnessed a subtle shift away from emphasizing excellence in teaching and assisting students; junior faculty, faced with a difficult job market after 1970, tried instead to maximize their chances for tenure (at Middlebury or elsewhere) by conducting research and publishing. In 1989 the *Report of the Visiting Committee on Literature* remarked upon this sea change:

The criteria for appointment and for promotion at Middlebury appear to have undergone a marked, but largely unacknowledged and unarticulated, change in the past decade or so. This has not been a conscious decision so much as a response to the fact that, in a buyer's market, it has been possible to insist on a Ph.D. from a major research institution and, subsequently, to look for a scholarly output consistent with promotion within such an institution. Whether such possibilities will remain in what promises, at least until the end of this century, to be a "sellers market," is less the question than whether Middlebury can or should continue on this path without a careful reassessment of its policies. Already, it would seem, tendencies have evolved that seriously compromise Middlebury's identity as a first-class liberal arts college. . . .

Obviously teaching and research are complementary, not contradictory; each informs and enriches the other. . . . Just as obviously, scholarly productivity is essential to junior faculty should they need to place themselves on the market again. But meanwhile an emphasis (however unintended and, because uncertainly expressed, ambigu-

ous) encourages identification with the profession rather than with the institution. . . .

Whatever one's notion of the nature and purposes of undergraduate education, however, what should be of concern to Middlebury is that this tilting of the earlier balance of teaching and research has occurred seemingly without institutional self-awareness and, quite clearly, unevenly as among the several departments.<sup>3</sup>

These changes undoubtedly accelerated in the 1980s, but they date back much farther than the report suggests. Before World War II, the faculty felt a strong identification with Middlebury College and with institutional goals. The shift toward professional and away from institutional identity and orientation began around midcentury, continued gradually for some two decades, and was present in full force by 1970. Although their goals and institutional expectations changed markedly, Middlebury faculty demonstrated an enduring interest in institutional governance. They sought a strong voice not only in internal faculty matters but also in setting general college policies. This produced recurrent tensions, since some members of the board of trustees (and even an occasional administrator or two) did not always view the faculty as partners but rather as employees.

The faculty naturally showed a continuing and at times intense interest over the years in matters relating to compensation and in the general questions of promotion, appointment, reappointment, and tenure. Both subjects have been discussed in earlier chapters, but a short review (with some additional examples) of policies and reactions concerning appointment and tenure might still be in order. For example, President Thomas's decision in 1917 not to retain three teachers greatly disturbed the faculty, and Professor Vernon Harrington wrote Thomas about his concerns.

I most earnestly hope that a method of concluding a teacher's work in the College may be devised which is not so abrupt & painful & which will not so unsettle the whole teaching staff as the one now in operation. . . . The stigma of having been dismissed follows the man for years & maybe for life. . . . anyone who understands human nature knows that the fact of an abrupt dismissal follows a man like an avenging spirit & over & over shuts him out of being considered for positions for which he may be perfectly fitted.<sup>4</sup>

Harrington argued that the men dismissed should have been warned at least a year in advance, for job-hunting purposes, and pro-

posed giving the faculty member a chance "to make statements as to his plans, methods, & theories of teaching. To pass a sentence on a man without his having had opportunity to present his side of the case, to be heard in his own behalf, is un-American — contrary to all American law." He also suggested that "in every case a conference with at least his colleagues of his own & closely related departments is indispensable." He concluded by describing the general reaction:

As to the spirit & morale of the Faculty as a whole, I need only touch upon the unfortunate effect of the method which has been pursued. Nothing could be more unsettling. The feeling which has been present since a year ago must be immensely intensified by the recent events. It cannot help having a sort of paralyzing effect on the Faculty's endeavors. The faculty cannot tell where this is going to stop — whose turn comes next.

Thomas and the trustees wrestled with these issues during 1917-1918, met with a group of faculty members, and developed the college's first official policy of appointment and tenure. It included the creation of a three-member faculty Committee on Conference with whom the trustees would meet "before recommending the dismissal of any member of the permanent teaching staff of the College." In addition, the trustees or president might confer with this committee "as to changes in the teaching staff of the College, or as to any matter affecting its work or influence."<sup>5</sup>

The trustees further refined the rules in 1933 and 1941, and after the revolt against Stratton in 1947, he gave faculty members an advisory voice in personnel matters.<sup>6</sup> But Stratton's tenure policies were apparently idiosyncratic, and it was never completely clear what the actual rules were. An instructor with twenty years of service might still not have been granted tenure. Furthermore, although promotion to full professor was supposed to confer "appointment without limit of tenure," as the phrase went, Professor Howard Munford recalled that when he was promoted to full professor, Stratton told him he did not yet have tenure because he had been disloyal.<sup>7</sup>

The faculty never completely trusted Stratton and asked the board in 1955 to give the Faculty Committee on Tenure more than just advisory powers. The trustees declined, but after Armstrong took over in 1963, the college moved quickly to set more precise rules on tenure and reappointment and to give more power to the faculty in these

matters. The faculty wrote a new set of rules, approved by the board in April 1966, which allowed a number of faculty who met the new criteria to be granted tenure almost automatically.<sup>8</sup>

Fears of overtenuring the faculty mounted, and new rules were passed in 1975 that, among other things, extended the length of time that junior faculty remained in a probationary status. It was clearly becoming more difficult to attain permanent status at Middlebury, as evidenced by several controversial decisions denying tenure or reappointment to Professors Bruce Carroll, Joan Peters, Peter Stitt, and John Conron.<sup>9</sup> In the meantime, the de facto power of the faculty Committee on Reappointment grew steadily after 1963, and only rarely were its personnel recommendations overturned.<sup>10</sup>

Faculty interest in obtaining more power and influence extended to other areas of institutional governance. They asked the board in 1955 to allow them to elect the entire membership of the Faculty Council and the majority of the Educational Council and requested that the membership of the Administration Committee be determined by faculty vote. The trustees agreed only to allow faculty to elect all members of the Educational Council. The board also turned down a request that the trustees direct the president to consult with faculty on administrative appointments.<sup>11</sup>

Faculty members continued to meet with the trustee Committee on Conference and express their concerns, frequently urging greater expenditures for improving the library and other academic facilities, for attracting the best possible students, and for bettering the college's intellectual environment.<sup>12</sup> Frustrated at times by trustee predilections and policies, the faculty periodically called for membership on the board. When they asked for six seats on the board in 1968, Armstrong offered the compromise of placing faculty (and some students) on certain board committees without granting actual board membership. They requested it again in 1990 over dissatisfaction with board and presidential actions. The faculty also sought a voice in the hiring of the president and were instrumental in finding James Armstrong.<sup>13</sup>

Sabbatical leaves and teaching conditions were another concern. As we have seen, leave policy was simple and extremely limited until the 1960s and after, when Presidents Armstrong and Robison

greatly enlarged and improved the leave program.<sup>14</sup> Teaching conditions before World War II were not onerous. Many faculty did have to share offices until (and even after) Munroe Hall was completed in 1940. Still, since there was no publishing requirement under Thomas or Moody, life was less pressure-packed than in later years.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, teaching loads (nine to fifteen hours) and class size (10:1 student-faculty ratio in 1938-1939 and 13.5:1 in 1939-1940) were not particularly heavy.<sup>16</sup> Prewar professors therefore had a bit more time for coffee and relaxation than their successors did, but they faced the usual time-consuming responsibilities: teaching, student conferences, committee work, advising and assisting student groups, attending extracurricular events, and chaperoning student parties.

One of the most onerous tasks—grading—was, of course, a constant, and registrars often had to take unusual measures to collect grades from those teachers who tended to be slow in turning in their grade sheets. Registrar Frank Cady once became so frustrated that he rowed out into the Middlebury River to remind a professor, who was fishing there, that his grades were inexcusably late. And Marion Holmes '33 recalled traveling out to Weybridge seeking late grade reports from Professor John P. "Sleepy" Davison. After some stalling, Davison sheepishly confessed that the grade sheets had been eaten by his dog, Baby.<sup>17</sup>

In later years the faculty often complained of the pressure placed on them to complete their research and publish articles and books while still teaching a full load and doing committee work. Changes in the American family produced additional pressures. Before 1970 most of the faculty were men, and most of them had wives who stayed at home and took care of family responsibilities. By the 1980s a growing number of faculty members—most of them younger and untenured—were men and women with working spouses; they therefore had more family responsibilities while simultaneously being expected to do more to gain tenure.<sup>18</sup>

These various changes also affected social life. Before midcentury, the faculty was small in size and tightly knit, with little turnover. Good camaraderie existed between younger and older faculty, and there was less jealousy and "striving to get ahead" than in later times. Not only did groups of professors and their spouses socialize often, but there were many occasions when the mostly male faculty sought



*President Moody wasn't above a hand of bridge with faculty members and their spouses.*

opportunities for companionship.<sup>19</sup> Stephen Freeman recalled that in the Moody years there was a group among whom

there was an even closer bond of common interest, and cooperative activity—in college business, in social diversions, and family friendships. A dozen of us—Ray White, Sam Longwell, Ray Barney, Allen Cline, Julius Kingsley, Harry Fife, Reginald Cook—formed a discussion group, meeting monthly in our homes. One of us would read a paper, and discussion, relevant or not, would follow. Before the evening was over, we were swapping stories, President Moody in the lead.<sup>20</sup>

The wives formed a group (the Sewing Bee) that organized various social activities. Indeed, aside from strong church associations enjoyed by some professors, most of a faculty member's closest friendships were with other faculty.<sup>21</sup>

Faculty members continued to find their best friends among colleagues and college employees, but job and family pressures after 1970 apparently reduced socializing somewhat. The great difficulty in achieving tenure strained relationships between junior and senior faculty.<sup>22</sup> As the faculty grew in number, the tight-knit relationships of prewar years became harder to form, but the community's con-

Continued isolation and small size provided faculty with relatively few alternatives in the search for friends and social outlets.

Changing faculty goals and interests affected student-faculty relations as well. Interaction between students and their teachers has always been a complex subject. For the great majority, the most natural and frequent interaction with faculty took place in the classroom, and the best learning experiences were memorable. "Doc" Cook<sup>24</sup> recalled that his physics professor, Ernest Bryant, was "an artist-showman (in the best sense of the word) at the lectern, conducting his experiments with considerable flair and eclat," and that "he probably taught more undergraduates how to think clearly than any other teacher during the years of his professorship."<sup>23</sup> And Dorothy Wunner Woodward<sup>24</sup> remembered what drama professor V. Spencer Goodreds "could accomplish on our tiny stage. . . . He taught us the fundamentals of good play production with humor and a driving force for perfection. . . . And how many of us left Middlebury to emulate his teaching?"<sup>24</sup> Numerous other examples could be offered.

Some students, because they attended a small college, apparently expected not only more attention inside the classroom but also closer relationships with professors outside the classroom. This expectation led generations of students and faculty to explore ways of strengthening this aspect of their relationship. At open forums in 1917 and 1919 on key issues of the day, the student-faculty relationship was always one of the subjects discussed.<sup>25</sup> One problem, as the *Campus* noted in 1924, was that important differences in background and interests often created a social barrier.

Why, then, should there be a gap between student and instructor? Is the instructor, or professor, so much further advanced intellectually, so much more learned, that his sense of superiority forbids him to associate with his students except in the classroom? Or does his greater learning impose a natural barrier between him and the student? These answers fit only in particular cases. Students and faculty are separated because there is nothing to bring them together. They naturally draw apart, and adhering to those of their respective ages, form two distinct social groups. To become a college professor, it appears that much study is necessary, and much study not only is "a weariness of the flesh" but tends to become a barrier to companionships.<sup>26</sup>

Students sometimes viewed their professors as just another group of adults who were out of touch with modern times and incapable of understanding young people's needs and interests. In 1928 the *Campus* editor attempted to improve such perceptions:

Droop-mouthed professors with single track minds, perpetually absent-minded professors with hungry looks, lanky professors always pictured with nets chasing butterflies, naive professors that shun women and barber shops, most of them have been relieved by time, trustees, or the undertaker. They are old fashioned, a product of 1900, and have, with a few exceptions, disappeared.

To take their place has come a quite different type of teacher, one with social experience, wide contacts, and varied interests. Versatility characterizes the teacher of this new regime. He is the cheering section at varsity games, has seen the latest plays, knows art, has read the latest fiction, can repeat the wisest cracks appearing in *Judge* last week. He is acquainted with life. . . .

The monk-professor has already become vestigial; colleges are introducing the Gentleman-and-the-scholar, a jolly good fellow.<sup>27</sup>

Still, most Middlebury students and faculty found it difficult to maintain good social relationships with each other, and there was a bit of distrust on both sides. The level of distrust changed often, depending on circumstance; in the years right after World War II, the faculty was impressed with the maturity and experience of veterans attending under the GI Bill, and relations were excellent.<sup>28</sup> During the Vietnam War, the fact of shared antiwar views and a similar perspective on social change again brought many students and faculty closer together. But in the 1980s the faculty tended to hold more liberal views than did the students, many of whom were keenly interested in seeking lucrative careers. The situation worsened after a series of acrimonious discussions between students and college officials concerning fraternities, comprehensive fees, and social life; and the dean of college reported that

we must restore constructive and trusting relationship between students and faculty and administration. Student perspectives on such issues as social life, the student center, budgeting priorities, and the comprehensive fee must be heard and taken seriously in our deliberations. Conversely, students must have an opportunity to consider, understand, and weigh perspectives and positions that differ from their own.<sup>29</sup>

One infrequently attempted solution was to have faculty living with students or having their offices in the residence halls. There were good instances. When President Thomas's house was hit by fire in the winter of 1917, he stated, "I'll go with my boys in Hepburn Hall" and temporarily moved into the new dormitory with his family. The *Campus* hailed this as "another striking example of the kind of democracy that should prevail" at Middlebury.<sup>30</sup> Professor Blanche Knapp, who headed the home economics department during much of her tenure at Middlebury 1922-1947), lived with the women students who resided in the Homestead, the practice house where women had an opportunity to learn sewing, cooking, and home decorating. Juanita Pritchard Cook '26 remembered Professor Knapp as a gently authoritative and motherly woman who had nearly as much positive influence as Dean Ross.<sup>31</sup> A few staff members such as Mrs. Maud O. Mason — "Mother Mason" to the hundreds of boys she befriended as the live-in supervisor of Hepburn Hall from 1915 to 1938 — formed close relationships with students.<sup>32</sup>

Nevertheless, although most administrators over the years agreed that an adult presence would be helpful in the residence halls, few of the faculty were willing to serve in that capacity. The problems of having a married faculty member living in the dorms are fairly obvious; football coach David Morey and his wife lived for a time during the 1920s in the all-male Hepburn Hall. An alumnus recalled that one of the men who lived on the same floor as the Moreys

decided to proceed to the shower room in the "buff" as usual. When finished with his shower, he burst out and started for his room, only to spot Mrs. Morey rounding the corner at a good clip. Non-plussed (as were all Middlebury men in those days), he hurriedly placed the towel over his head and roared past a startled Mrs. Morey who was never able to identify the culprit.<sup>33</sup>

The administration attempted in the 1980s to move several faculty offices into the residence halls in an attempt to integrate academic and residential life more effectively. The experiment failed; students showed little interest in a regular faculty presence, and the professors (who also served as advisors to those students) felt isolated from their colleagues.<sup>34</sup>

The dramatic change in faculty interests and life-styles also affected their relations with students. Between the wars faculty gen-

erally demonstrated more of an interest in student affairs, and there apparently were more formal and informal social occasions at which the two groups interacted. Faculty and faculty wives sometimes entertained students in their homes or at the college. There were afternoon teas for women students, faculty receptions for freshmen, and Christmas parties for seniors.<sup>35</sup> Students often took the initiative and challenged faculty to sporting events, made up holiday food baskets for favorite professors, and entertained them at meals or receptions, particularly around holiday time.<sup>36</sup> With students in control, the results were sometimes unpredictable. Zella Cole Hibbert '28 recalled that she and Jane French Douglass '28 were in charge of cooking the turkey when President and Mrs. Moody had been invited to a dinner with all the trimmings at the Homestead: "All went well until, trying to get the bird out of the oven without burning ourselves, we tipped the roasting pan too much to one side. The bird fell out and skidded across the floor. Fortunately, it did not fall apart. As we squelched our laughter, we quickly picked it up, put it on the platter and served it to our illustrious guests, from whom we heard no complaint."<sup>37</sup>

Before 1960, the faculty was more involved with extracurricular activities, particularly the Winter Carnival, in which they helped by acting as judges, timers, and chaperones.<sup>38</sup> They showed more interest in varsity athletics. At a rally before the Norwich football game in 1922, Professor de Visme was a major speaker, and Professor LaCalle led the snake dance that climaxed the rally. The faculty wrote reviews of students' dramatic productions and performed in vaudeville shows to raise money for a stage curtain.<sup>39</sup>

Faculty chaperones, although they were bored and mostly ignored, were de rigueur at fraternity parties and many other functions until the late 1960s. Marion Holmes '33, a longtime staff member and mountain enthusiast, recalled that she and a young professor were the chaperones for a Mountain Club overnight outing at a cabin on the Long Trail. When she woke up in the morning, she and the professor were the only ones remaining in the cabin.<sup>40</sup> Although most faculty and students treated chaperoning as an unfortunate necessity, it still provided an opportunity to get a feel for student social life.<sup>41</sup> After 1970 few professors had close contact with fraternity parties or other social affairs; and as we have seen, when they entered into the fraternity issue in the 1980s, students not only resented it





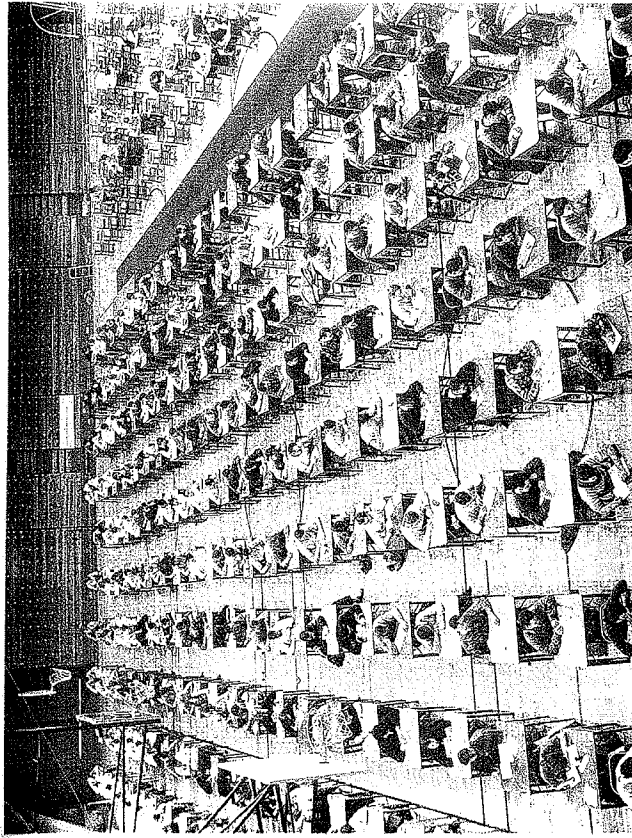
When he received tenure, the Campus called him "the talking typewriter," but Pardon Tillinghast also led intense, though more Socratic, seminars at his home.

but doubted that faculty had more than a superficial understanding of the situation.<sup>42</sup>

We have also seen that some faculty members were more concerned with research and leaves of absence than with their students.

The status of a faculty member seems in some measure to be determined by the number and frequency of outside grants or fellowships. Such a policy (whether or not unstated) would, again, seem to place a premium on scholarly credentials (for peer review) and meanwhile create disruptive discontinuities in both staffing and curriculum. Not a few students, by the way, even while they rejoiced in the additional "voices" they could hear by reason of visiting or substitute faculty, lamented the lack of familiar voices from year to year. Especially for students abroad for all or part of the junior year, returning to Middlebury seeking a "thesis" advisor, the faculty often seems less given to a local habitation than they.<sup>43</sup>

In other ways, though, relations improved somewhat over the years. Middlebury faculty occasionally wanted the students to adopt, implement, and regulate an honor code; such proposals did not receive sufficient student support when discussed in 1922, 1927, 1933, or 1962, but an honor code was finally adopted in 1965.<sup>44</sup> Faculty also



Before the passage of the honor code, final exams were held in the field house at tables carefully spaced to forestall cheating.

allowed students a measure of participation in shared governance, curricular discussions, and eventually—through surveys, interviews, and departmental advisory committees—in providing feedback for assessing teaching effectiveness and tenure decisions.<sup>45</sup> Increased interest in research led to more faculty-student interaction on research projects; between 1985 and 1989, with college encouragement, the number of students in the Summer Work Program rose from 30 to 120, and many of them worked as faculty research assistants.<sup>46</sup> Finally, the establishment of events like May Day allowed students, faculty, staff, and administrators to interact in various ways.<sup>47</sup>

Despite some positive episodes and developments, however, the comment of the *Campus* in 1979 came close to describing the prevailing situation: "Interaction between professors and students beyond the classroom and short conference of formality is a rare occurrence here."<sup>48</sup>

Until the twentieth century the president and the rest of the faculty performed all of the administrative and many of the staff tasks on

campus (every Middlebury president prior to Thomas taught). As the college grew, however, help in running it effectively was clearly needed. Between the wars a few full-time administrators appeared on campus—registrars, librarians, deans, directors, controllers, and editors.<sup>49</sup> The administration and staff grew from fourteen in 1915 to fifty-eight in 1941. In response to the large postwar increase in enrollment, the college raised the number of staff members and administrators to 104, outnumbering the faculty (for the first time) and nearly double the prewar figure. The increase in later years was even more remarkable—from 129 staff employees and 85 hourly employees in 1968 to 323 and 235, respectively, in 1989; the faculty increase (107 to 171) was less than 60 percent.<sup>50</sup>

Whole new sections were created. Before 1956 the president and a few members of his staff would occasionally give over some time to fund-raising; by 1990 the two lower floors of Forest Hall were filled with people who did little else. In the Moody years a dean of men and dean of women handled most of the problems created by students; by the 1980s the student services area included counselors, directors, coordinators, advisors, and a gaggle of deans able to help with career counseling, psychological problems, residence hall concerns, medical ailments, party planning, advice on studying abroad, working off-campus or volunteering, and much more. Every area of the college had witnessed astounding growth in the size and specialization of the staff—truly one of the more significant changes in Middlebury (and other liberal arts colleges) in the twentieth century.

Many staff members and administrators, although they might identify strongly with their professions—librarians, counselors, computer specialists—also had a strong identity with the college and the community. Some of them gave their time to advise student groups and often became closer to some students than the faculty did. Many professors before 1950 were leaders in Middlebury churches, volunteers in the community, and members of service organizations. While some faculty members remained active in those areas, such roles were increasingly assumed by staff members.

Staff and administration concerns were similar to those of the faculty, particularly their interest in better wages and benefits. During times of economic trouble, the Middlebury staff felt the effects and reacted accordingly. In 1947, sixty-eight buildings, grounds, and maintenance employees, unhappy with low wages in a time



*During the strike of buildings, grounds, and maintenance employees in 1947, students were forced to change the sheets on their own beds. In all likelihood this pleased their parents and may have surprised some.*

of postwar inflation, walked off their jobs.<sup>51</sup> The simultaneous impact of recession and inflation (“stagflation”) in the period 1978–1982 wrought hardship and dissatisfaction among Middlebury staff. About one-third of them responded to a questionnaire in 1981 with expressions of concern over low salaries, distribution of raises, job classification, vacation policy, and benefits for part-time employees.<sup>52</sup> Many were still concerned, five years later, about salaries and job conditions, and the Staff Council was formed in 1986 “to provide a forum that will regularly address staff-related concerns and ideas and thus contribute to the well-being of the Middlebury College community.”<sup>53</sup> The Staff Council, some felt, did not win sufficient responses from the college, and in the winter of 1987–1988, several staff members advocated bringing in a union to represent them. The college discouraged this idea, and many of the staff believed that a strengthened council would be preferable to a union.<sup>54</sup>

One of the leaders of the union movement, April Jin, resigned her position at the college in 1988 and asked President Robison in an open letter for a variety of improvements in working conditions, benefits, and salaries. The college responded by increasing the minimum hourly wage and declaring part-time employees eligible for health care coverage, with the college paying part of the premium. The staff, apparently influenced by these favorable initiatives and their own intrinsic antiunion views, voted overwhelmingly to reject union representation and constitute the Staff Council as an advisory group to the administration.<sup>55</sup>

Problems of finding a place to park (with space at a premium) and a place to smoke (with nonsmokers ascendant) produced much discussion,<sup>56</sup> but an even more important concern in the 1980s—shared by faculty, staff, and administration—was that of assisting those parents who needed day care for their dependent children. For a time the college subsidized the Otter Creek Child Center and the Mary Johnson Day Care Center, but the trustees were concerned about the cost of the program and the problem of equity in providing employee benefits. Although there was strong sentiment for some form of subsidized day care, the college ultimately balked. Instead, after a year of study, the trustees announced in 1990 that the institution would offer employees \$500 each to use for whatever benefits they desired.<sup>57</sup>

The growth of the college in the twentieth century changed the job of the president markedly. The nineteenth-century president spent much of his time teaching; dealing directly with students, faculty, and parents; and occasionally raising money. His duties thereafter became more specialized. After John Thomas asked not to teach and thus became the first full-time president, the expectation of teaching disappeared. Still, Thomas and Moody presided over the college as father-figures—counseling students, leading daily chapel, hiring new teachers. Both could even be stern and paternalistic with the faculty; Moody warned them during the Depression not "to rock the boat," that is, to make radical statements and bring down the wrath of the conservative board of trustees.<sup>58</sup>

Swollen enrollments after 1945 ended the possibility of much presidential interaction with parents and students—there were, after all, other administrators and staff hired to do just that. Even in the critical area of faculty hiring—a responsibility that Thomas, Moody,

and Stratton took on themselves—Armstrong and Robison allowed individual departments and faculty deans to manage. Indeed, the last two presidents had to administer things through their vice presidents and senior officers because the institution had become much too large to micromanage. Armstrong and, particularly, Robison found that, in order to succeed they had to spend a good deal of time off campus raising money; cultivating trustees, alumni, and foundations; and generally spreading the word about Middlebury College. Assured that their staffs could take charge of day-to-day operations, these presidents were able to spend an increasing amount of time away from Middlebury.

One thing that did not change in the president's job description was the importance of working with the board of trustees. The relationship of each president with his board was quite different: Thomas and Armstrong were strong presidents who led their boards through successful administrations; Moody and Stratton were relatively weak presidents, controlled to a great extent by powerful trustees. Armstrong, it will be recalled, successfully curtailed the power that several local trustees had exerted during the Stratton era by placing the treasurer (formerly a board officer) under his control and by politely but firmly informing those trustees that he hoped they would let him run his administration. By focusing the board's attention on fund-raising and long-range planning and away from day-to-day administration, Armstrong helped to define the trustee's role more clearly. Robison also worked to strengthen the office of the president, as well as to broaden the base of support for the college, by persuading the trustees to limit their terms to fifteen years and by forming the Council of Overseers to allow former trustees to remain a part of the governance system.<sup>59</sup>

With the expanded opportunities for women to work in American society after 1970, the role of the president's wife became less clear-cut. Formerly, she was expected to be a spouse, mother, hostess, and community leader. Her place was usually in the home supporting her husband in any way she could, often as an important confidant and adviser. Margaret "Tib" Moody Rice '28 recently wrote a remembrance of her mother, Charlotte Hull Moody, the wife of President Moody.

Mother's first concern was always for [President Moody], and in these days of latchkey children and working mothers, it's interesting to look back and realize that she was always home. Groceries were

ordered by phone, and though she would go calling on new faculty wives or to faculty teas, she always walked. Home was where she wanted to be, and she loved the usual domesticities — cooking and silver polishing, but above all gardening and having flowers all over the house. She was quiet and self-effacing, but of great perception, and father sought her opinion before all others.<sup>60</sup>

Mrs. Thomas, Mrs. Stratton, and Mrs. Armstrong more or less followed Mrs. Moody's pattern. However, when Olin Robison came in 1975, his wife, Sylvia, had different ideas about her role. First, she took a job in the development office, where her responsibilities included registering nonmonetary gifts, writing, and cultivating prospects and donors. While she supervised the nearly endless entertaining at the president's house, she gradually professionalized the running of it so that she would not be spending hours lettering place-cards, planning the table settings, and arguing "about whether there should be separate salad plates."<sup>61</sup> She used her extra time to become the "College's chief interior designer, supervising the refurbishing of most of the College's major public spaces." During her fifteen years "in office" she worked on the president's house, the deanery, the Chateau, Pearsons, Adirondack House, Mead Chapel, the field house, Emma Willard House, Painter House, and the Hadley House. In a sense she created guest housing at the college with her work on the deanery in 1976 and the Hadley House. While doing all of this, she still managed to help raise three boys and served on numerous community boards, including a term as president of the Vermont State Orchestra.<sup>62</sup> She was, in short, continuing to fulfill some of the former responsibilities of the president's wife while breaking much new ground, and in so doing she became one of the more visible and productive members of the college staff.

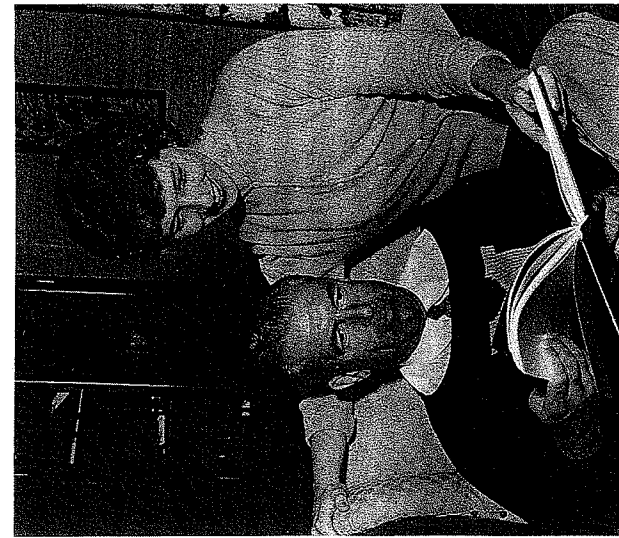
Another key Middlebury constituency is the alumni, who over the years found or were given many opportunities to become more involved in college affairs. Alumni volunteers were repeatedly helpful in recruiting students. A "100 Freshman Men Club" was organized in 1921; one hundred alumni would each attempt to recruit one young man to enter Middlebury.<sup>63</sup> Such activities were later expanded and more carefully articulated.<sup>64</sup> Similarly, alumni historically helped graduating students and one another in fulfilling career objectives; a formal program, Middnet, was initiated in 1985 to ex-



In January 1941, alumni of Middlebury gathered for a banquet at the Longchamps restaurant in Manhattan.

and improve that effort.<sup>65</sup> Alumni also became more active in raising money. There was talk of initiating an alumni annual fund in the late 1920s, but it was not until 1949 that Cap Wiley, William Edmunds '17, and Dorothy Nash Brailey '19 organized the first one.<sup>66</sup> Early alumni fund totals were fairly modest, but in later years, aided by a fine reunion class organizational effort, the annual fund became a great success, with over half of the alumni contributing a total of several million dollars each year.<sup>67</sup> As noted in chapters 7 and 8, the fund-raising achievements of Walter Brooker '37, longtime vice president for development, were truly outstanding. Finally, many alumni served with distinction on the board of trustees, most of them elected by the Alumni Association.<sup>68</sup>

To maintain alumni loyalty and interest, Middlebury created numerous opportunities for them to see each other and return to the campus. Homecoming, first organized in 1928, became a successful event under the leadership of Edgar "Cap" Wiley '13 and his wife, Pruda Harwood Wiley '12. The Wileys organized the Homecoming, and a highlight of the weekend was the Wileys (Pruda at the piano) leading everyone in the singing of college songs.<sup>69</sup> For later generations, Gordie Perine '49 was the mainstay and symbol of Homecoming. After 1976 alumni were also enticed back to campus



While Robert Stafford '35 was governor of Vermont, his daughter Madelyn entered the class of 1963. She carried on a tradition that included her mother, Helen Kelley '38, and her grandfather, Bert L. Stafford '01. Governor Stafford moved to Congress and then to represent Vermont in the U.S. Senate. For this picture, Governor Stafford wore his football sweater.

reaching nearly 40 percent in the 1950s and 1960s before tailing off slightly after 1970. The college always attracted students who wished to enter the professions, and they entered a host of them after 1915, including architecture, law, social work, and economics. Some 5 percent became doctors or scientists; several made their mark in government and politics. The number entering the ministry, which attracted nearly half of some classes in the pre-Civil War years, declined steadily to around 12 percent in the late nineteenth century and to one or two a year after 1900. Many graduates pursued successful careers as writers or journalists; others, as artists, musicians, entertainers, and athletes. Middlebury also produced fourteen Rhodes Scholars over the years.

In the nineteenth century it was the town's college; in the twentieth, as the institution grew in size, wealth, and prominence, it seemed in certain ways to become more self-sufficient and isolated from the town. But a closer examination reveals that the college's physical expansion and needs continued to tie its fortunes inextricably with those of the town. Construction of new facilities (and a strong desire to protect the beauty of the campus) occasionally resulted in conflict with members of the community. Moreover, the college remained a major employer and consumer of services; indeed, its growth and financial success eventually helped transform parts of the village and some surrounding areas into a relatively wealthy and upscale community. The college also provided a growing number of cultural and athletic programs, students organized a variety of social welfare projects in and about the area, and faculty and staff were frequently active in local religious, social, and political activities.

Relations had been very close in the nineteenth century. Students and townspeople socialized often, and the young men (and later women) of the tiny college were well known in town. Residents took pride in the accomplishments of students after graduation, which were often recounted in the local press. As the college grew in size and wealth after 1900, the student body became increasingly self-sufficient, and contacts slowly diminished in both quantity and intensity. Fraternities, which had been a good source of income for some "local tradesmen," started buying cooperatively in the late 1930s and bypassing the town merchants.<sup>74</sup> Whereas before midcentury a number of students had attended local churches, lived in town, held part-

by the successful Alumni College program, at which Middlebury professors offered four-day courses at Bread Loaf during Labor Day weekend. A Spring Alumni College and an Alumni Winter Weekend were launched a few years later.<sup>70</sup> Regional alumni associations, some dating back to the 1920s, held social and educational events each year.<sup>71</sup> The college started an alumni newsletter in 1926 and hired W. Storrs Lee '28 to edit it and other publications in 1929. The *Middlebury College Newsletter*, published ever since, changed its name to *The Middlebury College Magazine* in 1981.<sup>72</sup>

Middlebury alumni made great contributions, not only to the college but to society as well. Their career choices changed considerably during the twentieth century.<sup>73</sup> Although nearly half of the graduates entered the field of education until about 1920, that number declined steadily thereafter, with some one-third going into education between the wars and only 15 percent to 20 percent in the postwar years. Many Middlebury women, however, continued to enter the field. It was more the exception than the rule for nineteenth-century graduates to become business leaders, but more and more of them did so in the twentieth century: in 1920 some 20 percent of the class chose business careers, and the number rose steadily,

time jobs there, and knew some townspeople—particularly true of many of the married veterans who enrolled after 1945—this changed radically after 1950. The college was able to house almost all students on campus and offer them dining facilities, increased social opportunities, and a good bookstore, all of which reduced the ties between students and town.<sup>75</sup>

In 1938 the college ended the tradition of holding commencement in the village's Congregational church, turning instead to the greater capacity of recently renovated Mead Chapel. The colorful march of the graduates and college officials through the village to the church on Commencement Day had been an impressive annual event between 1809 and 1937, and many townspeople had watched the parade and attended graduation exercises. The use of its own facilities rather than the church for Commencement was an important symbol of the college's growing self-sufficiency.<sup>76</sup>

Still, students continued to patronize town merchants after mid-century, and, according to the local editor, "the summer Language Schools students literally take over the village each summer, some returning for so many years that lasting friendships have been formed with year-round residents."<sup>77</sup> There was still plenty of interaction—both positive and negative—in the twentieth century.

Student behavior, as in the nineteenth century, occasionally constituted a problem. In 1916, after an important athletic victory during Junior Week, a group of students led a noisy "shirt-tail" parade through the village only to be met by a stream of water from the fire hoses of some local police. After an important basketball victory in 1928, students built a huge bonfire on campus and some pranksters called out the local fire department. The volunteer firemen were not amused to find only a controlled bonfire and sent the college a bill. Townspeople also complained when students made disturbances in movie theaters or stole street signs.<sup>78</sup> In the 1960s and 1970s some of the fraternity houses located in the village began to deteriorate, and several in particular became eyesores and an embarrassment. The sight of half-naked, long-haired fraternity men revving up their motorcycles and cavorting on the village green was upsetting to many residents in the late 1960s, as Dean Bruce Peterson noted:

... It is certainly the case that College-Town relations have been severely damaged by the presence of a group like Theta Chi in the

center of town. In a time when students are increasingly concerned with their role and image in the community, this is an increasingly important consideration. By their actions, appearance, poor maintenance, and financial irresponsibility, Theta Chi has severely damaged the fraternity system and certainly contributed to poor Town-Gown relations.<sup>79</sup>

The obscene snow sculptures constructed at times by some fraternities for Winter Carnival did not sit well either.<sup>80</sup>

The enormous change in the type of student who attended Middlebury also affected relations. Particularly after 1950, students were increasingly wealthy, sophisticated, and mobile. Some had flashy cars, expensive ski equipment, and an attitude of superiority that rankled area residents. Many townspeople were put off by the drinking, rowdiness, and use of drugs.<sup>81</sup> The *Campus* complained in 1979 that some students acted obnoxiously in local restaurants and intruded without thought on the lawns of village residents.<sup>82</sup> Some students, in turn, had always felt that Middlebury was too rural and isolated, as one wrote just before leaving for Christmas holiday in 1920: "Tomorrow we go back to the land of the trolley cars, musical comedies, evening papers, telephones that do not require cranking, and movies that we have not seen before."<sup>83</sup> As late as 1938, the editor of the *Campus* was complaining (as had his nineteenth-century predecessors) that nobody knew where Middlebury was.<sup>84</sup> This attitude gradually diminished, however, as more and more students and parents searched for a rural college and as Middlebury became a more sophisticated and interesting town.

Of course, there is another side to this: Middlebury students were consistently active in community social welfare projects. As early as 1916 the college YWCA chapter ran a story hour every week for town children, and during the 1920s students organized or were involved in a variety of activities that benefited local organizations.<sup>85</sup> In one instance, the efforts of the YWCA's Rural Discussion Group, which "adopted the public school at Ripton as a practical experiment," helped the school meet "standardization requirements."<sup>86</sup> The contribution was often less noticeable, like the concert given by two female students in the winter of 1925 for an elderly shut-in. "There is a good deal of beneficent service rendered in this community by college students—and others connected with the college—which often



*Students renovated three rooms of the Home for the Destitute in Middlebury in May 1952 as part of a national cleanup period.*

passes unacknowledged," wrote one student.<sup>87</sup> In the Depression, students collected warm clothing for local families.<sup>88</sup>

The Women's Forum, organized in 1936 as primarily a discussion group, included a small social welfare committee that ran Christmas parties for the children of nearby Ripton. The forum became increasingly involved in community work during the 1940s. It opened a thrift shop in 1941 at the Middlebury Community House, where clothing donated by students was sold cheaply. By the 1950s about 70 percent of the women's college students belonged to the forum, and twenty-six committees of the group organized a wide variety of programs, primarily for children, at the Community House.<sup>89</sup>

Each sorority also sponsored community projects after World War II. Even fraternities occasionally stopped socializing long enough to clean out barns or spruce up Chipman Hill park, the Sheldon Museum, the Porter Hospital Annex, and local churches. Delta Upsilon sponsored a road race in 1979 to raise money to send a



*A Delta Upsilon Christmas party in 1950 with a brother dressed as Santa Claus exemplifies the ways the fraternities reached out to the children of the town.*

local handicapped young adult to camp.<sup>90</sup> Although there may have been a slight decrease in student involvement in the period 1960 to 1980, some students still actively worked with town children in Big Brothers/Big Sisters, Girl Scouts, and recreational programs.<sup>91</sup> After the "strike" of 1970 and the burning of the Recitation Building, many students who had wanted to canvass the townspeople and bring them into the antiwar movement realized, as one of them wrote: "For too long we had remained isolated in the college community. It would be insincere to suddenly take an interest in the townspeople merely because we wanted to build a broader base of opposition to the war. It had been this kind of insensitive self-serving approach which had created much of the friction that already existed between the town and the college."<sup>92</sup> These students accordingly began Head Start programs in nearby Bristol and Cornwall.

The level of volunteer activity rose in the 1980s, particularly after the college hired a volunteer services coordinator, Tiffany Nourse Sargent '79, in 1985.<sup>93</sup> By 1990 over six hundred students were



*In the spring of 1985, Dorothy S. Paynter '87 found herself at Bread Loaf with a delighted burden of Community Friends.*

helping out in community activities such as a local soup kitchen, a cleanup and a volleyball tournament (with donations for both events targeted at feeding the hungry), tutoring programs for local youngsters, an Adopt-A-Grandparent program organized through the Addison County Community Friends group, and a community breakfast for ninety elderly residents.<sup>94</sup> Several hundred students were among the one thousand volunteers who assisted in 1987 in the construction of KIDSPACE, a local children's play area, and the Interfraternity Council sponsored field days in 1988 and 1989 for local youths. The Middlebury Alliance, formed in 1989 to help coordinate the work of the various student groups involved in community action programs, sponsored a charity dance to raise money for needy local families.<sup>95</sup> By 1990, wrote Tim Etchells '74:

Just about anywhere you look in Addison County, when you see organizations that require volunteers, you'll usually see Middlebury students.

Of course, coaching little kids in soccer doesn't have quite the same cachet as working against the war in Vietnam, or rallying for

women's reproductive rights. But Middlebury, the town and the College, wouldn't be the kind of place it is without the involvement of college students, in both political and social spheres. It's something we don't often celebrate, but something we can't imagine doing without.<sup>96</sup>

There were occasions when the town was particularly proud of the students. When the great flood of 1927 devastated numerous Vermont river communities, the town of Waterbury called for help. As President Moody recalled: "Two hundred fifty students volunteered and 150 (all that could be accommodated) were allowed to go, to clean cellars, and generally to help the people of Waterbury to get back to normal living conditions. The expression of gratitude we have received from Waterbury people are such as to fill us with pride in our student body."<sup>97</sup> The cleanup work was not easy. Fred Whittemore '28 and Bill Donald '28 remembered helping dig out cellars in Waterbury after the water receded. On those cold early-November nights, Fred slept with just a blanket on the floor of the local schoolhouse, and Bill attempted, without much success, "to heave galvanized wash tubs half full of mud out of a cellar window and to keep up with Steve Hendricks and other football strongmen," until his "trackman back" gave out and he asked for different work.<sup>98</sup>

While relations between the town and the students were mixed and somewhat complicated, the larger picture of the economic ties between town and school is even more complex. In the twentieth century the college increasingly bought its supplies from businesses outside Middlebury.<sup>99</sup> But as the number of people employed by the college kept increasing, the indirect effects of their salaries on local business and tax revenues became significant. The development of the Snow Bowl and the summer language schools drew more business and tourists to the area.<sup>100</sup> Moreover, while many townspeople employed at the college were often unhappy with their wages, improvements in fringe benefits and treatment of staff in the 1980s helped improve relations.<sup>101</sup>

The college's growth and success in the twentieth century spurred growth, prosperity, and change in the town. After midcentury, more than a few suburban housing developments, condominiums, and fine country homes began to dot the outskirts of the village and the surrounding towns and countryside. A small "suburban-type" shopping



center, dozens of new stores in the downtown area (many of them in several new developments on both sides of the falls, such as Frog Hollow and the Marble Works Shopping District developed by Towny Anderson '75), traffic lights, upscale restaurants, and other trappings of "urban" growth changed the town.<sup>102</sup> When Paul Vaughn '57 came back in 1985, he was amazed: "The town of Middlebury is no longer the tiny borough we knew. Although still 'country,' it now has specialized shops and is far more sophisticated than we could have imagined."<sup>103</sup> This change owed much to the college's success.

The college was also one of the town's biggest landowners. Its size and influence were not always viewed kindly by the townspeople, and occasionally, when interests clashed, relations were strained. In 1927, for instance, the college invested heavily in the renovation of the Addison House (now the Middlebury Inn). The trustees argued that the school needed a good hotel in the village for guests, alumni, prospective students, and parents, and they were willing to fund the restoration. Many residents also thought it a good investment and subscribed to the capital stock of the "Middlebury Hotel Corporation." Unfortunately, the Depression arrived soon after, the value of the stock dropped from \$100 in 1927 to \$1 in 1938, and some local people lost a good deal of money. Many blamed the college for their losses, and some residents remained bitter for decades.<sup>104</sup>

Although college expansion had rarely bothered the town before the 1960s, a series of later projects brought opposition. The first such controversy occurred in 1965, when the college wanted to close off Storrs Avenue on the eastern edge of the campus to build a science center. As we saw in chapter 8, some residents objected strongly, and the village trustees approved the action only on condition that the college build a new road and deed it to the town.<sup>105</sup>

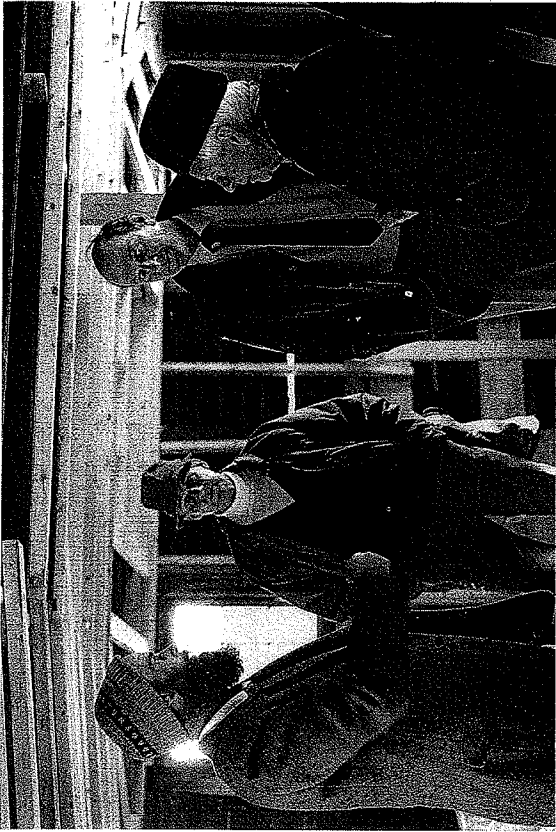
The major conflict in the 1970s concerned the location of a proposed bypass of U.S. Route 7 around Middlebury. Many townspeople favored a route that would pass just to the west of the college over college land. The westerly bypass had two major advantages: it would include construction of a new bridge over Otter Creek, and it would inconvenience only a few landholders. The college feared that if a bypass were determined upon, the westerly route would be chosen by default unless another option were available. The college therefore began to buy up land along a potential eastern bypass corridor, and President Robison publicly announced this policy. By 1990

the college had purchased approximately two thousand acres for that purpose.<sup>106</sup> Many residents were angered by this apparent attempt to determine town policy; the *Middlebury Valley Voice* claimed in 1979 that the institution was using its wealth and influence to prevent consideration of a westerly route.<sup>107</sup> The college again responded that it merely wanted to present an alternative to the westerly bypass. Certainly, Middlebury College would prefer not to have a high-speed highway running just below the western ridge of the campus, disturbing its pristine rural character. There were intermittent bypass discussions during the 1980s, but no decision was made. In general, President Robison was proud of the success of the policy of purchasing tracts of land that would protect and enhance the college's (and the town's) beauty and ambience, for he was well aware of the importance of Middlebury's beautiful location and environment.<sup>108</sup>

In the late 1970s the new Kirk Alumni House and Conference Center was another source of conflict. The college claimed that the center was an educational structure and therefore entitled to tax exemption. The town disputed this claim in 1979, and the college paid over \$11,000 in taxes that year under protest. Later, it was determined that only certain areas of the facility, such as the snack bar, were taxable.<sup>109</sup>

Two potential building projects in the late 1980s upset local residents. The college, seeking a new location for a student center, briefly considered renovating the social-dining units (SDUs) for the purpose in 1987. When residents on Gorham Lane, behind the SDUs, learned of the proposal, they protested loudly. Since students and faculty also were opposed to this location, the idea quietly died.<sup>110</sup> The second controversial project was the construction of a new performing arts center between Emma Willard and the Sig Ep fraternity house, directly adjacent to the houses in Chipman Park. Homeowners there became particularly upset about prospects of ground water drainage, noise and dust from blasting, and the loss of the view to the southwest. After meeting with residents, the college changed its plans and moved the location several hundred feet south to a site between Chi Psi and Memorial Field House.<sup>111</sup>

Although these disagreements may have weakened town-gown relations on occasions, ties remained strong. The college renovated the old Painter mansion in 1988 and arranged for it to be used by a group of nonprofit organizations. This decision earned high praise



*Townsend Anderson '75 explains his plans for the renovation of the monitor of Painter House to (left to right) James D. Ross '31, business manager of the college; David W. Ginevan, vice president for administration and treasurer; and Stephen Freeman.*

in the community, and the renovation, directed by Townsend Anderson '75, won a recognition award from the Vermont Preservation Trust.<sup>112</sup> A segment of the town population continued to enjoy the college's cultural offerings and recreational opportunities.<sup>113</sup> After the completion of the Johnson Arts Building, Friends of Art was organized in 1968 to fund new acquisitions for the college, and a similar organization was formed for the library; both groups were successful.<sup>114</sup> Most of their members were local residents who carried on the tradition of town financial support for the college that had been so important before 1915. The historic involvement of faculty families in church work, local politics, public and organizational meetings, benefit performances, and other activities diminished after midcentury, but a number of college employees (particularly administrators and staff) continued to be active members of such groups.<sup>115</sup>

Middlebury College was founded, nurtured, and sustained during the nineteenth century by the residents who first cut the town out of the forests and hills of the Vermont frontier. Certainly the Middlebury College of 1990 was no longer "the town's college" it had been

a century earlier. Yet perhaps as much as any other major American college, the school remained highly dependent on its geographical context—the charming village, the beauty and recreational advantages of the surrounding mountains, and the rural ambience—for its popularity and its unique character and mission. Indeed, the strength of the hills continued to support Middlebury College.

- October 20, 1989. For one early statement that the new center might help with alcohol problem, see Robison to Board of Trustees, memorandum, February 1985, appended to Board minutes, March 9, 1985.
82. MC, May 8, 1987, September 11, 1987, October 2, 1987, February 26, April 29, 1988, and September 30, 1988.
83. See MC, October 31, 1986, October 2, 1987, and February 19, 1988. 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 in growing number of students in the period 1964-1968. In 1968-1969 and afterwards was much more widespread and smoked less guardedly. This statement is based on a number of interviews with students of that period (most of whom wished to remain anonymous). Administrative reports agree with these observations. See March 2, 1967, October 24, 1968, and April 17, 1969. In 1967 only 33 percent tried marijuana. By 1970, 75 percent of the students had probably used it. See annual Report of the Dean of the College, August 16, 1968, MCA, PM, 3:116. 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 MCM 60 (summer 1986): 6.
88. *Report of the Drug Task Force*, p. 1. On national coverage, see, for example, *New York Times*, February 23 and 24, 1986; and the *Providence Journal* and *New York Times*, February 27, 1987, October 17, 1987, and March 18, 1988. CM 2048-51; and *Report of the Drug Task Force*.
92. On the YWCA in the years 1910-1930, see, for example, MC, January 1917, September 28, 1921, October 26, 1921, November 2, 1921, November 1921, November 30, 1921, December 14, 1921, February 22, 1922, April 1922, November 1, 1922, November 21, 1923, December 5, 1923, April 9, 1924, September 24, 1924, October 1, 1924, November 25, 1925, March 9, 1927, June 22, 1927, and February 6, 1929.
93. On YMCA affairs, see MC, June 14, 1916, December 6, 1916, June 1927, September 28, 1921, October 31, 1923, April 9, 1924, December 17, 1924, January 1925, and November 3, 1926. From 1919 to 1923, there was a Sunday men's club that folded, too. See MC, December 10, 1919, February 7, 1923, and September 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. 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 strongly believe in studying Scriptures, and, for a brief time in the early 1920s, students apparently were required to pass an examination in Bible in order to graduate. See CM, 3:302; and MC, October 1, 1930.
100. John G. Bowker, "Middlebury College in Retrospect," MCNL 41 (spring 1985): 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, 1926, and January 29, 1936.
102. MCM 60 (spring 1986): 29; MC, November 3, 1926, and November 17, 1926. For examples of vespers preaching, see MC, November 9, 1921, September 24, and October 30, 1935.
103. MC, February 20, 1987.
104. Stephen Freeman, "Thirty-eight Years of Middlebury," MCNL 38 (autumn 1983): 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, 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, July 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 conference was endorsed by Don Mitchell, chairman of Sylvania Corporation. See MC (1959-60). The student who worked with Scott to start Hillel at Middlebury, David B. Zelermyer '61, later became the first Middlebury graduate to become a rabbi. See MCM 58 (summer 1984): 47. On Hillel and Jewish students in the 1980s, see 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. Katz, *American Sports: From the Age of Folk Games to the Age of Spectators* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1983), 209-15, 266-75; and Douglas A. Noverr and Lawrence E. Swartz, *The Games They Played: Sports in American History, 1865-1980* (Chicago, 1983), 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, 1920, October 20, 1926, October 3, 1928, and November 20, 1935.
4. MC, February 29, 1928.

5. Athletics were supported primarily by an athletic tax and college subsidies in the early decades of the twentieth century. See *MC*, February 23, 1916, and January 9, 1918; and *CM*, 3:131, 136, 148, 195, 198.
6. *MC*, February 11, 1920. On the connection between athletics, publicity, and attracting men to the college, also see *JT* to E. Kendall Hewlett, July 14, 1909, *TP*; and Hewlett to *JT*, July 10, 1909, *TP*.
7. *MC*, November 23, 1921.
8. *MC*, October 25, 1922.
9. "84 Years of Football Traditions," 1977 Public Relations Files. Also see *SK*, 126-29; *MC*, October 17, 1923; *MCNL* 55 (fall 1980): 28-29.
10. *MC*, October 15, 1924; November 26, 1924, and December 3, 1924.
11. *MC*, February 25, 1925, October 7, 1925, October 14, 1925, and October 4, 1933; and interview with Sam Guarnaccia '30, April 24, 1975, *MCA*.
12. Interview with D. K. Smith '42, April 25, 1975, *MCA*.
13. *MC*, March 15, 1922, April 19, 1922, October 4, 1922, November 29, 1922, and January 24, 1923; *FM* (December 14, 1922): 67; and *CM*, 3:176. The one-year rule was later amended to one semester. See *MC*, December 5, 1923; and *CM*, 3:190. President Thomas had condoned athletic scholarships. See *JT* to Philip Condit, August 19, 1915, *TP*. Also see the letter of Dean Wiley in *MC*, December 15, 1926.
14. Howard J. Savage et al., *American College Athletics* (New York, 1929), 229.
15. [Paul Moody?], "The Carnegie Report," typescript, Moody Papers, *MCL*.
16. *MC*, February 15, 1928, November 29, 1933, and December 6, 1933; *SK*, 126-29; "84 Years of Football," 5; and W. C. Heinz, "Pittsburgh Won the Rose Bowl—but Who Cared," *MCM* 61 (winter 1986): 43.
17. *MC*, November 22, 1933.
18. On the end of the *UVM* series, see *CM*, 8:1035.
19. On Nelson, see *MCM* 57 (winter 1983): 42; and 60 (spring 1986): 2.
20. See "Middlebury Posts Best Record in 1970s N.E. College Football," in *Middlebury-Norwich official program*, Saturday, November 8, 1980, p. 17; *MCNL* 55 (fall 1980): 26; *MCM* 56 (autumn 1981): 24, 56 (winter 1982): 28-29, 56 (spring 1982): 32, 56 (summer 1982): 29, 57 (summer 1982): 29, 57 (autumn 1982): 34, 58 (winter 1984): 26, and 60 (spring 1986): 23-24. On the problems of the late 1980s, see *MC*, December 2, 1988.
21. Karl Lindholm "Also Plays," *MCM* 60 (spring 1986): 20-21. Also see *MCM* 60 (summer 1986): 12-13. The 1951-1970 figures are based on information contained in the files of Middlebury College's Sports Information Director, (hereafter, *SID* files); and interview with G. Thomas Lawson, August 26, 1981, *MCA*.
22. Interview with G. Thomas Lawson, August 26, 1981; and *MCNL* 54 (spring 1980): 27.
23. See Athletic Report, 1976-85, Dean of the College's files; *MCM* 56 (spring 1982): 33, 57 (summer 1983): 30, and 61 (summer 1987): 13. On Humphrey, see *MC*, March 4, 1988; and *MCM* 62 (summer 1988): 6-10. Humphrey set a career record of 1,844 points, a single-season record of 456 points, and a single-game record of 46 points.
24. *MCM* 56 (summer 1982): 28; and interview with G. Thomas Lawson, August 26, 1981.
25. *MCNL* 52 (summer 1977): 28.
26. *MCM* 57 (summer 1983): 29. Also see *SK*, 146.
27. *SK*, 147. The course was purchased outright in 1963. See *CM*, 3:217. On Myhre and the course, see *MCNL* 51 (summer 1976), and 53 (winter 1979): 5.
28. *MC*, May 21, 1924; and *SK*, 142.
29. *SID* files; interview with G. Thomas Lawson, August 26, 1981; Athletic Report, 1976-85; *MCM* 56 (spring 1982): 34, 57 (spring 1983): 30, 58 (winter 1984): 20-23, 59 (summer 1985): 3, 60 (spring 1986): 22, and 61 (spring 1987): 18. At the 1989 Homecoming, Punderson was recognized for his contribution to the founding of varsity soccer at Middlebury. The Frank Punderson Cup is to be awarded each year to the winner of the alumni-varsity soccer game. See *MCM* 64 (spring 1990): 67.
30. *MCNL* 55 (summer 1981): 24-25. For Cushman and early lacrosse, see *SK*, 150-51.
31. See *SK*, 148; and *MC*, October 24, 1968.
32. On men's swimming, see *MCM* 59 (spring 1985): 29. On the origins of rugby, see *MC*, October 5, 1967, and October 19, 1967. On recent problems with rugby, see *MC*, October 9, 1987, and October 14, 1988. On rowing, see *MCM* 64 (winter 1990): 9, and 64 (summer 1990): 15-16. Other men's club sports organized in recent years included ultimate frisbee, martial arts, wrestling, winter track, synchronized swim, water polo, cycling, and fencing. See Athletic Report, 1976-85; *MC*, March 21, 1979.
33. See *MCB* (1921-70); *MC*, April 13, 1921, and February 22, 1928. Men's intramurals were very popular; in 1923-1924, 162 of the 260 male students were regularly involved in athletics. See *MC*, April 9, 1924. For other evidence of men's intramurals, see *MC*, April 17, 1918, February 9, 1927, February 1, 1934, and March 4, 1936.
34. *PM*, 3:1087; and *CM*, 9:1231.
35. Mary E. Lick, "Report on Leave of Absence," typed manuscript, mimeo copy in *MCA*; interview with Mary Lick, August 24, 1981, *MCA*; and *MC*, September 22, 1976. There had been a men's physical education major until 1957-58, when the trustees decided to require all men to complete a four-semester physical education program. See *CM*, 6:640. On Colman, see *MC*, September 22, 1976, and March 16, 1977; *MCNL* 51 (fall 1976): 73, and 56 (spring 1982): 35.
36. *MC*, September 22, 1976, October 14, 1988, and January 27, 1989; and *MCNL* 54 (spring 1980): 4.
37. Marion L. Young '24, "Development of Women's Sports," *MCNL* 6 (April 1932): 6-7, 18; and *CM*, 3:148. On the expectation (and reality) of women as cheering spectators, see *MC*, December 1, 1915, November 22, 1916, October 3, 1917, November 21, 1917, November 12, 1919, and November 1, 1922.
38. See Young, "Development of Women's Sports," 6; *Kaleidoscope* (1926, 1938-39, 1939-40); and *MC*, February 7, 1917, September 24, 1924, and June 18, 1928.
39. *MC*, March 21, 1934, April 29, 1936, and May 6, 1936; and interview with Mary Lick, August 24, 1981. On physical education classes, see Women's Athletic files, *MCA*.
40. *MC*, January 11, 1933. Also see *MC*, October 24, 1922, and March 27, 1929.
41. See, for example, interview with Mary Lick, August 24, 1981; *MCNL* 55 (winter 1981): 27; *MCM* 56 (fall 1981): 23; *MC*, April 24, 1981; and Athletic Report, 1976-85. On ridings, see *MC*, October 30, 1987. On rugby, see *MC*, May 4, 1989.

42. Interview with Mary Lick, August 24, 1981; and "Middlebury College 1980 Field Hockey Squad," typed manuscript, copy, mimeo, Women's Athletic Files, MCA. The latter contains a historical record of the field hockey team.
43. On Von Berg, see MCNL 55 (summer 1981): 24. On Ilgner, see MCM 59 (summer 1985): 32, and 60 (autumn 1986): 12. On DenHartog, see MCM 60 (spring 1986): 12-15, 60 (summer 1986): 24, 26, and 61 (spring 1987): 19. On Kemp, see MCM 62 (summer 1988): 1. On Hoyt, see MCM, 62 (summer 1988): 39. On Leary and Dubzinski, see MC, March 10, 1989, and March 2, 1990; and MCM 64 (spring 1990): 18. On Gow, see MCM 64 (spring 1990): 19.
44. See Lick, "Report of Leave of Absence," 6-9; CM, 9:1405; and MC, March 18, 1973, and March 15, 1973.
45. CM, 11:1674, 1726, 1769; and interview with G. Thomas Lawson, August 24, 1981, MCA.
46. When students were invited to attend a joint meeting of the Undergraduate Life and Athletic committees of the board in October 1982, they asked that the college hire more female coaches. See CM, 23:1906. On the 1988 criticisms, see MC, April 29, 1988 (the Kemp quote is from that issue), May 6, 1988, and November 4, 1988 (the college's response is in that issue).
47. MC, January 24, 1917. A similar trip to Dartmouth was planned the next year. See MC, February 20, 1918.
48. MC, January 24, 1917.
49. MC, February 23, 1921, February 8, 1922, February 15, 1922, March 1, 1922, February 21, 1923, January 16, 1924, January 21, 1925, November 18, 1925, February 3, 1926, February 10, 1926, and February 22, 1928. Several colleges formed ski associations to govern these competitions. See MC, February 23, 1921, and February 21, 1923.
50. MC, March 1, 1922.
51. Mike Schoenfeld, *The 50th Anniversary Celebration of Skiing at Middlebury*, November 10, 1984 (Middlebury, Vt., 1984), p. 1.
52. MC, March 3, 1920. Also see, MC, February 18, 1920.
53. MC, February 8, 1922, February 22, 1922, March 1, 1922, January 10, 1923, January 24, 1923, February 14, 1923, January 16, 1924, February 20, 1924, and February 27, 1924.
54. MC, February 28, 1923.
55. MC, February 27, 1924, February 11, 1925, February 10, 1926, February 24, 1926, and February 16, 1927.
56. Max Petersen, "History of Skiing at Middlebury" (1968), Public Relations files, p. 1. According to Petersen, Brown started coaching the ski team in 1926. The number of meets increased as follows: 1927, one; 1928, five; 1933, seven; 1934, nine; and 1936, eleven. See MC, January 11, 1939. For the claim that Brown "knew nothing about skiing and [to him] slalom was just an odd-sounding foreign word, but neither did the players and that evened everything up," see MC, January 11, 1939.
57. Schoenfeld, *50th Anniversary*, p. 1; and MC, October 4, 1933, and November 29, 1933. There is some disagreement about the year of the first carnival, and some have (mistakenly, I believe) placed it in 1931. See, for example, MC, February 25, 1965; and Petersen, "History of Skiing at Middlebury," 1.
58. MC, December 6, 1933, January 31, 1934, and February 14, 1934.
59. MC, January 9, 1935, and December 4, 1935; Schoenfeld, *50th Anniversary*, p. 2; and interview with Marion Holmes, May 4, 1986, A13/59; MCA.
60. Interview with Richard Hubbard '36, August 21, 1981, MCA. Also see interview with Marion Holmes, May 4, 1986; Schoenfeld, *50th Anniversary*, 1-2; and PM, 1:13, 19; and MCNL 36 (winter 1962): 9.
61. MC, January 15, 1936.
62. MC, January 11, 1939; interview with Hubbard, August 21, 1981; and Schoenfeld, *50th Anniversary*, 2. Men's skiing became a minor sport in 1936 and a major sport in 1939. See Schoenfeld, *50th Anniversary*, 2; and MC, February 12, 1936. On women's intercollegiate skiing before an actual team was formed, see MC, December 18, 1935, January 15, 1936, and February 5, 1936.
63. Schoenfeld, *50th Anniversary*, 2.
64. *Ibid.*, 3.
65. Interim Report of the President, January 10, 1948, pp. 4-5, manuscript, Old Chapel Attic.
66. Schoenfeld, *50th Anniversary*, p. 3.
67. Report of the President to the Trustees, July 1, 1948, to June 30, 1949, manuscript, Old Chapel Attic. Also see Schoenfeld, *50th Anniversary*, p. 3.
68. Schoenfeld, *50th Anniversary*, 3-4; and Max Petersen, "History of Skiing at Middlebury," pp. 1-3.
69. Quoted in Schoenfeld, *50th Anniversary*, 4.
70. *Ibid.*, 5.
71. On McNealus, see MCNL 53 (summer 1979): 26-27, and 54 (winter 1980): 23.
72. MCNL 53 (spring 1979): 25, and 54 (spring 1980): 27; MCM 56 (winter 1982): 29, 61 (summer 1987), and 62 (summer 1988): 39; MC, March 18, 1988; and Schoenfeld, *50th Anniversary*, 5.
73. Schoenfeld, *50th Anniversary*, 4-7; Petersen, "History of Skiing," pp. 1-3; MCM 58 (spring 1984): 24, and 61 (summer 1987); and MC, March 18, 1988, March 10, 1989, and March 17, 1989.
74. Report of the President to the Trustees of Middlebury College, September 15, 1954, p. 1, File Drawer 1, Old Chapel Attic.
75. The ski jump was destroyed in the 1950 hurricane but was rebuilt and named as a memorial for Eddy Gignac '43, the former Middlebury skier who died in World War II. The trails were named for Redfield Proctor, Stewart Ross, and Perley Voter. The Pomalift, dedicated on February 19, 1955, served thousands of skiers until 1988, when it finally went to the scrap heap. See "Where the College Champions Ski," MCNL 36 (winter 1962): 9; MCNL 28 (July 1954); MAC (1958-59): 22; and MC, January 15, 1988.
76. MAC (1958-59), 22; MAC (1971-72); and MCNL 38 (winter 1964): 71. On trustee action regarding expansion and improvement of the Bowl in the 1950s and 1960s, see CM, 7:941; PM, 1:384, 391, 398, 2:904, and 3 (September 14, 1968); and CM, 9:1196.
77. "Where the College Champions Ski," 8; CM, 7:873; and MAC (1963-65).
78. On Myhre, see MCNL 53 (winter 1979): 5; CM, 11:1708; and *Addison County Independent*, January 4, 1979. On the Kelly trail, see "Skiing on the Level," MCNL 51 (winter 1977): 8.
79. Interview with John Myhre, Jr., August 13, 1981, MCA.
80. MC, March 16, 1984, and January 27, 1984.
81. Schoenfeld, *50th Anniversary*, 7; and MCM 58 (spring 1984): 4.
82. MCM 58 (spring 1984): 4, and 59 (spring 1985): 7, and CM, 13:1972-73.
83. MC, December 7, 1921, and January 11, 1922.

84. Quoted in Max Petersen, "History on Ice," *MCM* 59 (winter 1985): 29-30.
85. *Ibid.*
86. Derived from files of the Sports Information Director, Public Relations Office, Middlebury College.
87. *MCM* 59 (summer 1985): 15; and *MC*, March 23, 1927.
88. Petersen, "History on Ice," 30; Petersen to Stameshkin, July 12, 1990, *MCA*; and President's Report, 1959-60, p. 35. Old Chapel Archives.
89. On Nelson, see Petersen, "History on Ice," 30; *MCNL* 55 (spring 1981): 4; *MCM* 57 (winter 1983): 42; *CM*, 14:2035; *MCM* 60 (spring 1986): 2; *MC*, November 3, 1989; and tribute by Fred Neuberger, 50 in *MCM* 64 (winter 1990): 7. On the rink's construction, see *MCNL* 28 (July 1954): 6. On the women's hockey team, see *MCM* 62 (summer 1988): 38.
90. On Forbes, see Petersen, "History on Ice," 30; and *MCNL* 53 (spring 1979): 25; and *MC*, September 11, 1975. On Beaney, see *MCM* 64 (summer 1990): 23; and *MC*, March 9, 1990.

#### CHAPTER 14. STUDENT INVOLVEMENT (PAGES 294-320)

1. See *MC*, November 1, 1933. On the lack of interest, see *MC*, January 18, 1933; and interview with Russ Leng, 60, *MCA*.
2. On the men's Student Union, see *MC*, January 26, 1916, and June 7, 1916. On the origin and early years of the men's Undergraduate Association and Student Council, see *MC*, April 9, 1919, April 30, 1919, May 21, 1919, January 12, 1921, May 9, 1923, and May 19, 1926.
3. *MC*, September 28, 1927. On the good relations between faculty and students on the committee, see *Kaleidoscope* (1939), p. 116.
4. See the Middlebury *Handbooks*, copies in *MCA*; and Report of the President to the Trustees, September 15, 1933, typed copy, *MCA*.
5. June Brogger Noble, "Coming of Age in World War II," *MCNL* 49 (winter 1975): 15. For an example of one of the few early protests, see the letter to the editor in *MC*, June 16, 1926. The student argued: "No one is asking for the privilege of running wild. We merely want the right to develop our own consciences by being allowed in so far as is in any way possible to decide for ourselves, as self-respecting women, what will bring honor and what disgrace to the name of our Alma Mater." Also see the editorial in *MC*, April 12, 1939.
6. See Middlebury *Handbooks*, *MCA*, for the period in question.
7. Interview with Stephen Freeman, August 11, 1981, and interview with Judith Allen Peterson '55 and Bruce Peterson '56, June 19, 1975, *MCA*.
8. Interview with Elizabeth Baker Kelly in *MCNL* 44 (spring 1970): 8.
9. Based on interviews with members of the class of 1924, Sam Guarnaccia '30, Fred Neuberger '50, and Bruce Peterson '56 and Judith Allen Peterson '55, June 19, 1975, *MCA*; and *MCM*, 63 (autumn 1989): 62.
10. Interview with JIA, May 20, 1975, *MCA*.
11. *MC*, November 3, 1960, November 10, 1960, and September 21, 1961.
12. *MC*, October 17, 1963, and November 21, 1963.
13. *MC*, October 31, 1963. Also see *MC*, November 21, 1963, and February 20, 1964.
14. *MC*, March 5, 1964, March 26, 1964, May 21, 1964, November 18, 1965, January 13, 1966, and February 16, 1967.
15. *MC*, March 10, 1966.

16. *MC*, March 2, 1967.
17. *MC*, November 10, 1966, February 9, 1967, February 16, 1967, February 23, 1967, March 2, 1967, March 9, 1967, March 16, 1967, and October 5, 1967.
18. *MC*, September 28, 1967.
19. *MC*, February 29, 1968; and *CM*, 8:1102-04. Dennis O'Brien had also changed his mind. He admitted that parietal hours would offer an "easier opportunity for pre-marital sexual activity." But he was convinced that "the restrictive policies of the past" were "unwise and unenforceable." See Annual Report, Dean of the College, August 16, 1968, p. 5, *MCA*.
20. *MC*, February 29, 1968.
21. *MC*, October 10, 1968, and each succeeding issue through November 23, 1968.
22. See, for example, *MC*, January 16, 1969, February 27, 1969, March 20, 1969, April 27, 1972, and September 14, 1972; *PM*, 3:1052-53, 1076; and *CM*, 9:1199-1200.
23. The first coed dorms apparently were Allen and Le Chateau in 1970. See *CM*, 9:1223. But see *MC*, September 25, 1975, for conflicting data and other information. By 1975 only two residence halls were single-sex dormitories. See also *MC*, March 2, 1977.
24. *MC*, November 6, 1970, November 12, 1970, September 14, 1972, and March 8, 1973; *PM*, 3:1177; and *CM*, 9:1348.
25. Interview with Dean Kelly in *MCNL* 44 (spring 1970): 8.
26. Interview with JIA, May 20, 1975.
27. *FM* (1967-69): 233-35; and *MC*, April 17, 1969.
28. *PM*, 3:1070; *CM*, 9:1207, 1217-18, 1284; and *MC*, January 14, 1971, and February 23, 1971.
29. *CM*, 9:1306-7, 1321 appended; and *MC*, February 26, 1970 and October 2, 1970.
30. See pp. 130-32; and pp. 305-8.
31. *MC*, November 17, 1976, December 8, 1976, January 26, 1977, and May 11, 1977.
32. *MC*, April 20, 1977.
33. *MC*, April 27, 1977.
34. The *Campus* editor admitted in April 20, 1977, "that students are not readily aware of who their representatives are, make no effort to find out, and do not actively attempt to express their opinions to them."
35. *MC*, January 11, 1979, and March 7, 1979.
36. The increase in activity space could be realized, they argued, by building a new student union or expanding Proctor Hall. *MC*, April 18, 1979.
37. *MC*, April 18, 1979; and *CM*, 11:1723.
38. *MC*, September 27, 1979.
39. *MC*, March 27, 1981, April 3, 1981, September 18, 1981, and October 30, 1981.
40. The quotation is from an article in *MC*, March 13, 1981, regarding a student poll in which 90 percent expressed their lack of interest. For other moments of student interest in governance matters, see *MC*, February 25, 1983, and May 6, 1988.
41. *MC*, October 29, 1919, and November 19, 1924. On the students' lack of knowledge of domestic and foreign affairs, see *MC*, January 19, 1927, and February 22, 1928.
42. *MC*, March 7, 1928, October 19, 1932, May 23, 1934, and October 21, 1936.

43. MC, April 18, 1928, October 26, 1932, November 16, 1932, April 26, 1933, April 18, 1934, and April 15, 1936. On campus political activity in the 1930s, see Eileen Eagan, *Class, Culture, and the Classroom: The Student Peace Movement of the 1930's*, (Philadelphia, 1981); Philip G. Altbach, *Student Politics in America: An Historical Analysis* (New York, 1974); and James Wechsler, *Revolt on the Campus* (New York, 1935).
44. See chapter 5 above for Moody's unwillingness to shake hands with the *Campus* editor because of the latter's antiinterventionist and antiwar views.
45. The idea for the Middlebury Conference apparently came from a similar conference at Williams in 1941. See *Kaleidoscope* (1946), p. 74; and MC, March 11, 1954.
46. Noble, "Coming of Age in World War II," 16.
47. For veteran attitudes and the Alpha Sigma Psi controversy, see above, chapter II.
48. Report of the President to the Trustees of Middlebury College, April 12, 1947, MCA.
49. See interview with Bruce Peterson '56 and Judith Allen Peterson '55; June 19, 1975; and interview with T. Richardson Miner, Jr., '58, October 22, 1974, MCA.
50. MC, April 22, 1965, and April 29, 1965.
51. PM, 1:317; Lt. Col. Stuart G. Williams, "The Army Comes to Middlebury," MCNL 27 (November 1952): 25; MC, May 15, 1952, and May 22, 1952. Initially, students had hoped to have an ROTC unit from the air corps. See PM, 1:288-90 and also for the strong student and faculty support for establishing an ROTC unit in 1951. Also see interview with Stephen A. Freeman, August 11, 1981; FM (1969-70): 27; and "The President's Page," MCNL 25 (April 1951): 2.
52. FM (1969-70): 27.
53. MC, January 14, 1965. Also see MC, February 12, 1959, October 19, 1961, October 26, 1961, and November 14, 1963 for student opinion on ROTC.
54. MC, April 21, 1966; and CM, 8 (June 4, 1966).
55. MC, October 13, 1966, February 22, 1968, March 7, 1968, October 10, 1968, and October 17, 1968; and FM (1967-68): 49, 54.
56. MC, October 26, 1967, November 9, 1967, March 14, 1968, March 28, 1968, April 18, 1968, September 26, 1968, April 24, 1969, October 9, 1969, November 20, 1969, March 22, 1970, and May 6, 1971; and FM (1969-71): 41. Student sit-ins and demonstrations were becoming common. In 1967 students staged a sit-in to draw attention to their demand that visiting hours be extended. The action was successful. See MC, March 9, 1967, March 16, 1967, and March 23, 1967. The administration responded by setting up a student-faculty committee, which issued a carefully drawn statement on campus order. See CM, 9:184. On the college view of early demonstrations, see Annual Report of the Dean of Men, August 26, 1968.
57. MC, January 16, 1969; and FM (1969-70): 28. By the fall of 1969, 61 percent wanted it downgraded and another 25 percent asked for its elimination. See MC, September 26, 1969.
58. FM (1967-69): 167-68. Also see MC, November 7, 1968, November 14, 1968, December 12, 1968, January 16, 1969, January 30, 1969, February 20, 1969, and February 27, 1969; PM, 3:1059; and PM (1969-70): 28.
59. FM (1967-69): 246-48; MC, May 9, 1969; and CM, 9:1185.
60. The report is in FM (1967-69): 270-82.
61. PM, 3:1076. Also see "Report of the President, 1969-70," MCB 65 (November 1970): 7.
62. FM (1969-70): 33.
63. *Ibid.*, 27.
64. MC, October 9, 1969. Also see MC, September 18, 1969, and September 25, 1969. The trustees agreed to accept the faculty position. See CM, 9:1199.
65. MCNL 51 (summer 1976): 2-3, and 52 (summer 1978): 7.
66. Except when noted, the following account is based primarily on the accounts of the strike in MC, May 14, 1970; the *Weekly News Calendar*, Vol. 1 (May 13, 1970); interview with JIA, May 20, 1975; "Report of the President," MCB, 65 (November 1970): 7-12; CM, 9:1243-45; Steve Early '70, "The Strike," MCM 64 (spring 1990): 34-41; and FM (1969-71): 205-8.
67. The resolution is printed in MC, May 14, 1970.
68. *Ibid.*
69. *Ibid.*
70. Interview with JIA, May 20, 1975.
71. The full address is printed in the *Weekly News Calendar*, Vol. 1 (May 13, 1970). The next day, the prudential committee met and commended JIA for "his strong leadership." See PM, May 8, 1970.
72. See the *Weekly News Calendar*, Vol. 1 (May 13, 1970) for the text of Catton's speech.
73. Quoted in *ibid.*
74. CM, 9:1244.
75. FM (1969-71): 207-8.
76. MC, May 6, 1971. On the ROTC classroom incident, see Early, "The Strike," p. 40. Although the vandals were not caught, Early asserts that they were Middlebury students; given his activist role in the antiwar movement, he may have been in a position to know that for a fact.
77. CM, 9:1363.
78. From my reading of the MC, Environmental Quality (EQ) seems to have taken off in 1971-72. On the festival, see MCM, 63 (summer 1989): 43. On early activity in the women's movement, see MC, March 5, 1970, April 25, 1970, October 2, 1970, February 25, 1971, and November 2, 1972.
79. MCNL 52 (summer 1978): 2; FM, April 13, 1981, pp. 84-85; September, 1981, p. 6; and March 14, 1983. The faculty voted to divest in January 1986. See FM, January 6, 1986, pp. 55-56. On the trustees, see PM, 13:1392; and CM, 13:2009. The Sullivan Principles, a series of seven principles designed in 1977 and augmented in 1984 by Rev. Leon Sullivan, committed signatory companies to implementing a variety of fair employment and black advancement practices in their South African operations. For a full text of the principles, see Jennifer D. Kibbe, Investor Responsibility Research Center, *Divestment on Campus: Issues and Implementation* (Washington, D.C., 1989), 83-86.
80. CM, 13:2006; and MC, January 25, 1985.
81. MC, October 16, 1981, December 7, 1984, April 26, 1985, September 20, 1985, October 11, 1985, November 8, 1985, and September 26, 1986. The board's decision to stand firm is included in "Statement by the Board of Trustees of Middlebury College, January 25, 1986," memorandum, MCA. For a picture of the Armadillos' wall, see the article on divestment in MCM 60 (summer 1986): 2-5. On the SAA sit-in, see MC, February 28, 1986. On March 7, 1986, the Undergraduate Life Committee of the board met with members of SAA and the Community Council to discuss divestment. See MC, March 14, 1986.
82. Olin Robison to the Middlebury College Community, September 2, 1986, memorandum, MCA.
83. The trustees slowly changed their minds, moving from partial divestment

- to full divestment during 1986. See MCM 60 (spring 1986): 3, 60 (summer 1986): 2-5, 60 (autumn 1986): 7-8; and Olin Robison to the Middlebury College Community, September 2, 1986, memorandum, MCA. Also see MC, September 19, 1986, October 30, 1987, and January 15, 1988.
84. MC, October 30, 1987.
85. FM, December 7, 1987. For the teach-in, see MC, November 6, 1987.
86. MC, March 4, 1988, March 11, 1988, March 18, 1988, October 14, 1988, and October 21, 1988.
87. MC, September 29, 1989, and October 20, 1989; and MCM 64 (winter 1990): 14-15.
88. On early gay and lesbian group activities, see MC, September 25, 1975; November 20, 1975, November 10, 1976, and November 30, 1977. On antigay letters and responses, see MC, December 7, 1977, and January 11, 1978.
89. MC, November 14, 1986, November 13, 1987, and March 3, 1989; and telephone interview with Professor Richard Cornwall, April 17, 1989, MCA. In 1984, Cornwall requested in the alumni magazine that gay and lesbian students send him historical information on what it was like to be gay at Middlebury. He only received one response. See MCM 58 (winter 1984): 41; and interview with Cornwall, April 17, 1989, MCA.
90. FM, January 7, 1985, p. 61. At the same meeting, the faculty also unanimously recommended the addition of the words "sexual preference" to the sexual harassment statement.
91. PM, 13:1391 (January 17, 1985). Members of the board met with several faculty members to discuss the issue. See MC, March 1, 1985, March 15, 1985, and March 22, 1985.
92. Telephone interview with Cornwall, April 17, 1989; and MC, February 23, 1990.
93. There are numerous works on the recent history of women in American life. See, for example, William Chafe, *The American Woman: Her Changing Social, Economic, and Political Roles, 1920-1970* (New York, 1972); Sheila M. Rothman, *Woman's Proper Place: A History of Changing Ideals and Practices, 1870 to the Present* (New York, 1978); and Lois W. Banner, *Women in Modern America: A Brief History* (New York, 1974).
94. Based on interviews with Sam Guarnaccia '30, October 8, 1974; Fred Neuberger '50, February 3, 1975; Walter Brooker '37, June 11, 1975; and Gordon Perine '49, February 28, 1975, among others, MCA.
95. MCNL 30 (November 1955): 9. After Proctor was completed in the fall of 1960, freshmen ate together there.
96. Interview with JIA, May 20, 1975.
97. MC, November 4, 1954, October 27, 1955; September 27, 1956, January 17, 1957; April 27, 1961, May 11, 1961, and March 15, 1962.
98. The study is reported in MC, November 10, 1966. On women in World War II activities, see, for example, MC, December 9, 1942.
99. W. Storrs Lee '28, "Twenty Years A-Growing," MCNL 15 (June 1941): 7.
100. Interview with Juanita Pritchard Cook '26, February 24, 1975, MCA.
101. See MC, February 26, 1988 on O'Brien; MCM 64 (summer 1990): 2 on Hansen; and MC, March 10, 1989 on Andreu. On the number of female faculty members, see John McCardell et al., *Toward the Year 2000: A Basic Ten-Year Planning Document, May, 1988*, (Middlebury, Vt., 1988), 4.
102. Leslie Virostek, "Taking Measure of Women's Work," MCM 63 (spring
- 1989): 30-34; MC, November 4, 1988, November 18, 1988, January 20, 1989; MC, October 30, 1987, and October 20, 1989; and MCM 63 (winter 1989): 2. The college dietitian formed a support group in 1989 for women who were preoccupied with food or weight. See MCM 63 (winter 1989): 2.
103. Quoted in Virostek, "Taking Measure of Women's Work," 33; also see MCM 63 (winter 1989): 2.
104. Quoted in Brett Millier, "Some Lessons," MCM 63 (spring 1989): 36.
105. The report was printed as *Special Committee on Attitudes toward Gender: Final Report* (Middlebury, Vt., 1990). For comments, see MC, March 2, 1990, March 9, 1990, and March 16, 1990; and MCM 64 (summer 1990): 12-13. Also see Robison to Middlebury College Community, memorandum, March 12, 1990, MCA. It should be noted that, except for the statement that the number of women faculty had increased over the past ten years, the report said nothing about the major changes during the past thirty years; indeed, a major weakness of the report was the lack of any historical perspective on the issues or any feeling that things were in the process of changing, as indeed they were.
106. MC, March 9, 1977.
107. See Kenneth Keniston and Michael Lerner, "Campus Characteristics and Campus Unrest," *Annals*, 395 (May 1971): 39-53; Richard E. Flacks, "The Liberated Generation? An Explanation of the Roots of Student Protests," *Journal of Social Issues*, 23 (1967): 52-75; and A. W. Astin, "Personal and Environmental Determinants of Student Activism," *Measurement and Evaluation in Guidance* (fall 1968): 149-162.

## CHAPTER 15. "... AND A CAST OF THOUSANDS" (PAGES 321-51)

1. In 1949-1950, fourteen of the forty-eight Middlebury faculty members above the rank of instructor held the doctorate; in 1960-1961, thirty-five of fifty-one. See MCNL 36 (fall 1961): 9.
2. *Report of the Visiting Committee on Literature* (Middlebury, Vt., 1989), 7.
3. *Ibid.*, 7.
4. Vernon C. Harrington to JT, March 7, 1917, TP.
5. CM, 3:93-94; and CM, 4:301-2. Also see JT to Percival Wilds, March 9, 1917, TP; JT to F. L. Fish, March 15, 1917, October 18, 1917, and April 26, 1918, TP; and CM, 3:91.
6. CM, 4:38-39, 299-302. On the revolt against Stratton, see chapter 6, above.
7. Interview with Howard Munford, March 5, 1975, MCA.
8. CM, 6:625, and 8:1002.
9. See MC, November 21, 1968; CM, 9:1201, 1275; and 10:1506, 1546; PM, 3:1130-31; FM (1969-70): 102-6; FM (1971-72): 40; and FM (1973-74): 127-64. The new rules passed in 1975 set up two-year, four-year, and eight-year reviews of probationary faculty, the last being the tenure review. Up to that time, tenure decisions were made after a six-year review. See CM, 8:1085, 1105, and 1117; MC, January 18, 1968, March 28, 1968, April 4, 1918, May 16, 1968, April 19, 1973, January 22, 1976, and January 26, 1977; PM, 3:1200; and FM (1972-73): 65-66, 88-94.
10. One of the few examples I found was in 1985, when President Robison apparently overturned a recommendation of the Committee on Reappointment.



The president's action was viewed by the faculty as "an erosion of the Committee's power," and the members temporarily resigned from the committee. See FM (1985-86): 62.

11. CM, 6:624-25.
12. For the issues over which the faculty expressed discontent to the board, see CM, 13:1968, 1976; 10:1565-67, 1611; 11:1708; and CM (October 17, 1987): 2108. On the library, see FM (1946-47): 90; Dean of Women's Report in President's Report to the Board of Trustees, 1954, p. 10; and MC, March 10, 1955, MCA. With the increased interest in research and publication in the 1970s and 1980s, demands on the library grew steadily; the 1988 ten-year plan claimed that "the most common complaint heard from faculty has been their dismay over the inability to acquire what in some cases is regarded as basic journal literature in a field." See John McCardell et al., *Toward the Year 2000: A Basic Ten-Year Planning Document*, May, 1988, (Middlebury, Vt., 1988), 29.
13. Interview with Howard Mumford, March 5, 1975. Also see CM, 9:1150, 1303-94; PM, 3:1033; and FM (May 14, 1990).
14. See chapter 8, p. 127-28, and chapter 9, pp. 157-60. On the Walker Fund, whose \$4,000 annual interest was the only available leave money for the entire faculty until the 1950s, see CM, 3:96, 163, 173.
15. Based on interviews with many faculty members who worked before and after 1950. See, for example, taped interview with Pardon Tillinghast, MCA. On conditions in the late 1980s, see McCardell et al., *Toward the Year 2000*, 10-15.
16. On faculty loads and class size, see the various presidents' reports to the board of trustees, particularly January 12, 1946, August 12, 1947, and January 10, 1948, MCA; MC, March 8, 1951; and "For Your Information," MCNL 30 (November 1955): 12.
17. Interview with Marion Holmes, May 4, 1987, AI3/59, MCA.
18. There were twenty-two women faculty by 1976 and sixty-six in 1987-1988. See McCardell et al., *Toward the Year 2000*, 4.
19. Interview with John Bowker, October 15, 1974; interview with John Andrews, October 15, 1974; and interview with Jane Howard Fiske '39, March 10, 1975. Also see Pardon Tillinghast's comments in MC, April 16, 1982. All in MCA.
20. Stephen Freeman, "Thirty-eight Years of Middlebury," MCNL 38 (autumn 1963): 16. There was also a faculty club in the interwar period. See MC, November 23, 1921, and March 25, 1925.
21. On the Sewing Bee, see, for example, MC, December 14, 1921. On faculty friendships, also see Marion P. Harris to David Stameshkin, February 4, 1982, MCA.
22. See "Full Report of the Task Force on Junior/Senior Faculty Relations for the Middlebury College Self-Study Report," January 1990, pp. 2-3; and interview with Provost John McCardell, July 2, 1990, MCA.
23. Doc Cook to David Stameshkin, January 28, 1982, MCA.
24. MCM 60 (autumn 1985): 32.
25. MC, February 7, 1917, January 29, 1919, and February 5, 1919.
26. MC, January 23, 1924. D. K. Smith '42 stated that student-faculty relations were limited in his era because the students tended to be relatively uncultured and unsophisticated and held faculty in some awe. See MC, March 25, 1983.
27. MC, February 1, 1928.
28. Interview with John Andrews, October 15, 1974. Also see MC, May 25, 1927, for questionnaire on student-faculty relations.
29. Report the Dean of the College, 1988-89, p. 8, MCA.
30. MC, January 23, 1918.
31. Interview with Juanita Pritchard Cook, February 24, 1975, notes and tape, MCA.
32. MCNL 12 (June 1938): 2. Also see W. Storrs Lee to Committee on Freshman Counseling, in President's Report, September 15, 1954, MCA.
33. MCM 61 (summer 1987): 38.
34. PM, 12:1381; Dean Steven Rockefeller to Olin Robison, in CM, May 24, 1985; and MC, May 4, 1984, and May 10, 1985.
35. MC, October 6, 1920, December 18, 1920, April 27, 1921, October 16, 1935, and December 11, 1935; and CM, 4 (October 10, 1931).
36. See, for instance, MC, January 30, 1918, February 6, 1918, June 24, 1919, January 28, 1920, and December 1, 1920; and MCM 64 (winter 1990): 60. Also see interview with Joseph Kasper, August 6, 1974, tape, MCA.
37. MCM 63 (summer 1989): 60.
38. See, for example, MC, February 20, 1958.
39. MC, May 11, 1921, November 1, 1922, and May 20, 1936.
40. Interview with Marion Holmes '33, May 4, 1986, AI3/59, MCA.
41. MC, May 12, 1926, April 29, 1936, and January 11, 1962.
42. See chapter 11.
43. *Report of the Visiting Committee of Literature*, 8.
44. On the honor code, see MC, December 10, 1919, February 16, 1921, November 30, 1921, January 18, 1922, March 15, 1922, May 17, 1922, April 20, 1927, May 4, 1927, November 15, 1933, November 16, 1961, February 22, 1962, April 12, 1962, and May 24, 1962; Annual Report of the Dean of Men, June 23, 1965, MCA; and CM, 8:975. In 1975-1976 there was talk of eliminating the honor code because of massive violations, but no change was made. See MC, October 9, 1975, and January 22, 1976.
45. See MCNL 23 (October 1948): 9; and MC, March 15, 1962, April 12, 1962, April 19, 1962, and January 17, 1963. Also see chapter 14, p. 303.
46. Report of the Dean of College, 1988-89, 7.
47. MC, May 4, 1989.
48. MC, October 11, 1979.
49. The office of controller was added in 1923, the associate dean of men in 1925, the director of admissions and personnel in 1927, and the director of public relations in 1928. See MC, April 18, 1923, March 25, 1925, October 26, 1927, and January 11, 1928.
50. I derived these figures by counting the names in the Middlebury College directories (in MCA) for those years. Complete personnel records apparently do not exist before 1968. See Jane Bingham, Treasurer's Office, to David Stameshkin, August 10, 1990, MCA.
51. MC, September 25, 1947.
52. A copy of the staff questionnaire is in File AI15/1, MCA. On staff concerns in 1978-1982, see *Valley Voice*, June 21, 1978; petitions in the possession of Robert Buckeye; Carroll Rikert to Members of the Staff, June 6, 1978, in Buckeye's possession; and MC, November 8, 1979, September 25, 1980, February 27, 1981, March 27, 1981, February 26, 1982, November 5, 1982, and November 12, 1982.
53. A copy of the Staff Council Statement of Purpose is in AI15/1, MCA.
54. MC, September 25, 1987, November 13, 1987, December 4, 1987, January 15, 1988, February 12, 1988, and March 18, 1988.

55. MC, April 15, 1988, April 22, 1988, September 16, 1988, January 27, 1989, March 17, 1989, October 6, 1989, and March 2, 1990. Also see PM, May 19, 1988.
56. On the parking problems of the late 1980s, see MC, October 2, 1987, October 30, 1987, December 4, 1987, February 12, 1988, and February 19, 1988. On the controversy over smoking on campus, see MC, October 17, 1986, January 16, 1987, April 24, 1987, and January 15, 1988; and MCM 62 (spring 1988): 32.
57. On the day-care controversy, see MC, March 4, 1988, September 15, 1989, and March 2, 1990; CM, March 11, 1989, May 27, 1989, and March 10, 1990; PM, May 25, 1989; FM, May 24, 1989; Olin Robison to Middlebury College Community, May 12, 1989, and June 2, 1989, MCA. Also see the "need for affordable child care for staff, especially for staff at the lower end of the pay scale" expressed by staff in the *Special Committee on Attitudes toward Gender: Final Report* (Middlebury, Vt., 1990), 16.
58. FM (April 11, 1935): 75-78.
59. On the changes in the rules regarding membership of the board under Robison, see PM, 12:1322, 1328; CM, 12:1881; PM, 13:1383-88; CM, 13:1995-96, 2003, 2021. On the role of the trustees, see Arnold B. LaForce '35, "Middlebury and the Trustee's Role in Its Governance," MCNL 44 (winter 1970): 3-9.
60. MCM 63 (summer 1989): 60.
61. Sylvia Robison to David Stameshkin, September 13, 1990, MCA; and interview with Olin Robison, July 3, 1990, MCA.
62. MCM 64 (spring 1990): 26; Sylvia Robison to Stameshkin, September 13, 1990.
63. MC, April 21, 1920. Also see MC, April 22, 1936, for an announcement that the Boston area alumni association would host a reception for local high school preparatory students.
64. See chapter 10, pp. 200-1.
65. MCM 60 (autumn 1985): 8.
66. CM, 3:285, 286; Mrs. Earle W. Brailey to David Stameshkin, November 30, 1981, MCA; and W. Ransom Rice to David Stameshkin, April 17, 1982, MCA.
67. In 1953, only \$22,000 was raised. See MC, February 4, 1954. On the beginnings of the reunion class effort, see Susan Christopher Leist '76 to David Stameshkin, April 14, 1982, MCA. Susan credits her mother, Jane Hyde Christopher '51, who was national chairman for annual giving from 1976-1978, with several of the innovative ideas that were crucial to the program's success. On more recent success, see chapter 9, pp. 169-74.
68. Alumni were first elected to the board by the Alumni Association in 1925. See CM, 3:182, 211-13. Under the rules instituted by Robison in the 1980s, the number of alumni trustees was dropped from eight to six but with five-year terms. Two recently graduated alumni were also to be elected for two-year terms, to give current students some representation without actually placing undergraduates on the board. See CM, 12:1881; and 13:2021.
69. CM, 8:1001-2; MC, November 6, 1929; SK, 164; and MC, January 18, 1933.
70. See MCNL 51 (fall 1976): 18; and brochures describing the Alumni College in the MCA. For the later alumni occasions, see MCM 60 (summer 1986): 49.
71. Boston and New York City were two of the first regional groups, and many others followed. A Philadelphia group was formed in 1930, a New Hampshire group in 1938, and many other clubs, including the Middlebury Alumni Association of Japan, were started over the years. See MC, January 26, 1921, January 26, 1930, and October 26, 1938; and MCM 64 (spring 1990): 51. A Student Alumni Asso-

ciation was formed on campus in 1979 to encourage interest in such activities by undergraduates. See MC, October 18, 1979; and MCNL 53 (winter 1979): 3.

72. CM, 3:247, 257-58, 273; MCNL 51 (summer 1976): 13-15; and MC, December 18, 1929.

73. The college does not have a complete and accurate listing of graduates and their occupations, but I have been able to piece together what I hope is a fairly accurate picture of career patterns from a variety of sources. Statistics on graduates before 1915 are in Stameshkin, *The Town's College: Middlebury College, 1800-1915* (Middlebury, Vt., 1985), 259-60. The 1950 GC has a listing of all Middlebury graduates (and some nongraduates) with the jobs they held during their careers. Although not perfectly accurate, the GC is a fairly good source for graduates before the class of 1940; after that it is less helpful. The Alumni Office attempted to ascertain the occupations of living alumni in 1922 and 1955. See MC, March 22, 1922; and MCNL 30 (November 1955): 12-14. Both of those studies, particularly the latter, are useful. In 1986 I requested a class-by-class breakdown of occupations by gender. The information was flawed because it was self-reported and incomplete, but it was consistent with other sources. See, for example, MC, June 13, 1938, and November 21, 1939; MCM 64 (summer 1990): 65; and MCNL 52 (summer 1977): 34.

74. MC, November 2, 1938.

75. Interviews with Spencer Wright, March 6, 1975; Juanita Pritchard Cook '26, February 24, 1975; Eleanor Mitchell Benjamin Clemens, February 25, 1975; and Richard Hubbard, August 21, 1981, MCA. See also MC, February 5, 1919, and October 16, 1935.

Fewer college men were dating or marrying town women; apparently, they were marrying college women instead. As late as World War I, it was common for college men to marry local residents. See MC, October 10, 1917, October 1, 1919, and October 22, 1919. On the question of students living off campus, in the late 1960s a group of students successfully petitioned to reside off campus. In 1970, however, the Student Senate voted overwhelmingly to limit the number living off campus because "Middlebury students, by moving off campus in increasing number, are depriving low-income families of needed housing and driving up housing costs." The administration, which believed in the residential college principle, supported the senate. See MC, May 4, 1967, May 11, 1967, May 18, 1967, and January 22, 1970.

76. PM, 1:18; and Thomas H. Noonan '91, "New Commencement Tradition," MCNL 12 (June 1938): 14. The other major change in commencement exercises occurred in 1918, when the college began importing an outside speaker to deliver the address in place of all-student addresses. Only the valedictorian and salutatorian spoke thereafter. See MC, May 31, 1916, for list of addresses at that Commencement.

77. William J. Slator, "Town and Gown," MCNL 37 (spring 1963): 21.

78. MC, May 10, 1916, March 7, 1928, May 8, 1929, and April 22, 1936.

79. Bruce B. Peterson to Albert F. Gollinck, May 29, 1970, Theta Chi File, MCA.

80. Based on my conversations with townspeople, 1972-1975. Also see MC, September 27, 1979, October 4, 1979, January 24, 1980, and November 13, 1981.

81. Based on my conversations with townspeople, 1972-1975.

82. MC, September 27, 1979, and October 4, 1979.

83. MC, December 15, 1920. Also see MC, September 24, 1919, and March 2, 1921.

84. MC, November 9, 1938.

85. MC, May 24, 1916, January 14, 1925, February 11, 1925, May 4, 1927, and November 23, 1927.
86. *Kaleidoscope* (1929), 252.
87. MC, February 11, 1925.
88. MC, November 12, 1930, and December 11, 1935.
89. Nancy Warner '36, "Women's Forum: The College—the Community," *MCNL* 30 (May 1956): 13-14, 22; MC, July 14, 1943, and May 2, 1957.
90. *MCNL* 53 (summer 1979): 27. Also see interviews (all in MCA) with Peter and Judy Peterson, June 19, 1975; Roth Tall, June 3, 1975; and Gordie Perine, February 25, 1975; and MC, March 13, 1952, November 26, 1952, February 18, 1954, 1961, and April 12, 1962.
91. For example, college students, under the direction of Laurie Miner Conner taught art to elementary students. See MC, October 17, 1969. Also see interviews with Erica Wonnacott, July 9, 1986; and MC, October 5, 1977, May 10, 1978, and November 13, 1981.
92. MC, October 2, 1970.
93. Interview with Tiffany Nourse Sargent '79, July 11, 1990.
94. *MCM* 60 (autumn 1985): 12-15; MC, October 3, 1986, January 15, 1988, October 21, 1988, January 20, 1989, April 28, 1989, February 23, 1990, March 1990, March 9, 1990, March 16, 1990, and April 13, 1990.
95. MC, September 25, 1987, November 10, 1989, and January 19, 1990.
96. "Editor's Note," *MCM* 64 (spring 1990): 2.
97. MC, March 21, 1928.
98. *MC* 64 (winter 1990): 60. On the students and the flood, see MC, November 23, 1927; and George W. Mead, "Flood Days," April, 1929, typescript, MCA.
99. Interview with Richard Hubbard, August 21, 1981; and interview with Ross, August 25, 1981, MCA.
100. Slatoff, "Town and Gown," 20.
101. MC, September 25, 1980, and October 16, 1981; interview with Preston Olin Robison, August 11, 1981, MCA; and my conversations with college employees in 1974-1975, 1979, and 1981.
102. On Anderson's work, see MC, November 3, 1989, January 19, 1990, January 26, 1990; and Debby Hodge '60, "Something Old, Something New," *MC* 64 (winter 1990): 38-49.
103. Paul Vaughn '57, "First Words," *MCNL* 58 (spring 1984): inside cover.
104. *CM*, 3:223, 237-38; 4:122, 153, 189; and conversations with townspeople conducted in 1974-1975.
105. See MC, September 16, 1965, September 30, 1965, October 7, 1965, November 4, 1965, and March 2, 1977; *Addison County Independent*, September 24, 1965, and *CM*, 8:990.
106. On the Route 7 bypass conflict, see, for example, *CM*, 8:1076; *PM*, 5:1298; interview with Olin Robison, August 11, 1981; and MC, November 12, 1959, November 3, 1976, January 11, 1978, March 8, 1978, and January 26, 1979. On land that the college bought, also see interview with David Ginevan, July 3, 1989, and Jane Bingham to David Stameshkin, August 10, 1990, MCA.
107. *Valley Voice*, April 25, 1979. Also see *Addison County Independent*, January 26, 1979; and interview with John Michael White, July 16, 1986, MCA.
108. See, for example, *PM*, October 21, 1988, p. 1448; interview with Preston Robison, July 3, 1990, MCA; and MC, October 2, 1981, and March 17, 1989.
109. MC, October 11, 1979; and interview with James Ross, August 25, 1981, MCA.
110. MC, May 1, 1989; and *PM*, May 22, 1987, p. 1432.
111. *CM*, October 17, 1987, pp. 2110-11, and appended; *CM*, January 16, 1988, p. 2118; *PM*, May 19, 1988; and MC, May 6, 1988, September 30, 1988, and October 7, 1988.
112. *CM*, 12:1844, 1854; 13:2014, 2026; *PM*, 12:1345, 1353; and *MCM* 56 (autumn 1981): 2-3.
113. See, for example, MC, March 2, 1921.
114. *MCNL* 54 (fall 1979): pp. 9-10; and interview with Robert Buckeye, July 3, 1990, notes in author's possession.
115. On early examples of faculty involvement in the community, see MC, January 23, 1918, February 26, 1919, June 2, 1920, January 13, 1926, January 11, 1928, December 18, 1935, March 18, 1936, and May 18, 1938; and interview with John Bowker, October 15, 1974. In recent years administrators such as Gordie Perine '49 longtime treasurer of St. Stephen's Church) and Bob Peskin (president of the board of trustees of the United Way of Addison County) have been particularly active members of the community. See *MCM* 63 (summer 1989): 31, and 60 (summer 1986): 10.