

3.

LAUNCHING THE NEW ENTERPRISE

The First Dean and the School's Dedication

by Emmet O'Brien

After study and investigation of possible appointees to the position of dean of the new school, Cornell President Edmund Ezra Day reported his conclusion that the best qualified person available would be Irving M. Ives. President Day further reported that were the post offered to him, Ives would accept, in spite of the fact that he was then in the midst of a successful career in the New York State Legislature, on one condition: that he be allowed first, in fairness to his constituents, to serve out the remainder of his term in the assembly.

Thus, in June 1945 Irving M. Ives was duly elected professor of industrial and labor relations and dean of the New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, the appointment to be without salary, in accordance with Ives's request, as long as he continued to hold public office.

The formal opening of the school was celebrated with a convocation on November 12, 1945 in Willard Straight Hall, led by Governor Thomas E. Dewey, with the participation of President Day, Dean Ives, and Judge Groat.

Getting Underway

As the academic year of 1945-46 approached, the intensity of activity in preparation for actually opening the school in the fall term became overwhelming. Incredible though it may seem, Ives and Day were able in a period of a few weeks to assemble the nucleus of a faculty, several of whom formed a continuing source of counsel and advice both during the school's formative years and thereafter. As President Day noted in "Education for Freedom and Responsibility":

Those first few months of the new School were hectic, indeed. We had to get an administrative staff. We had to recruit a new faculty from top to bottom. We had to select a student body. We had to organize a program of instruction. We had to find improved

quarters in other University buildings. Most important of all, we had to explain ourselves, for in certain quarters there were doubts about the wisdom of our undertaking.

As soon as the first two faculty members—Jean McKelvey and Maurice Neufeld—were appointed, they were assigned the task of preparing a curriculum for the new school and a description of a graduate program. They accomplished both within the space of a day interspersed with house hunting.

Somehow, a general announcement was created and issued by September 12, 1945. Even more astonishing, the school was ready for the opening of the first semester on November 2, with an enrollment of 107 undergraduates and 11 graduate students. There were 87 men and 20 women in this group, 67 of them veterans of World War II. The average age of the undergraduate group was 22.5 years. The range was 16 to 50, broken down as follows:

- 16-20 years: 31 students
- 21-25 years: 57 students
- 26-50 years: 19 students

Most of the school's courses were offered through Cornell's College of Arts and Sciences with teaching shared with members of its faculty, but its more specialized coursework was given in Warren Hall on the College of Agriculture campus by Professors McKelvey, Neufeld, and Morton. They were assisted by Robert Ferguson of Cornell's Department of Economics and Arnold Hanson, one of the school's Ph.D. candidates, both of whom later became full professors in the school.

A Participant's View of the Early Years

by Jean McKelvey

The New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations opened its doors to transfer and graduate students in November 1945. Maurice Neufeld and I were able to prepare our first assignment—a curriculum and course descriptions for both undergraduate and graduate students—in less than two hours because we meshed very well together, and because Maurice was in a hurry to rent a house. Despite the time constraints we were under, our catalogue has withstood the challenges and changes in our field very well.

Our next assignment was to decide what parts of our ambitious curriculum we would be teaching. To launch the program Maurice and I each agreed to teach five courses in the second semester, but—as products of progressive education—we realized that it was important not to establish such a precedent. So when Irving Ives had a "staff" meeting with us and asked what we thought a desirable teaching load would be, we both said not more than two courses a semester. Since

Ives had had no academic experience outside of graduating from Hamilton College, he readily agreed.

In the fall of 1946 the school moved to the Quonset huts and the faculty grew from the two of us to six. A faculty photo taken one year later showed a group of 50. Significantly, as of the school's 50th anniversary, the size of the student body had more than tripled, but the state budget's target for teaching positions was for only 47.

Perhaps it is the changes that have occurred since those very different times that are most remarkable. At the beginning, we had a library consisting of only a one-volume dictionary. We were pioneers in a new field and had to invent a new course of study. Among our tasks that first year were interviewing prospective colleagues and ordering books, once we got a librarian and some shelf space. Our first year was spent in Warren Hall, where only the faculty were allowed keys for the elevator. The next year we moved to our own quarters—the huts—a move which had the desirable effect of throwing all of us together—students, faculty, and administrators—so that we all became fellow students of the new field. At that point it was possible to use our too munificent state funds for a variety of endeavors—field trips by bus to factories and mines, to state hearings on labor laws, and to individual interviews with practitioners and research workers. In all these ventures, Maurice and I worked as a team. We even shared an office over the years, and because of our progressive college educations, we were able to reinforce our respective ideas concerning a liberal education in a professional field. We also had older students whose higher education had been postponed by the war who served both as role models for the younger groups and as nascent faculty for the graduate group. They also formed an emerging corps of graduate assistants who went on to fill administrative posts in industry, government, unions, and higher education.

Looking back at those halcyon days with the friendships and relationships that were hallmarks of a new field gives me a sharper perspective. Although we had more funds than we could expend, we worked in what might be termed by cynics an academic slum. Yet we all enjoyed our locale, despite the leaking roofs and hallways dotted with pails to catch the dripping water, because it helped to build broad friendships.

We also found time to travel, both with our students and abroad to international meetings. Maurice spent two years in Italy early in his Cornell career, and I took my first sabbatical in 1961—the year the school moved to our reconstructed home in the old Veterinary campus. Today's students are at a disadvantage by comparison. They are enduring a separation as the school's third home is prepared, and they are being taught—even at the graduate level—in larger classes and often by graduate assistants who handle sections of those classes. They will never know the excitement and thrills of a new academic adventure. Furthermore, as the faculty's interest in global relationships takes them away from the campus, the bond between students and faculty is further weakened.

So Maurice and I had a unique experience in those early days, which we managed to survive, and which nothing in my own career has quite matched.

Ives Moves On

by Emmet O'Brien

Before the first academic year could run its course, Dean Ives announced that he was making a bid for the U.S. Senate. After Ives resigned, a talented trio, made up of Lynn Emerson, Maurice Neufeld, and Donald Shank, was appointed to administer the school until a new dean was selected and brought on board.

Early in the summer of 1946 three faculty members were added: Vernon H. Jensen to teach Labor Economics and Collective Bargaining, Mediation, and Arbitration; Professor John W. McConnell to teach Social Security and Human Relations in Industry; and Associate Professor Milton R. Konvitz as director of research and instructor of the Foundations of Law.

Senator-elect Ives departed from Cornell University and the ILR School when the 70th Congress convened in Washington in early 1947. In keeping with his pledge, he took no salary while he remained on the assembly payroll. For the intervening few days, however, he went on the school payroll so as to maintain continuous service for pension purposes. For this he was paid \$73.92, the only salary he ever received from Cornell!

Soon after Ives was nominated for the Senate, suggestions for his replacement began to flow to President Day. On November 27, 1946, Judge William Groat proposed a candidate. In his letter he recalled that he had originally suggested Irving Ives as the first dean, that he had gone over the qualifications required again and had found a candidate right on the Cornell Board of Trustees: He very strongly supported Mary Donlon for the deanship. Miss Donlon, who played an important role among the trustees in bringing the school to Cornell, was then chairman of the New York State Workmen's Compensation Board, a very important and sensitive position, and was high in Governor Dewey's "team."

Many other names were advanced, especially after Ives was elected to the Senate. One most frequently heard stirred up things in Ithaca and Albany. It was that of Dr. Martin P. Catherwood, a Cornell professor of public administration on leave of absence who was serving as Governor Dewey's commissioner of commerce. He was a Republican whom Ives and others had urged Governor Lehman to name to the first state division of commerce, and he had become its first commissioner when an Ives-sponsored constitutional amendment later made it a regular state department.

On June 6, 1947, the trustees appointed Martin P. Catherwood dean of the New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, at a salary of \$12,000, to take effect July 1, that year.

Several Views of Martin P. Catherwood

Masterful Leadership

by Maurice F. Neufeld

Martin P. Catherwood was dean of the ILR School from 1947 until 1958, when Governor Nelson Rockefeller named him industrial commissioner. It fell to him to devise the institutional arrangements for conducting the day-to-day operations of the school that had been conceived and launched in prior days.

During Catherwood's years of service—crucial years that determined the character of the new school—Catherwood summoned up traits of mind and spirit that enabled him to shoulder uncharted responsibilities. He was forthright, candid, to-the-point, plain-spoken, and always just. Along with these virtues, he brought to the school the indispensable ability to secure needed funds from the state's Bureau of the Budget and Legislature—a skill he had perfected in Albany as chairman of the State Planning Board and Commissioner of Commerce. He also brought to the school demonstrated abilities in teaching and research, acquired while professor of public administration; in addition he was a recognized authority on county government in the Department of Agricultural Economics in Cornell's College of Agriculture. At that college he absorbed the tradition of strong decanal leadership and devotion to public service so brilliantly exemplified by William I. Myers, the dynamic Dean of the College of Agriculture who had served with distinction on the New York Federal Reserve Board. Catherwood's years at the College of Agriculture, moreover, had taught him the importance of vigorous Extension programs and the need for an international approach to teaching and research.

Catherwood's achievements at the school were signal. When he assumed leadership, the number of undergraduate students stood at 286—37 were women. The number of graduate students totaled 34—3 were women. When he left in 1958, the number of undergraduates had risen to 306—52 were women—and the number of graduate students had mounted to 68—11 of them women. In 1947 the school offered 15 undergraduate and graduate courses. By 1958, the number of undergraduate and graduate courses had increased to 74, and the school counted 7,200 extension course enrollments throughout the state.

During Catherwood's deanship, the number of faculty and staff members rose from 16 to 72.

In 1970, on the occasion of the School's 25th anniversary, the administration and faculty gave the name of Martin P. Catherwood to its world-class library.

Catherwood and the school found each other at precisely the right time in the life of each of these demanding partners.

M.P.'S Activism

by Leonard P. Adams

Catherwood—known colloquially as M.P.—liked to keep the pulse of the unions. During my early days, reports were made to M.P. by regional offices on both union and employer attitudes toward the Ives bill that had created the school and the field of labor-management relations as it evolved. As I recall, these were neither published nor even circulated among the faculty. Catherwood "sat" on a report I wrote after visiting in the Corning-Elmira area, which indicated that employers' attitudes varied from "let's wait and see" to indifference to skepticism about the need for such a school to anti-unionism. One manager in Elmira had said the best way to improve labor-management relations would be to give both sides a good course in the English language so that they could better understand the wording of contracts.

In 1952, when the school was involved with the settlement of the longshoremen's strike and subsequent legislation, Catherwood and I played a major role in establishing offices to screen all hiring on the docks. Our reasons for providing such offices by legislation were to regularize employment for workers with good records; to eliminate workers with poor working records and theavery; and to eliminate "kickbacks" to hiring supervisors. British experience, we found, had shown such controls over hiring to be desirable for both workers and employers.

After the longshoremen's strike, the school was asked to investigate the possibility of establishing one union card for all the entertainment unions, including live theater, movies, vaudeville, and so forth. The field work Bob Aronson and I did on this issue showed that some of the parties were reluctant to be perceived as similar to other types of performers.

Another Perspective

by William F. Whyte
(1994: 204-06)

The period of 1948 through 1958 in ILR had been a happy and productive time for me, with one major exception: my relations with the dean. Dean Catherwood wielded more power and authority than I thought was appropriate. Many in the faculty shared this view, but I had the most serious clashes with him.

At one point, a group of faculty had proposed establishing a committee on faculty personnel policies to set up standards and procedures to limit the power of the dean to act against prevailing sentiment. Catherwood did not like the idea, but the

faculty voted to create the committee, which became a settled part of the governance of ILR....

In the course of arguing about these issues, I became identified as the dean's chief opponent. This was made clear in a faculty meeting that I can no longer place in time or even in terms of the issue that provoked the dean's wrath. But I shall never forget the tone of the argument or Catherwood's words. He got very angry and announced, "I appoint Professor Whyte chairman of a committee to investigate the dean."

I was stunned. I accepted the challenge because I did not know what else to do. Then I went home and worried about it with Kathleen [Whyte]. I was in an untenable situation. The outcome would have to be that either Catherwood or I would leave Cornell. On rare occasions, there have been cases in which a faculty has mobilized itself sufficiently against a dean to force him out, but I did not see that happening at ILR. I also recognized that Catherwood had built up a substantial reputation on his ability to get funds from the state government. If the scenario laid out by the dean reached its predictable conclusion, I would be the one to leave.

The showdown never came. Within a day or two, some of the senior professors talked to Catherwood and persuaded him to forget about forming the committee to investigate him....

I look back now on my relations with the dean with somewhat mixed feelings. I continue to believe that he sought to wield more authority than was good for the school, but I also recognize my own shortcomings. In my research, I had been concentrating on ways to build effective relations with those one supervised without focusing on how one deals with a boss who is too bossy....

I never solved the problem of working with Catherwood, but it was solved for me. On December 31, 1958, he resigned to accept an appointment from Governor Nelson Rockefeller as industrial commissioner of New York State.

The Founders

Over the years four of the earliest faculty members have increasingly been referred to as "The Founding Four." These four are Jean McKelvey, Maurice Neufeld, Vernon (Pete) Jensen, and Milton Konvitz.

Jean Trepp McKelvey: Founding Mother and Mentor to Many

by Marcia L. Greenbaum ('62)

When Senator Irving M. Ives, first dean of the ILR School, hired its founding faculty in 1945, he called upon Maurice Neufeld and Jean Trepp McKelvey.

McKelvey was then a member of the National War Labor Board, Region 2, and professor and chair of the Social Science Faculty at Sarah Lawrence College in Bronxville, New York, where she taught economics. Ives remembered McKelvey's having brought some of her students to one of his hearings, and he was so impressed by their sharp questions that he asked her to join the ILR faculty. This link between the classroom and the real world became a McKelvey hallmark.

McKelvey and Neufeld arrived in Ithaca on the same day in January of 1946. Once they had accomplished their initial assignments to establish the fields of study, develop the curriculum and course descriptions, and interview student applicants, they proceeded to teach five courses each and use their creative energy and intellect to guide the school and its students like loving, caring parents who had the best interests of their offspring at heart.

In recounting those early years of the ILR School, now Emeritus Professor Neufeld has said, "Jean McKelvey is, in my opinion, the best teacher we ever had." Many would echo that sentiment.

McKelvey graduated from Wellesley College, where she was a Phi Beta Kappa and received a number of fellowships and prizes, including first prize in the Hart, Schaffner and Marx contest for best essay in economics written by an American college undergraduate. She earned a master's and doctorate in economics at Radcliffe College, where she wrote her thesis: "Trade Union Interest in Production." There she met her husband, Blake, then a Harvard student pursuing a Ph.D. in history, who eyed her through the library stack shelves and told his family he had met a woman who was "one in a thousand." They were married in 1934. She went on to become a recognized authority on both arbitration and labor law. Although she never attended law school as a student, from January 1977 to June 1978 she was a visiting professor at the Cornell Law School. She attributed her interest in labor relations and dispute resolution to a professor at Wellesley and the undergraduate thesis she wrote on labor-management cooperation.

Jean McKelvey, who came to the ILR School as an assistant professor, inspired students with her knowledge, expertise, and practical experience. From 1947 to 1979 she taught Arbitration, Law and Practice with Bertram Willcox of the Cornell Law School, which became known as the "red pencil/blue pencil" course, because both professors commented (in contrasting colors) on every student paper. In this and other classes, she was able to bring the outside world to the ivory tower and integrate the two so that students gained an understanding of how their learning would fit in the workplace. She regularly invited luminaries in labor relations and arbitration to the classroom (David Cole, Peter Seitz, Saul Wallen, and so forth) to share their expertise and views of reality with those of us in the insular Ithaca environment. She also took students to arbitration hearings and professional meetings so that we might gaze upon the field of dreams.

Donald Cullen, formerly an ILR student and now professor emeritus, remembered his days in Professor McKelvey's class as follows:

She always gave high grades, even A-pluses, but somehow, rather than any of us thinking she was an easy mark, we were inspired to try to do even better on our next paper. I took every course she taught and now, after thirty or forty years of my own teaching, I still haven't figured out how she managed to get us to work harder and harder by giving us more and more praise.

Jean McKelvey is beloved by her students (this writer included), many of whom came to regard her as their [wo]mentor, as she helped them beyond the classroom and the school to fruitful careers in labor relations, arbitration, and mediation. She willingly wrote letters of reference, sang their praises to those in positions of power, and gave moral support as they climbed the career ladder.

Fulfilling the tripartite mission of the school—teaching, research, and writing—Jean McKelvey authored many articles, books, and monographs and edited the *Annual Proceedings of the National Academy of Arbitrators* from 1955 through 1960. Her books included *The Duty of Fair Representation* (1977), *The Changing Law of Fair Representation* (1985), and, most recently, *Cleared for Takeoff: Airline Labor Relations since Deregulation* (1988). Her articles appeared in the *Journal of Negro History*, the *Journal of Political Economy*, the *Arbitration Journal*, the *Cornell Law Quarterly*, *ILR Research*, and the *ILR Review*. The *Review* published "Sex and the Single Arbitrator," which was her presidential address to the National Academy of Arbitrators.

In addition to teaching, research, writing, and mentoring, however, McKelvey developed a brilliant career as an arbitrator. She was the first woman to be admitted to the National Academy of Arbitrators (in its founding year, 1947) and in 1970 she became its first woman president. Ironically, when her term ended, the academy presented her with a gavel inscribed "To Jean T. McKelvey, President, 1970, With the affection and esteem of his colleagues." Jean, who liked to suggest that she was sometimes mistaken as the male offspring of French-Scottish parents when selected from a list of arbitrators by parties who did not know her, chose not to have the inscription corrected.

When fellow arbitrator Saul Wallen died during his tenure as head of the New York Urban Coalition, Jean McKelvey was instrumental in founding the Saul Wallen Fund for Minority Studies, which she continues to chair and support. It provides scholarships to enable practitioners, particularly women and minorities, to enroll in off-campus college credit and certificate courses.

McKelvey's arbitration practice extends nationwide from the airlines industry (where she was a permanent umpire for Hawaiian Airlines and the ALPA Flight Attendants from 1973 to 1980 and for United Air Lines and the ALPA Flight Attendants from 1968 to the 1990s, and at Trans World Airlines for its flight attendants and nonrepresented employees) to Xerox, one of the major employers in her hometown of Rochester, where her husband, Blake, served as city historian.

Another part of McKelvey's career covered public service at both the state and federal levels. She was a member of Presidential Emergency Boards No. 160 and No. 179 under the Railway Labor Act. For many years, she served as a member of the New York State Board of Mediation, arbitrating and mediating disputes, and as a member of the Federal Service Impasses Panel. She has long been a member of many arbitration panels, including those of the American Arbitration Association, the New York State Public Employment Relations Board, the New York City Office of Collective Bargaining, the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, and the National Mediation Board. She was a member of the American Federation of Teachers Public Review Board for 5 years and has continued for more than 25 years as a member of the UAW Public Review Board. Her international contributions include 10 years as a member of the Executive Board of the International Society for Labor Law and Social Legislation.

Numerous honors have been bestowed upon her, including a Distinguished Service in Labor Management Relations Award from the FMCS; Distinguished Alumnae Award for Public Service from Wellesley College; and Distinguished Service Awards from the Society of Professionals in Dispute Resolution and the Society of Federal Labor Relations Professionals. In awarding her the American Arbitration Association's Distinguished Labor Arbitrator gavel, Harold Newman, then Chairman of the New York State Public Employment Relations Board, said, "To try to illuminate the brilliant achievements and contributions of Jean McKelvey to the labor relations field is like holding a small candle to a bright searchlight."

A public housing project in East Orange, New Jersey, was also named in her honor. On that occasion, Commissioner Joseph LeFante of the New Jersey Department of Community Affairs commented, "We couldn't pay a higher honor to anyone than by dedicating such a building to you when you realize that the fundamental principal that went into its construction is love."

Although she was named professor emerita in 1973, Jean McKelvey has eschewed retirement and continued to pursue all aspects of her career. She was named statewide coordinator of the ILR Extension off-campus graduate studies program and continued to teach in Rochester. There she and her colleague and dearest friend, Alice Bacon Grant (M.A. '46), taught together, undertook joint projects, and inspired many individuals to return to school in order to improve labor-management relations.

Associate Dean Lois Gray explained, "Alice and Jean pioneered in the training of advocates and neutrals in the process and content of arbitration. Determined to open doors of the arbitration profession to women and minorities, they devoted a major effort both to formal training programs sponsored by Cornell and to individual mentoring." They jointly taught a year-long program for women aspiring to become arbitrators. Most of its graduates now arbitrate and many have since gained admission to the National Academy of Arbitrators.

When Alice died in 1988, a gift from Jean helped endow a professorship in Alice's memory. On September 14, 1994, the ILR School dedicated as its first

fully endowed chair, The Jean McKelvey-Alice Grant Professorship of Labor-Management Relations, through which their work to increase understanding between management and labor will continue.

Professor McKelvey had an unforgettable impact on all the students with whom she came in contact. Judge Harry T. Edwards, a member of the class of '62 who went on to become chief judge of the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia, said:

If I have shown any real expertise, sense of responsibility, professionalism, or healthy idealism in my work in labor and industrial relations, Jean was responsible for laying the critical foundations for my efforts. There are so many others among my peers who would also point to Jean as the person most responsible for their success. She is, without a doubt, the prototype of an arbitrator/mentor—her example as teacher in this business probably helps to explain as much as anything the qualitative consistency in arbitration.

I personally first met Jean McKelvey in 1958 when, as a high school senior, I came to Ithaca to decide whether I should attend Cornell's ILR School or Vassar College. While it was late in the day and she still had to drive back to Rochester, she made time to talk with me, and this conversation convinced me that I could do no better than attend the ILR School and try to follow in her footsteps. She has served as my role model ever since.

Like many graduates of the ILR School, I owe much to the school in general, and to Jean McKelvey in particular. If it were not for her education and encouragement, I probably would not have succeeded in becoming an arbitrator and mediator. She was my teacher, my inspiration, and my mentor, and she continues to be my friend and colleague. On behalf of all she helped in this way, I express gratitude. The ILR School and its students are fortunate to know her. She is "one in a million."

Marcia L. Greenbaum was launched on her career as a mediator, arbitrator, factfinder, and lifelong student by her association with Jean McKelvey and her internship with Saul Wallen. One of the first females in the National Academy of Arbitrators, Marcia is now a full-time arbitrator and mediator.

Maurice Neufeld

by David Lipsky ('61)

Maurice Neufeld is among those who have made college an exceptional experience for generations of students at Cornell. His commitment to the humane nurturing of young minds and to the university as a civil and civilized institution

worthy of life-long dedication makes his contribution to his school and to his university noteworthy, even within the ranks of a faculty as distinguished as ours.

Born to immigrant parents in Washington, D.C. in 1910, Neufeld received his bachelor's and master's degrees in 1932 from the University of Wisconsin, where he was elected to Phi Beta Kappa. Three years later he received his Ph.D. there.

Between 1935 and 1939, Neufeld was employed as secretary and chief assistant in research and economics for the New Jersey State Planning Board. During the same time period, he was an organizer for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers in Philadelphia. Subsequently he became education director of a large local of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union in Trenton, New Jersey. In 1939 Neufeld was appointed director of the Division of State Planning for New York State, and in 1941 he became the state's deputy commissioner of commerce. He also held a number of significant positions in the federal government. He entered the U.S. Army in 1942, serving most of his military career in Italy.

Because of his pre-War New York State service, Neufeld was well-known to Irving M. Ives, who hired him. Neufeld served a succession of deans and the university in a variety of administrative capacities until his election as a professor emeritus in 1976, but it was as a scholar and particularly as a teacher and mentor to four generations of Cornell students that Neufeld made his greatest contributions to the university.

Maurice Neufeld is a gifted teacher—urbane, demanding, and thought-provoking. Like all good history professors, moreover, Dr. Neufeld is possessed of a prodigious memory and a flair for the dramatic. A student tribute, presented on the occasion of the school's Labor Day Convocation in 1976 when Professor Neufeld was honored with that year's Excellence in Teaching Award, perhaps says it best: "He can quote Keats and Shelley, discuss Sinclair Lewis or ancient history....Teaching is what this college is all about to Professor Neufeld. The students of this school can be grateful for that."

For Professor Neufeld teaching did not end at the classroom door. Countless ILR students in search of academic advice, or merely in need of a kind word, have turned instinctively to Maurice Neufeld.

by Thomas H. Patten, Jr. ('55, GR '59)

In September 1953 I entered the "Kardboard Kremlin" for the first time and met Professor Neufeld at a reception in the old Quonset hut coffee lounge. We talked briefly and he expressed interest in the fact that I had studied economics and the problems of labor at Brown with Phil Taft. Professor Neufeld asked if I was in the MILR degree program and whether I'd be taking Labor History that fall. I said I wouldn't because I was in the M.S. degree program and was majoring

in Personnel Administration and minoring in Human Relations in Industry. (How archaic those labels for these fields seem today!) In any event, I suggested that I had read so much of Taft's work at Brown and done an honors thesis in Industrial Sociology with Kurt Mayer that I guessed I'd skip Labor History at Cornell. Profesor Neufeld raised an eyebrow (or two), smiled ever so slightly, and moved on with his coffee cup to another group of students (MILRs, I think).

Within days I became good friends with fellow students Jean Couturier, Ted Newman, Gerry Kamm, Bernie Brody, Paul Scagnelli, and Keith Norman, not all MILR candidates, but soon to take the Labor History course culminating in the "guaranteed annual manual," unending intellectual challenges from "Moe" Neufeld (I'm sure they never called him that in class or to his face outside of class) and constant rebuking because they were not well informed in the Roman and Greek classics (including, I think, mastery of the Latin and Greek languages!) The standards set by Maurice Neufeld were at the highest level; and I think my friends worked harder in his Labor History course than at anything before in undergraduate college (or afterwards in graduate school) to produce the aforementioned "guaranteed annual manuals" (GAMs). These were detailed studies of a local union based upon reading union constitutions, newspapers (union and otherwise, such as *The New York Times*), pertinent books, biographies of labor leaders, and so forth. Also, the students were encouraged to go to the union they were to study and interview union officials and the rank-and-file. An ILR Monograph, *Day In, Day Out With Local 3* by Professor Neufeld, describing IBEW Local No. 3, was the prototype study called to students' attention as a guide for their reports in Labor History and Administration.

Those not 60 or older today may not realize the *double entendre* of the term "guaranteed annual manual." The early 1950s was an era when Walter Reuther and the UAW were calling for the guaranteed annual wage in the United States, a move that ended up in the creation of a somewhat weakened substitute, primarily in the automobile industry, called supplemental unemployment insurance benefits. By implication, Neufeld's GAM was as demanding and onerous to students (they claimed) as a GAM would have been to management, which would have to come up with the continuing commitment and resources required, in no sense an easy task. However, students who produced GAMs for Professor Neufeld really learned in-depth about the history and administration of the unions of their choice. None would deny that.

I avoided creating a GAM, but Neufeld's students recommended to me that I read the book for the course, Foster Rhea Dulles's *Labor in America*. I was skeptical of that too. (After all I had read Taft!) John Foster Dulles was Secretary of State in those days, and I knew of him; but who was this other guy with almost the same name? I never found out for certain, but Maurice Neufeld's choice of Foster Rhea Dulles's book was excellent. It was as insightful a read as some of Taft's and a work of beautiful prose. Again Neufeld's standards were well-chosen and obvious.

Lastly, I would like to comment on Professor Neufeld's influence on ILR doctoral students. I ended up staying on campus till 1957 after I received my

M.S. and completed subsequent Ph.D. work, becoming friends with all the Ph.D. candidates of that era. Two were outstanding, Bob Christie and Reed Richardson. Bob wrote a definitive history of the Carpenters' Union, *Empire in Wood*, and Reed a definitive history of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, *Pilots of the Iron Horse*. While both Bob and Reed were persons of unusual talent and high motivation, there is little doubt in my mind that Professor Neufeld's scholarly role model served as an intellectual driving force for them.

Maurice Neufeld as a founding faculty member was a giant in an environment of other giants—McConnell, McKelvey, and Whyte, to name only a few. I probably missed something by not being a student of Neufeld's Labor History course. But maybe not. His being a daily participant in the coffee hours at ILR and writer and speaker on various topics made available to all students on campus caused him to influence me in many important ways of which I am sure he is not aware. But I *am* aware! Thanks, Moe!

Thomas Patten is a professor of management and human resources at the College of Business Administration, California State Polytechnic University-Pomona.

by John N. Raudabaugh (GR '74)

In late August 1972, I remember a tall, lean man with a tremendous smile and an incredibly friendly gaze approaching me, with some degree of amusement, at a graduate student orientation. We chatted briefly and I decided that this was someone to get to know. Over the next two years I had the privilege of befriending this man, who is one of the most intellectually exciting and dynamic individuals at ILR, or, for that matter, anywhere.

Participating in Professor Neufeld's Labor History class was always exciting because it seemed to come alive. It was amazing to me that a fellow who wasn't that old could come across as if he personally knew Sam Gompers or was an active member of the Fabian Society. He certainly made FDR and Frances Perkins come alive! In fact, so much so that at Halloween when he and his lovely wife Hinda hosted a wonderful party, one student showed up with a *pince-nez*, cigarette holder, and cape. I learned much about the New Deal, and for that matter, relearned labor history in a way I shall never forget.

As Maurice Neufeld's teaching assistant, I spent many sessions sitting across the desk in his crowded office working with him. During one such session, I learned about forts. No, not really forts, but forte. While we were having a friendly discussion on one topic or another, I threw out a comment about someone's strong point, or forte (as in four-tay). A flush came over Neufeld's face and he said quickly, "No, it's forte (as in fort). Here, look it up," and he handed me Webster's. Of course, I confirmed what I already knew: If Professor Neufeld said it was pronounced like fort, it was.

The most wonderful experience any student could have in the field of labor relations was to take Maurice Neufeld's seminar in Theories of Industrial Relations Systems. It was fantastic! Lots and lots of reading, including Zola's *Germinal*, Marx, Perlman, John R. Commons, and so on. I still have all of the reading materials on my bookshelf, and these sources have served me well many times over in my subsequent career.

Over the years I have returned to campus and visited with Professor Neufeld many times. We always talk about exciting things—restructuring the curriculum, the need for interdisciplinary studies, and, yes, we even discuss NLRB decisions from time to time. We have talked about the impact of politics on labor relations, and we have talked about the labor movement's future.

To this grateful grad, several things seem to be true. First, Maurice Neufeld is a bio-medical oddity—he simply does not age. Second, he is a gentleman, period! Third, his mind is always active and his breadth of knowledge and experience is incomparable. Finally, he is always very gracious, even to someone who occasionally may have called a few decisions differently than his teachers. But then again, a Neufeld education allows one to develop analytical skills and to expand horizons. After all, teaching is his forte!

John Raudabaugh is a partner with the labor and employment firm of Matkov, Salzman, Madoff & Gunn in Chicago. Between 1990 and 1993 he served as a member of the National Labor Relations Board, having been nominated by President Bush. During his tenure at the NLRB he authored numerous decisions concerning union access to private property, union organizing tactics, collective bargaining obligations, secondary pressure, and union dues procedures.

by Joel Cutcher-Gershenfeld ('78)

Much as I valued what I learned from Maurice Neufeld about labor relations, it was his love of art and theatre that was most influential on me as a student at the ILR School. Early in my schooling I began to take classes in art history, theatre, literature, and drawing. I loved the classes but always felt that it was somehow inconsistent with what I was supposed to be studying. It was Maurice Neufeld who not only encouraged me in taking these classes, but who assured me that there was no better way to spend my undergraduate education. Ultimately, I ended up exceeding the official limit for classes out of the ILR School and to this day am eternally grateful for what I learned in the process.

Joel Cutcher-Gershenfeld, an associate professor in the School of Labor and Industrial Relations at Michigan State University, is currently spending a sabbatical as a visiting scholar in the Program on Negotiation at Harvard Law School.

For Neufeld, It's Teaching

by Bryant Robey

(1976: 3)

"He can quote Keats and Shelley, discuss Sinclair Lewis or ancient history..." A description of a distinguished professor of English or history? No, of Maurice F. Neufeld, professor of industrial and labor relations.

At the School of Industrial and Labor Relations' (1976) Labor Day convocation, Neufeld received the school's 1976 Excellence in Teaching Award. "Teaching is what this college is all about to Professor Neufeld," continued the student essay quoted above. "The students of this school can be grateful for that."

More than 30 years' worth of students can be grateful. Neufeld, who became professor emeritus at the end of last year, was one of the ILR School's first teachers. He is still teaching—but only one course instead of the four he taught annually for the past 30 years. He needs time to revise a 900-page research manuscript.

Teaching has been his first love for many years. Like most experienced practitioners of this art, he has sensitive antennae to measure his performance. For example, in the days when the ILR School was in Quonset huts on what is now the engineering quadrangle, many of his colleagues would object to women students knitting in class, Neufeld said. One of Neufeld's classes included a young woman who always sat in the first row, knitting as he lectured. "She was very bright," he recalled. "Whenever I made a point I considered important, I would look at her. If she put her needles down and made notes, I knew I had succeeded. If she went on knitting, I knew I wasn't getting across. I never complained about knitting."

Like those of other ILR professors who joined the school in its early days, Neufeld's career has included public service. He came to ILR at its founding from a job in Governor Herbert H. Lehman's New York State administration, where he had served as director of the Division of State Planning, deputy commissioner of commerce, director of the State Bureau of Rationing, assistant coordinator of State War Plans, chairman of the Governor's Committee on Post-War Employment, and in several other high posts.

He has also been an instructor in Medieval History at the University of Wisconsin, where he obtained his Ph.D., a labor organizer, an army officer, a dramatics director, and a consultant to numerous organizations.

In fact, Neufeld can be considered something of a renaissance man. Somehow, despite his many other activities, he has found time and energy to publish more than 35 articles, monographs, and books on a variety of topics. A translation into English poetry of Sophocles's *Antigone*, which was first published during his sophomore year

at college, is still available in an anthology of ancient Greek literature issued by the University of Wisconsin Press.

Neufeld believes a foundation of a good education is good writing. "Students have to learn how to write plainly, uncorrupted by academese," he said. "I require them to do a paper based on primary sources. It's hard work, and they regard it as hard work—they know I'm not an easy marker. I have high expectations for students in my courses."

Neufeld agrees that the number of college students who can write well has declined in recent years. "The percentage of students who write exceptionally well has not changed," he said, "but this was always a very small number. The percentage who can express themselves adequately has declined. There is a new ignorance of the meaning of words—probably in part because of the influence of television—and a greater reliance on faddish words."

Neufeld once distributed to his students a list of about 100 forbidden words. It included such words as "effectuate, in terms of, meaningful, and orientate." To this list he has added some more recent candidates: "thrust, like (instead of 'as'), -wise (preceded by any word), great, you know, fantastic."

Like I said, Maurice Neufeld has been a fantastic teacher, a great person and has orientated his students in terms of effectuating their knowledge. Education-wise, you know, his thrust has been meaningful.

Some Recent Thoughts on Maurice Neufeld

by Gladys Gershenfeld (GR '51)

Philadelphia 1995. At the ILR 50th Anniversary Celebration it was easy to put myself back in the Quonset hut, scorned in its day but now highlighted on a display montage. A video was shown as the group mingled and chatted. I saw Maurice Neufeld's face appear, remarkably unchanged over the years. I mentally went from the Quonset hut to the prefab, avoiding the water dripping into buckets in the hall.

Labor History class. I could see Professor Neufeld perched on the edge of a table in front of the class, discoursing with an elegant choice of words, expressing a deep thought with a playful twist, and challenging us to explain the significance of an historical event. Of course, the class devoured the juicy tidbits that were Maurice Neufeld's stock in trade, but they also responded to his willingness to meet with students outside of class and expore the latest crisis in the labor movement. Much later, when I went on to teach, I found that I could draw ideas from my classes with Maurice Neufeld in planning my own class sessions.

My son, Joel Cutcher-Gershenfeld, was one of the "legacies" who followed their parents to ILR. When he registered for a course with Professor Neufeld, we

decided not to mention the relationship, but I had occasion to do a guest lecture and they were both there. The professor's reaction was, with hands flung open, "They never tell me!" In fact, I'm sure he was as pleased as we to share the connection.

Gladys Gershenfeld is an arbitrator of labor-management disputes and a former professor of industrial relations at the Philadelphia College of Textiles and Science. She has served on the boards of the NAA, IRRA, and SPIDR.

Vernon H. Jensen

by James A. Gross

Vernon Jensen, known to his friends and colleagues as "Pete," became associate dean in July 1965 at a time when the faculty was seriously disputing the ILR School's future direction. Some influential ILR faculty members were pressuring to diminish the place of labor relations in the curriculum and to turn ILR into a school of social science. As Pete recalls, "there came a time when, at the graduate level, a student could earn an M.S. in the school without taking even one course in labor relations."

Former Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins, who shared a suite of offices with Pete at the time, told him he had to go "downstairs" because "they are wrecking the School." (The dean's offices were one floor below those of the Collective Bargaining Department.) Pete's own words best explain why he went to become associate dean:

It was my belief from the beginning that it was intended by the framers of the school, and as it was embodied in the legislation creating the school and in the state documents accompanying it, that collective bargaining was to be the heart and soul of the school. The origin and timing of the school, with George Meany as a silent architect, among the other like-minded planners, support this view. Of course, the school was expected to be multi-disciplinary, one of its unique features, because the art and practice of labor and management negotiations are multi-faceted. Collective bargaining as an art has grounding in law, in economics, in government, and in history, and makes use of psychology and sociology, too. But none of the disciplines was expected to dominate. The objective was to understand and practice enlightened collective bargaining, to minimize conflict as much as possible. The school was born in the period when collective bargaining had just made its way into our capitalistic society on a large scale after a long drawn-out difficult birthing, and there was much need of a wider understanding of it, both among practitioners and the public at large.

As dean and professor, Pete believed it was his role "to explain and broaden the understanding that collective bargaining is a fundamental democratic institution of a capitalistic or enterprise society." Collective bargaining was a process of accommodating various and often conflicting rights. It was democracy at work. (Pete's 1963 *Industrial and Labor Relations Review* article, "The Process of Collective Bargaining and the Question of its Obsolescence," is a classic in the field.) Yet, despite its democratic character and function, Pete remembers, "collective bargaining always seemed to need defending in the larger society—and, ironically, even within the school at times."

During Pete's tenure as associate dean, "Albany" indicated it wanted the school to reassert its original mission, and the faculty reaffirmed that mission. Pete actively supported many curriculum changes, however, as long as they were consistent with his understanding of the school's purpose. For example, long before the global economy, Pete anticipated the need to pay more attention to international labor relations. He participated in curriculum changes in organizational behavior and what was then known as personnel management—although, as Pete recalls, "almost all the textbooks [in personnel management] seemed to be written without regard to the existence of unions."

Before coming to Ithaca to play a vital role in creating the school's history, Pete received a B.S. degree in American history from Brigham Young University in 1932. He learned about unemployment through personal experience during the Great Depression. The only work available after his graduation was as a substitute teacher in his hometown (Salt Lake City) public schools. In the summer of 1934, he entered the graduate program at the University of California at Berkeley, seeking a master's degree in economics. As is so often the case, the encouragement and assistance of a wonderful mentor, Professor Charles A. Gulick, made Pete's future academic career possible.

Pete excelled in Gulick's Labor Problems seminar, which focused that summer on the Pacific Coast longshore strike; thus began Pete's unparalleled expertise in waterfront labor relations. Near the end of that semester, Gulick invited Pete to his home and told him the university always provided financial support "for students to stay here when we want them." That night, as Pete recalls, "I was launched in pursuit of a Ph.D." Other Jensen mentors included Professors Paul Taylor and M. M. Knight: "One could hardly have set out to find three such eminent and devoted mentors." Pete also rightly remembers his fellow graduate students as an exceptionally "illustrious" crowd that included Clark Kerr, John Dunlop, Lloyd Fisher, Sam Kagel, George Hildebrand, and Arthur Ross.

While working on his dissertation, a study of labor relations in the Northwest lumber industry, Pete accepted what was supposed to be a one-year appointment to teach economic history and labor problems at the University of Colorado. The one-year assignment lasted nine years, from 1937 to 1946. In the spring of 1939, Pete completed his dissertation as the result of constant hard work, no social life, and the indispensable and loving support of his wife, Esther.

After becoming a consultant to the National Defense Mediation Board in 1941, where he worked closely with Wayne Morse, then dean of the University of Oregon Law School, Pete became a public panel member, mediator, and arbitrator of lumber industry disputes for the National War Labor Board—and later the wage stabilization director of its Ninth (or Rocky Mountain) Region.

Pete first learned about the ILR School from Phillips Bradley, a member of the Ives committee who was doing field work for a report on worker education schools. At Bradley's urging, Pete applied for a professorship. He joined the school's faculty in 1946 and decided to specialize in collective bargaining.

Pete's first book, *Lumber and Labor*, was published in 1945 and was reprinted in 1971 by Arno Press and the New York Times in their series "Classics in American Labor." In 1950 Cornell University Press published Pete's *Heritage of Conflict—Labor Relations in the Nonferrous Metals Industry up to 1930*. Greenwood Press reissued *Heritage of Conflict* in 1968 in its important series "The Making of Industrial America." In 1954 the ILR Press published the second volume, *Nonferrous Metals Unionism, 1932-1952*. This second volume is a masterful description and analysis of the Communist infiltration and capture of the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers, formerly the Western Federation of Miners, and its subsequent expulsion from the CIO.

In 1973, the same year that the Cornell University trustees elected Pete professor emeritus, Cornell University Press published his *Strife on the Waterfront: The Port of New York since 1945*. One reviewer's comments provide insight not only into the importance of the book but also into Pete's approach to scholarship:

Professor Jensen [describes and explains] strife on the New York waterfront in the context of institutionalized collective bargaining. *Strife on the Waterfront* is a first-rate account of labor-management-government relations; it is not a narrow study in labor economics....The author is concerned with humanistic and institutional as well as economic and political facets of the industry....In *Strife on the Waterfront*, Jensen succeeds in being reflective and objective in his judgments. [Victor Liguori in *Sociology*, February 1974: 82]

Pete is currently living in Tucson, Arizona but keeps in close touch with his friends at the school. The decline of the labor movement has affected the school, Pete perceives, in that "personnel management seemed to take on a new life." In Pete's estimation, more money from industry is now available for human resources research than has ever been made available for research in labor relations. Pete persists in his view, however, that neither unionism nor collective bargaining, nor associated dispute settlement procedures, "should be written off" because collective bargaining is a basic democratic institution based on the rights of individual workers in a democratic society.

It was an honor for me to be asked to prepare these all-too-brief comments about one of the ILR School's most distinguished professors. I remember him as the dean who informed me that the faculty had voted to recommend me for tenure (and, with that wry grin on his face, told me that the faculty was not infallible); as a towering and athletic volleyball player who loved to needle the graduate students on the other side of the net when he would spike the ball (and who loved to needle certain colleagues by asking them who recruited them when they were too short for the volleyball team); and as the dean who raised hell with a colleague—who had the audacity to paint his own office something other than institutional green (causing one of the very best confrontations in ILR School history), followed some months later by a wastepaper basket fire in that same office (replete with fire trucks and sirens) caused by cigar ashes flicked by that same colleague, who had to suffer the wrath of Pete once again. Most of all, I remember and miss our once-a-week brown bag lunches (with George Brooks) in my office.

In an era of too many entrepreneur-academics, Pete's selfless dedication to the school, his love of teaching and scholarship, and his genuine concern for his colleagues' welfare stand out as the standard of what a distinguished professor and administrator should be.

Milton R. Konvitz

by Charles Arthur ('61)

Can you forget Uncle Milton Berle Konvitz?
 He makes his living by other men's wits,
 Using thoughts of Marx, Job, Socrates,
 Emerson, More, Locke, Ecclesiastes.
 You know their appeals:
 Socrates says know thyself
 Erasmus says praise thyself
 Emerson says be thyself.
 What's this to do with American Ideals?
 Konvitz says: learn thyself.

— taken from [Arthur] 1961 Class Poem

by Sidney Hook

I'd like to address the quality of Milton Konvitz's personality—a quality that pervades all his work and experiences with others but that can best be sensed in face-to-face relationships. It is a quality that has grown in me over the sixty-plus years of our acquaintanceship and ripening friendship. It is a quality that marks him out from the great men whom he knew and admired: John Dewey, Morris R. Cohen, and Horace M. Kallen. It flowed from his realization that no human being is all of a piece, that the insight, vision, and virtue we admire in a person are not affected by other aspects of that person's behavior in relationships with others, in contexts where these admirable qualities are missing, and petty, ungenerous, and

sometimes hateful traits are found. This capacity to see and to cherish the truthful and admirable qualities of character and behavior, even when in other contexts their absence is conspicuous, is extremely rare. The incapacity is often the source of unfairness and injustice in human judgment. We are all inclined to let the defects of human behavior blind us to its virtues, and our enthusiasm for excellence and moments of heroism blind us in other contexts to human failings and sometimes to malice. What has impressed me about Milton Konvitz is that his eye and judgment have unfailingly been more discerning and appreciative of the positive qualities and insights of those he studies and writes about, as well as of those he knows, than of their inconsistencies, contradictions, and blindness. He is more attuned to the vision a person sees than to the denial of the vision of others. It is, of course, too much to expect any human being to be able to do this universally, but I am confident that Milton Konvitz could do this for the Zealots who fought the invincible Roman Legions in expectation that the angels would descend to protect them, as well as for Josephus, so unjustly scorned, without justifying their particular course of conduct. Like Emerson, Milton Konvitz believes that "every man is entitled to be judged by his best moments"—not merely because of his sense of injustice but because of his own superabundant good will.

Undoubtedly there will be some who will be incredulous of this judgment. It seems too good to be true of someone who is so intelligent. Nonetheless, I believe it is true and that it will help anyone trying to understand Milton Konvitz from the perusal of this record. [adapted from "An Introduction" for *The Guide to the Papers of Milton Konvitz*]

How I Came to Offer the "American Ideals" Course

by Milton R. Konvitz

I have often been asked by former students how it happened that I taught such an unconventional, maverick course as the Development of American Ideals. "Upon this point," as Justice Holmes wrote, "a page of history is worth a volume of logic." So here is the page of history.

In the summer of 1945, after I had been told by Dean Ives and President Day that I should consider myself a member of the ILR faculty, I met with Maurice Neufeld, Jean McKelvey, Phillips Bradley, and others to discuss the problem of the school's curriculum. It was settled that I would teach the course in Labor Law. I proposed that I also offer a course on Civil Rights. (At both the NYU Law School, where I was then teaching, and the New School for Social Research, I was teaching a course on Civil Rights, then a new pioneering subject. In March 1945, the Ives-Quinn Law outlawing discrimination in employment was passed by the New York legislature, and in the following month the New Jersey legislature also enacted such a law. At that time, too, I was assistant general counsel of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund. So it was quite natural that ILR should have a course on Civil Rights and that I should offer it.)

It so happened that at this time my friend George Thomas, professor of philosophy at Princeton, was visiting the campus. I told him about the ILR School and took him over to meet my new colleagues. As we discussed the ILR curriculum, Professor Thomas suggested that we offer a course in Ethics. The idea appealed to everyone, so the curriculum included a required course in Ethics.

Although I could have given the course in Ethics (I had my Ph.D. from Cornell's Philosophy Department), it was agreed that it would be well to avoid a jurisdictional dispute with the Philosophy Department (because of some subject overlaps, ILR was not exactly welcomed by the Economics Department); so the Ethics course was offered by the Department of Philosophy.

Several years later, Professor Arnold Hanson asked me to see him. He told me that Dean Catherwood and he agreed that the Ethics course was not a success, there was too much student dissatisfaction. He asked if I would take it over. I had no desire to become the center of a jurisdictional dispute. So several days later I made the following counterproposal: I would offer a two-semester course to be called "The Development of American Ideals." (The name was intentionally crafted so as to avoid any possible charge of trespass on any department's turf.) The first term would be a study of the philosophical, religious, and political foundations of basic American ideals and institutions, such as the rule of law, covenant and constitutionalism, natural law, natural rights, human dignity, and liberty of conscience. The readings would include several of the Socratic dialogues of Plato, the *Meditations* of Marcus Aurelius, Sophocles's *Antigone*, Pico della Mirandola's *Oration on the Dignity of Man*, Locke's *Second Treatise* and his *Letter on Toleration*, selected *Essays* of Emerson, and selected readings from the Bible. The second semester would be devoted to a study of Supreme Court opinions and decisions on the Bill of Rights and the Civil War Amendments. This would replace the course on Civil Rights.

This bit of institutional and personal history may be taken as a confirmation of the truth of one of the maxims of La Rochefoucauld: "Although men flatter themselves with their great actions, their actions are not so often the result of a great design as of chance." For it was by chance that I met George Thomas, who by chance was on the campus, and that he by chance suggested that ILR offer a required course in Ethics.

Former students have been kind enough to give me credit for the American Ideals course, but I give them and the course credit for the books that flowed out of it: *Civil Rights in Immigration* (1953), *Fundamental Liberties of a Free People* (1957), *A Century of Civil Rights* (1961), *First Amendment Freedoms* (1963), *Expanding Liberties* (1966), *Religious Liberty and Conscience* (1968), and *The Bill of Rights Reader* (1960, in its 5th ed. in 1973); also two books on Emerson, and a book on American pragmatists. These books bear tangible evidence of the benefits I have received, but they are also partial evidence of what the students received. Many thousands of students, from both ILR and all other colleges on the campus, took American Ideals, and some, after having taken the course for credit, paid me the endearing tribute of repeating the course as auditors. My debt to all my students is great, and my gratitude will not cancel it.

