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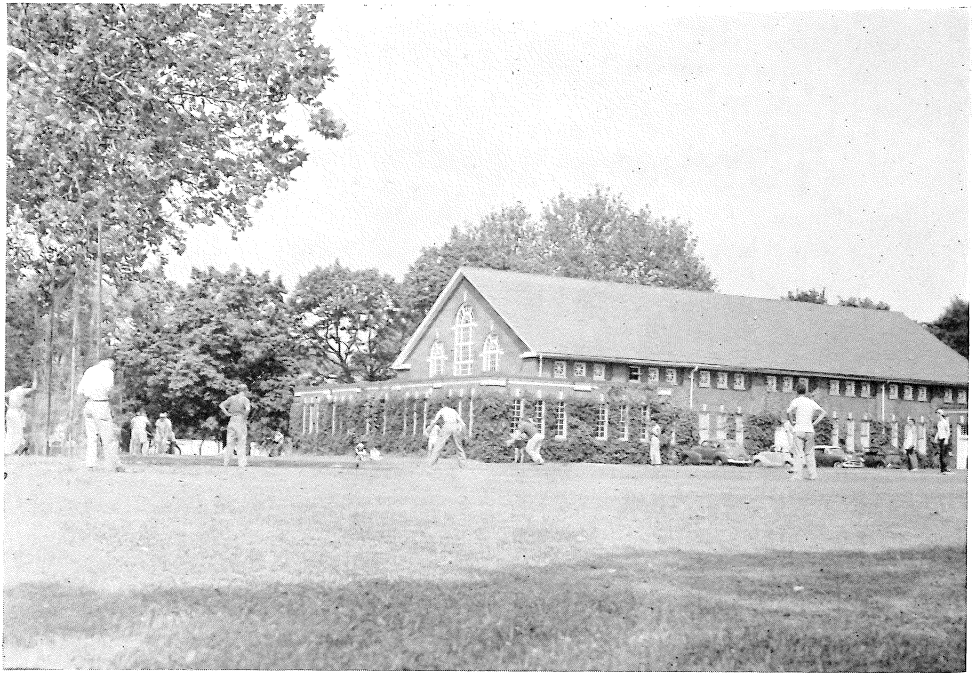
ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE

IN ANNAPOLIS



Iglehart Hall—Gymnasium

ANNAPOLIS, MARYLAND

APRIL, 1956

Founded as King William's School, 1696. Chartered as St. John's College, 1785

In this issue the BULLETIN *prints an address given by Milton Katz on a Friday night in January. The occasion was the College's celebration of the Woodrow Wilson Centennial. The centennial was followed by a Faculty seminar Saturday morning on Walter Lippmann's* Public Philosophy *in the light of Wilsonian principles.*

It is planned to print significant lectures from time to time in the hope that the BULLETIN *may become a forum for the presentation of opinions and the discussion of ideas. Alumni and friends of the College are invited to enter into this discussion whenever they feel moved to do so.*

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WOODROW WILSON CENTENNIAL ADDRESS

BY MILTON KATZ

Woodrow Wilson was the first President of the United States to take office as head of the union of forty-eight states. On February 14, 1912, only nine months before the election of Wilson, Arizona was admitted to the republic as the forty-eighth state. The event marked something more than the symmetry and completeness of the roster. It symbolized the closing of the frontier. Nineteen years earlier, at a meeting of the American Historical Association in 1893, Frederick Jackson Turner had delivered his paper on "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," which set the theme for a generation of historians. It was Turner's thesis that the open and moving frontier had been a major force in shaping American society, and that large changes must be anticipated upon its disappearance.

Large changes had been in process while Turner spoke, deriving from forces independent of the passing of the frontier but coinciding with it. The Industrial Revolution was moving into the phase of mass production; and the lawyer and the banker kept pace with the engineer, constructing the modern corporation and the instruments of corporate finance as the engineer built the modern factory and assembly line. The dimensions of change expanded, and the rate accelerated, during the decades which spanned the turn of the century. In 1913, a group of manufacturers in Indianapolis organized to initiate a project for an ocean to ocean highway, and launched a fleet of automobiles to demonstrate the feasibility of transcontinental motor transport. In 1915, the production of motor cars climbed beyond one million a year. In 1913, the elder J. P. Morgan died, the exemplar of an era of corporate growth and involution. In the same year, the Pujo Committee of the House of Representatives, after two years of investigation, published its report dramatizing the magnitude and intricacy of the corporate structure of the nation's business.

The implications of this vast industrial and financial process, and the concurrent disappearance of the frontier, were perceived by a few. The consequences were felt by many. In their feelings, a new sense of insecurity mingled with a new sense of opportunity. In increasing numbers, Americans began to feel themselves somehow helplessly enmeshed in giant machinery and propelled by giant forces. They began also to feel these forces capable of producing an abundance adequate to put their fears of want to rest. In casting about for a power which might bridle and harness these forces, they tended to look increasingly to the national government.

Woodrow Wilson felt their mood and understood their need. If this was in part a politician's response to the inarticulate demand of an electorate, it emanated nevertheless from a deep and creative insight. He was one of the few to sense the shape and nature of the historic changes in process in American life. He gave voice to some of the implications in the opening words of his administration. In his first inaugural address, one can hardly fail to see the fighting politician and party leader, fresh from the heat and rhetoric of a victorious campaign. Embedded in this matrix is the broad and penetrating vision of a national leader and builder:

"There has been a change of government. . . . What does the change mean? . . . We have been refreshed by a new insight into our own life.

"We see that in many things that life is very great. It is incomparably great in its material aspects, in its body of wealth, in the diversity and sweep of its energy, in the industries which have been conceived and built up by the genius of individual men and the limitless enterprise of groups of men. . . . We have built up, moreover, a great system of government. . . .

"But the evil has come with the good. . . . We have been proud of our industrial achievements, but we have not hitherto stopped thoughtfully enough to count the human cost. . . .

". . . Our duty is to cleanse, to reconsider, to restore, to correct the evil without impairing the good, to purify and

humanize every process of our common life without weakening or sentimentalizing it. There has been something crude and heartless and unfeeling in our haste to succeed and be great. Our thought has been 'Let every man look out for himself, let every generation look out for itself,' while we reared giant machinery which made it impossible that any but those who stood at the levers of control should have a chance to look out for themselves. . . .

". . . This is no sentimental duty. The firm basis of government is justice, not pity. These are matters of justice. There can be no equality or opportunity, the first essential of justice in the body politic, if men and women and children be not shielded in their lives, their very vitality, from the consequences of great industrial and social processes which they cannot alter, control, or singly cope with. Society must see to it that it does not itself crush or weaken or damage its own constituent parts."

To us who have passed the midpoint of the twentieth century, this inaugural address strikes a familiar note. Apart from the issues of war and peace, a popular concern for economic security and a popular will to seek it in part at least through government action have been perhaps the salient political fact of our time, in this and in other lands. Wisely or not, for good or for ill, the belief has become widespread that modern industry and agriculture have the potential capacity to meet the age-old economic anxieties of men, and that government is a major and indispensable instrument for realizing the potential.

On the record, it appears unlikely that any democratic government could survive which failed to understand this conviction and the demands to which it has given rise. This is clearer today than in Wilson's time, when a confused and vigorous people were floundering into grips with the twentieth century. Yet Wilson saw it, in his time. He also saw the countervailing danger.

In developing the means through government to meet the immense emerging demand, it would be blind folly to lose

sight of the tested wisdom of our tradition and experience: the spiritual value and practical importance of personal freedom and private action, and the political and legal institutions which have constituted their historic setting. Apart from the issues of war and peace, it has been the central task of free men in this century to adjust the new demand to the old wisdom. When Wilson took office, the shape of this task was only dimly perceptible, but he saw it as it was in all its essential aspects. In calling upon the nation to do the things which must be done, he stressed also that we must "not leave the others undone, the old-fashioned, never-to-be-neglected, fundamental safeguarding of property and of individual right . . . We shall deal with our economic system as it is and as it may be modified, not as it might be if we had a clean sheet of paper to write upon; and step by step we shall make it what it should be, in the spirit of those who question their own wisdom and seek counsel and knowledge, not shallow self-satisfaction or the excitement of excursions whither they can not tell."

In the election of 1912, both Woodrow Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt, as standard bearer of the Bull Moose party, had run well ahead of Taft. The popular vote for Wilson was almost double that of Taft, and his strength by states in the electoral college twenty times greater. Theodore Roosevelt's popular margin over Taft was almost 20%, and his support by states tripled that of the regular Republican candidate. The combined popular votes for Wilson and Roosevelt aggregated ten million, representing forty-six states in the electoral college; that for Taft was three million, representing two states, Vermont and Utah. The mood of the nation was impatient, and unmistakably progressive, but the mood had greater strength than clarity. It would find its way into channels of action, but the choice of channels was not foreordained.

The broad response to Theodore Roosevelt's "Square Deal" and Woodrow Wilson's "New Freedom" reflected a popular conviction that government must be a positive force in the effort to achieve economic security and to vindicate the

principle of justice in modern society. The intensity of this conviction, and the momentum of the forces springing from it, were far greater than any contemporary general insight into its implications, or into the problem of ways and means. In the surging pursuit of economic security and wide-spread enjoyment of high levels of consumption, the need and difficulty of increasing and improving production could easily be overlooked. In the drive to regulate and order the vast machinery of the modern economy through action by the central government, the vital importance of flexibility and initiative and the questing and creative individual mind could be neglected. In the insistent pressure toward social justice, it was not inconceivable that the enduring value of individual justice and individual freedom might be disregarded. The reality of these hazards has been attested by the course of subsequent events in other lands.

It is a hard thing to maintain a balance among purposes deeply felt which seem to conflict and which in the short run may conflict in fact. It is especially hard when the feelings and opinions of millions of vigorous men and women are thrown into the reckoning. A passing intensity of feeling for certain of the purposes may suppress the others; or the play and counterplay of forces may eventuate in a barren stalemate. In a larger sense, these difficulties are perhaps just a variation of the theme sounded by Job: "Man is born unto trouble as the sparks fly upward." Yet I do not believe it wishful thinking to suggest that, appraised in the long perspective of human error and sorrow, and with due allowance for the innate untidiness of the patterns of political life, the American people in the first half of this century have managed to maintain an approximate and workable balance. There are heavy liabilities in the reckoning, but, on net balance over the years, the American people have gone forward with the job of adjusting their society to the conditions of the age while continuing to cherish and vindicate the independent human spirit and the self-reliant mind.

I do not suggest that the job has been completed, or that it ever can be completed. These are matters to which the words of Walt Whitman have special relevance: "It is provided in the essence of things that from every fruition of success, no matter what, shall come forth something to make a greater struggle necessary." Without minimizing the shortcomings of the past and present, or the stresses which lie ahead, we may note the measure of what has been accomplished.

In the intricate web of factors which have made this accomplishment possible, the political and intellectual leadership of Woodrow Wilson have an indelible place. He saw the problem as it was, in its double aspect. "[In our day] the individual is caught in a great confused nexus of all sorts of complicated circumstances, and . . . to let him alone is to leave him helpless as against the obstacles with which he has to contend . . . law . . . must come to the assistance of the individual . . . Freedom today is something more than being let alone. The program of a government of freedom must in these days be positive . . ."[1] But also: "I believe that the ancient traditions of a people are its ballast . . . you must knit the new into the old . . . it must not be a patch, but something woven into the old fabric . . . of the same texture and intention. If I did not believe that to be progressive was to preserve the essentials of our institutions, I for one could not be a progressive."[2]

Under his leadership, the balanced conception was translated into legislative enactments which remain an important part of our national life: the Federal Reserve System, the Federal Trade Commission Act, the Clayton Act, credit facilities for agriculture. These concrete enactments reflected a less tangible but far-reaching process, the consequences of which have been perhaps larger and deeper than the effects of any specific legislation. Woodrow Wilson not only served as the principal rallying and organizing point for progressivism

[1] *The New Freedom* (Doubleday, Page & Co., 1913), p. 284.
[2] *Id.*, at 44.

and liberalism as political forces in his time; he also contributed powerfully to setting the tone and establishing the theme of progressive and liberal thought in the United States. With his associates and supporters, he stressed the task of government as a creative and adjusting force in a modern industrial society. He also stressed the need to develop this task in harmony with the values of freedom and the conditions of a decentralized and flexible society. It is due in no small degree to his influence, and that of his supporters and associates, that the main tendencies of liberal and progressive thought in America have stayed in tune with the old wisdom while alert and responsive to the new needs.

Since the crisis of Munich in 1938, the struggle for adjustment between the values and institutions of freedom and the complicated nexus of modern industrial society has been overshadowed by the issues of war and peace. During the past ten years, with the development of nuclear energy and nuclear weapons, and the emergence of the Soviet Union and Communist China as the principal threats to peace, the problems of war and peace, economic security and economic growth under the stresses and opportunities of modern technology, and the preservation and vindication of freedom, have overlapped and interpenetrated.

The American people in Woodrow Wilson's time had a not dissimilar experience. If the events which then beat upon them were not quite so vast and portentous as those we face today, they were also less well prepared by virtue of their relative national strength and previous experience to deal with such events. Their job and ours are comparable in difficulty and in nature.

From his inauguration on March 4th, 1913, to the outbreak in Europe of the first World War at the end of July, 1914, Wilson had barely seventeen months to come to grips with the domestic issues upon which his entire electoral campaign had been fought. His initial utterances upon the outbreak of the war in Europe revealed the extent of his mental and emotional unpreparedness for this shattering

occurrence. As he strove to reassure himself and his countrymen, he plainly shared with his people a mood of incredulity and a fundamental lack of comprehension: "So far as we are concerned, there is no cause for excitement. There is great inconvenience, for the time being, in the money market and in our exchanges, and, temporarily, in the handling of our crops, but America is absolutely prepared to meet the financial situation and to straighten everything out without any material difficulty."

In the three short years which followed, the unready republic and its unready president had to turn away from their absorbing internal preoccupations to the bleak and violent confusion of the external world. For Wilson, a shadow of unreality brooded over events. He referred to the "incredible European catastrophe," and he long clung to the aspiration that America could remain an island of peace and constructive effort. The facts battered down his hopes; the nation became engulfed; and by the spring of 1918 the president whose passion was peace was calling for "Force, Force to the utmost, Force without stint or limit."

When the war came to a victorious end, Wilson wrote out in longhand his announcement to the people of the United States: "Everything for which America fought has been accomplished." If, looking back over the intervening decades, we are tempted to smile ruefully at this pronouncement, we would do well to recall the circumstances, and to understand it as an expression of tenacious hope couched in the language of conviction.

Having been buffeted and blown about by events, Wilson sought to recapture for the nation an opportunity to participate in the determination of its destiny, by reasserting his instinct for American leadership and presidential leadership. He unfurled the banner of a world-wide organization of nations to maintain the peace, and the banner of American responsibility to be first among equals in undertaking to establish an order of law and freedom throughout the world. It has been said that the banners were struck from his hands,

and that he died repudiated by a majority of his countrymen, who had grown tired of strenuous endeavor and bored by high purposes. This was substantially accurate, from a narrow angle of vision and for the short term. In a longer and wider view, it has been belied by the course which the United States has followed during the past fifteen years, in war and in peace: in the coalition against the aggression of Hitler and the war lords of Japan; in the concerted defense against Communist aggression in Korea; in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Organization of the American States; and in the United Nations. In essence, this course reflects the acceptance by Wilson's countrymen of the responsibilities of leadership and partnership in the effort to establish a just and workable international order.

Two themes stand out in the administration of Woodrow Wilson. They are the pain and promise of adjustment among the values and institutions of freedom, the quest for economic security, and the consequences of modern technology and industrial organization; and the struggle to determine and carry out America's responsibility in relation to the issues of war and peace. Woodrow Wilson had the vision to identify these themes and to perceive their essential elements; and he had the force to bring them vividly and enduringly to the attention of his countrymen. These themes have dominated and still dominate American life in this century. It is this which gives the vision and force of Woodrow Wilson their special and continuing relevance to our time.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THE ASSOCIATION OF INDEPENDENT COLLEGES IN MARYLAND, INC.

For the third year St. John's College has been engaged in a solicitation of corporate support from Maryland business and industry through its membership in the Association of Independent Colleges in Maryland, Inc. Other members in the group are: Hood College, Washington College, Western Maryland College, College of Notre Dame of Maryland and Mount Saint Mary's College.

To date this year approximately $25,000 has been received from 54 contributors. Part of the national movement of corporate support of higher education, the campaign in Maryland is providing an important new source of support for St. John's College and the other independent institutions which are members of the Association.

Contributors from the State of Maryland thus far this year are:

A. S. Abell Co. Foundation, Inc.
Anchor Post Fence
Arundel Corporation
Austin Packing Co.
Baker Watts & Co.
Bartgis Brothers Co.
Barton, Duer & Koch Paper Co.
Black & Decker Mfg. Co.
The Borden Co. & Hendler Creamery Co.
Burt Machine Co.
Harry T. Campbell Sons Corp.
Carey Machinery & Supply Co.
Cloverland Farms Dairy
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Ellicott Machine Corp.
Fidelity-Baltimore National Bank & Trust Co.
Fidelity & Deposit Co. of Maryland
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Waverly Press
Harry C. Weiskittel Co., Inc.
Western Maryland Dairy
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National corporations contributing are:

Addressograph-Multigraph Corp.
Container Corp. of America
Corn Products Refining Co.
General Elevator Co., Inc.
General Foods Fund, Inc.
Gray Concrete Pipe Co.
Inland Steel Foundation, Inc.
Massachusetts Mutual Life Insurance Co.
Morgan Millwork Co.
National Biscuit Co.
National Dairy Products Corp.
Socony Mobil Oil Co., Inc.
Time, Inc.

STATE VOTES $500,000 TOWARD KEY MEMORIAL AUDITORIUM

Governor Theodore R. McKeldin has signed a bill, making available $500,000 to St. John's College toward the construction of the Francis Scott Key Memorial Auditorium, provided the College can raise a matching sum prior to January 1, 1958. Both Houses of the General Assembly took favorable action on the measure at the February session this year.

It is the hope of the College that construction can be initiated during the summer or early fall upon both the auditorium and the laboratory building. It is estimated that each building will cost in the neighborhood of one million dollars. The College now has in hand $500,000 toward the laboratory building as well as the half-million dollar conditional grant toward the Key Memorial.

Final plans and specifications for both structures are now being completed by the architectural firm of Neutra and Alexander of Los Angeles, California. The auditorium will contain seats for six hundred people, a well-equipped stage, a large lobby, a chorus and conversation room suitable for the Friday night lecture question periods and complete facilities for music. The laboratory building includes four biology laboratories, two physics and chemistry laboratories, two mechanics laboratories and two optics and electronics laboratories. There will be, as well, over twenty small project rooms and other offices, a Foucault pendulum, and a small planetarium.

GIFTS AND BEQUESTS

St. John's College is a non-sectarian, independent liberal arts college deriving its income from student fees, from a limited appropriation by the Maryland General Assembly, from the gifts of its friends and alumni and from permanent endowment funds. These funds now exceed $1,500,000 but must be quadrupled to assure the financial stability of the College.

Planning for the future has been based upon the conviction that the College enrollment should not exceed 300 students. This will preserve the present close relationship between faculty and students. To provide adequate physical facilities for a student body of this size, new buildings will be required as well as renovations to existing structures.

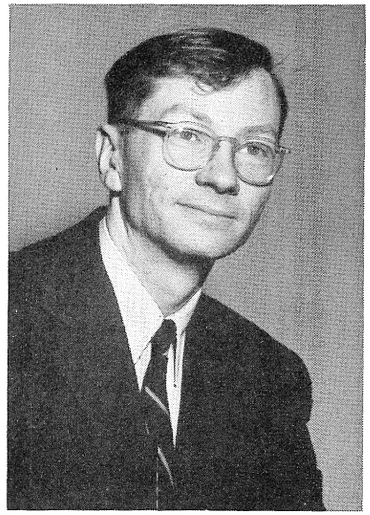
The College invites gifts and bequests to its current budget, to its building program, and to its permanent endowment funds. Inquiries may be addressed to the President or the Treasurer. Bequests may be made in a form similar to the following:

> "I hereby give and bequeath to the Visitors and Governors of St. John's College in the State of Maryland, an educational corporation existing by Charter of the General Assembly of the State of Maryland and situated in Annapolis, Anne Arundel County, in said State, the sum of ..... dollars."

If bequests are made for specific purposes, such can be fully stated. Attention is invited to the fact that Federal and State income tax deductions resulting from such gifts may mean a cost to the donor of only a fraction of the value of the gift to the College.

NEW TEACHING INTERNS

SETH G. BENARDETE
University of Chicago



THOMAS K. SIMPSON
St. John's College '50

CLARENCE W. STRYKER MEMORIAL SCHOLARSHIP FUND ESTABLISHED

Alumni and friends have contributed approximately three thousand dollars to establish a memorial scholarship fund in honor of Clarence W. Stryker, for many years Professor of History at St. John's College and later a member of the Board of Visitors and Governors.

By resolution of the Alumni Association, a scholarship is to be awarded, at least biennially, to a deserving upper classman.

Alumni and other friends of Professor Stryker are invited to make additional contributions to the Fund.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