

**Beneath the Ivory Tower**  
**The long and messy birth of Berkeley Sociology\***

By John Shea O'Donnell

---

\* This project was initiated by calls to the Sociology Department at UC Berkeley about its history, and the lack of accessible history located in the Department. I first learned about Frederick J. Teggart from Michael Burawoy and Jonathan VanAntwerpen's "Berkeley Sociology: Past, Present and Future." Michael Burawoy has been an indispensable guide on this project. Special thanks to Kathryn M. Neal, Associate University Archivist at the Bancroft Library for all her invaluable help. The staff supporting researchers at the Bancroft also deserve a thanks for polite and unquestioning help.

*Dedicated to my academic mentor*  
*Professor E. Bruce Reynolds, San Jose State University*

## Introduction

The notion of an ivory tower usually connotes a specialized society of scholars far removed from the reality of real life. The academic field of sociology, however, is arguably more tethered in the real world than the other social science disciplines. Still it is an academic discipline which at various times serves and disservices its subject matter. It serves best by offering studies supported by data that reveals societies faults so that policymakers may take corrective action. At times, it disservices by reducing the messiness of life into something capable of being studied while writing in a multilayered, theory-based, arcane language that is not often accessible to the rest of us. This is the truth behind the ivory tower. The present work explores the history and inner workings of a sociology department, Berkeley Sociology.

The story begins with the unusually long birth of the department, and the internal politics of academic life at a time when the University of California was developing a national reputation for excellence in scholarship, the "Athens of the West." It's a particular story, and yet elements of this story can no doubt be found on any American university campus. It's an unvarnished look that, at its most intimate, is drawn largely from archival research and is at times heroic, at others, ugly. It's a story of what's beneath the ivory tower.

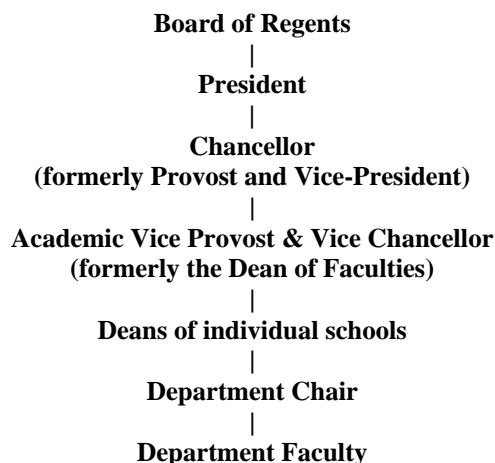
The story pivots on three periods of the department's history as represented by three figures: an intellectual pioneer whose insecurities limited the influence and reach he should have had, a philosophy professor turned administrator, and a sociologist-journal editor. The first section charts the rise, fall, and rebirth of the founder and hero of the pro-sociology department at the UC Berkeley, and ends with the discussion which led to Teggart's department's metamorphosis into a sociology department. [this will be expanded as the work progresses]

## Navigating the Academic World of the University of California

Here are some **administrative facts** that help with the story. The business of the University of California at Berkeley runs primarily on an academic year basis. Academic years straddle two calendar years so, for example, the **academic year** 1917-18 begins on July 1, 1917 and ends June 30, 1918. This shouldn't be confused with a school year which at Berkeley begins in August and ends in May the following year. Summer school and extension courses are run as a separate enterprises from the academic year when the bulk of the University's work is carried out.

The day-to-day affairs of the University of California are run by academics with non-academic administrators assisting, though governed by trustees. The University of California began at Berkeley in 1868 and later extended to additional campuses in the next century. At the University of California (UC), each discipline or department has a department chair. Several departments deemed related in some fashion comprise a school administered by a dean. Deans of the schools in turn were subordinate to the Dean of Faculties (later the Academic Vice-Provost) who then reported to the President. As UC grew beyond Berkeley to include UCLA the President presided over both campuses. When the University grew to include even more campuses, the President was augmented at each campus by a chancellor, then the chancellors of several campuses reported to the President. The President now resides in Oakland and individual Chancellors serve as the executive at the various campuses.

### *simplified hierarchical structure of UC*



All these and related administrative positions are filled by academics with rare exceptions, when a non-academic may be put in such a role as, in our case, a comptroller was chosen president (similarly the only administrative position in this general hierarchy of administration that is usually ever filled by a non-academic may be an associate dean of finance). The trustees of UC are called the board of regents, or regents. The regents are appointees typically from the business world.

Finally, the bulk of faculty, or teachers, variously have appointments as **lecturer** or on a **tenure-track** basis. Tenure-track faculty research, teach, and fulfill service responsibilities related to the operations of the university and the profession. Tenure-track faculty have graduated levels of seniority: **Assistant Professor** (not tenured), **Associate Professor** (tenured) and **Professor** (tenured).

## Cast of Characters

*Note: while department affiliations rarely change, administrative titles can change as frequently as from year to year. All are associated with the University of California, Berkeley except where noted.*

### ***The Scotch Irish Distiller's Son***

Frederick John Teggart.....	BA, English; Professor of History, Political Science, & Social Institutions; Chair of Social Institutions; <i>Kosmos Club member</i>
George Adams.....	Prof & Chair of Philosophy; Dean of School of Letters & Science; <i>Kosmos Club member</i>
Carl Alsberg.....	Director of Giannini Foundation
Barbara Armstrong.....	Prof of Law; <i>student of Jessica Peixotto</i>
David Prescott Barrows.....	Prof of Education; Prof of Political Science; Dean of Faculties; President of the University of California 1919-23
Kenneth Bock.....	BA, Political Science; MA, Social Institutions (1937-40); PhD, Social Institutions (1945-48)
Herbert Eugene Bolton.....	Prof of History
Robert Calkins .....	Prof & Chair of Economics; Dean College of Commerce
Charles Edward Chapman.....	PhD, History; Prof of History
William Cherin.....	PhD, Social Institutions
William Henry Crocker.....	Regent
Stuart Daggett .....	Prof of Economics, <i>Kosmos Club member</i>
J. Frank Daniel.....	Prof of Zoology, <i>Kosmos Club member</i>
Monroe Deutsch.....	Provost & Vice President of the University of California, Northern Section
Guy Earl.....	Regent
John Foskett.....	PhD, Social Institutions
Charles Mills Gayley.....	Prof of English; Dean of Faculties
Frederick P. Gay.....	Prof of Pathology; <i>Kosmos Club member</i>
Porter Grant.....	Assistant Curator, Bancroft Library
Henry Hatfield.....	Dean of Faculties, <i>Kosmos Club member</i>
John Hicks.....	Prof of History; Dean of Graduate Division
George Hildebrand, Jr.....	BA, Economics (with minor in Social Institutions studying under Teggart and a minor in Philosophy studying under Adams); MA, Ph.D. Economics; Assistant Prof of Social Institutions
Margaret Trabue Hodgen.....	PhD, Economics; Prof of Social Institutions
Emily Huntington.....	Prof of Economics; <i>student of Jessica Peixotto</i>
Claude Hutchison.....	Prof, Chair, & Dean of College of Agriculture; Director of the Agricultural Experiment Station
William Carey Jones.....	Prof & Director of Jurisprudence; Dean of Graduate Division; Advisory Committee; Administrative Board
Tracy Kittredge.....	BA, Jurisprudence & History
Julius Klein.....	BA, History (California); Ph.D., History (Harvard)
Alfred Kroeber.....	Prof of Anthropology
Karl Leebrick .....	PhD, History
Andrew Lawson .....	Prof of Mineralogy & Geology; <i>Kosmos Club member</i>

Benjamin Lehman.....	Chair of the Budget Committee
Armin Leuschner.....	Prof of Astronomy; Dean of Graduate Division; <i>Kosmos Club member</i>
Clarence Lewis.....	Prof of Philosophy; <i>Kosmos Club member</i>
E. Percival Lewis.....	Prof of Physics; <i>Kosmos Club member</i>
Gilbert Lewis .....	Prof, Chair & Dean of Chemistry
Charles Lipman.....	Prof of Plant Physiology & Dean of Graduate Division
George Louderback .....	Prof of Geology; Dean of Letters & Science; <i>Kosmos Club member</i>
Robert Lowie.....	Prof of Anthropology
Eugene McCormac.....	Prof of History; <i>Kosmos Club Member</i>
John C. Merriam.....	Prof of Palaeontology & Historical Geology; Dean of Faculties; <i>Kosmos Club Member</i>
Ralph Palmer Merritt.....	Comptroller, Secretary of Regents, Advisory Committee, Administrative Board
Guy Montgomery.....	Prof of English; Affiliate Faculty of Social Institutions; <i>Kosmos Club member</i>
Robert A. Nisbet.....	MA, Ph.D, Social Institutions; Lecturer, Assistant Professor, & Acting Chair of Social Institutions; <i>Kosmos Club member</i>
George Noyes.....	Prof of Slavic Languages; <i>Kosmos Club member</i>
Jessica Blanche Peixotto.....	Prof of Social Economics
William Pomeroy.....	Registrar
Herbert Ingram Priestley .....	Ph.D. History; Professor of History
Thomas P. Putnam.....	Prof of Mathematics; Dean of Undergraduate Division; Acting Dean of the School of Letters & Science
William Ritter.....	Prof of Zoology; Director of Scripps Institution for Biological Research; <i>honorary Kosmos Club member</i>
Robert Gordon Sproul.....	President of the University of California 1930-58
Henry Morse Stephens.....	Prof & Chair of History
Edward W. Strong.....	Prof of Philosophy
Rudolph Julius Taussig.....	Regent
Paul Shuster Taylor.....	Prof of Labor Economics
Dorothy Swaine Thomas.....	Prof of Rural Sociology
W.I. Thomas.....	Emeritus Prof of Sociology & Anthropology, University of Chicago
Arthur Todd.....	Prof & Chair of Sociology, Northwestern University 1926-43
Benjamin Ide Wheeler.....	President of the University of California 1899-1919
Edwin Wilson .....	Prof of Mathematics, Harvard University

## The Scotch-Irish Distiller's Son



[Stanford University Libraries]

Frederick John Teggart had turned 40-years old two days earlier when he wrote to his senior colleague by 16 years, Henry Morse Stephens:

Despite the lack of accomplishment as the years went on I hoped, by the time of reaching this milestone, to have shown some concrete worth, to have made a place for myself that would mean some assurance of a basis on which I could build definitely for the little time remaining... It would seem that a sort of eternal apprenticeship was my particular form of job, and that this sense or desire of mastery over some little corner of knowledge was not to be gratified... This I suppose is all very childish still.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Henry Morse Stephens Papers, box 8: Teggart to Stephens, 10 May 1910.

### *Curriculum Vitae*

Shortly after sharing this midlife crisis, Teggart began a lifelong project which sought to challenge the norms in the field of history in particular, but the social sciences more broadly beginning with a short article, "The Circumstance or the Substance of History" (1910) in *The American Historical Review* which he elaborated on in three later works: *Prolegomena to History* (1916), *Processes of History* (1918) and *Theory of History* (1925) all of which had overlapping themes and arguments. In these writings, Teggart argued that contrary to claims that since the mid-Nineteenth Century they had begun writing scientific expositions, historical works continued to lack necessary explanatory conclusions and so were in effect literature, really just works of art. Concerned with the influence of Darwinism on the social sciences, Teggart also critiqued teleology because he believed it led historians to view societies and nations as necessarily being on separate timelines of a unilateral path. Related to this criticism, he asserted that human history is pluralistic not unitary. It may seem obvious to us now, but he was concerned that historians were too narrowly focused on European Civilization: "Europcentric traditions and the elimination of consideration of activities of all people whose civilization does not at once appear to be contributory to our own," ignores much of the rest of the world, Asia in particular. Finally, he believed that historians who wished to apply scientific inquiry to history had to utilize a comparative approach untethered to artificial periodization. Teggart's ideas, particularly given that he had begun to enunciate them in the 1910s, were revolutionary. He helped to influence Arnold J. Toynbee's 12-volume *A Study of History*, and would be debated by others in the field for decades to come, though not always in ways connected with his name.<sup>2</sup>

\*

Teggart was one of 11 children of a Scotch-Irish Belfast distiller and his wife. Having long ago been pushed off the best lands of Ireland by British-loyalist colonial settlers from Scotland, the impoverished native Irish from rural Ulster moved to the city looking for jobs. Longstanding sectarian violence then flared up in what has since come to be known as the bloody 1886 Belfast Riots which provided push for the protestant Teggarts to immigrate three years later to the United States. In 1891, 21-year old Frederick, who had brought with him a classical education which including language training in both Greek and Latin, and an interest in migrations, entered the first class of Stanford University, named for the son of a railroad baron.<sup>3</sup>

Beginning in 1893 young Teggart worked as an assistant librarian while pursuing his English degree. After graduating in 1894, Teggart continued working at the library there cataloging the voluminous railroad papers of Timothy Hopkins, former Treasurer of the Southern Pacific

---

<sup>2</sup> See William Hardy McNeill, *Arnold J. Toynbee: A Life*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1989, 100-101; and Andre Gunder Frank, "A Plea for World System History," *Journal of World History*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (Spring, 1991), 1-28. Another example of Teggart's forward thinking is found in a handwritten note in his research notes which was written at a high period for colonial exploitation of the Tropics when climate and race were used as justifications for colonial rule. Teggart believed these explanations were insufficient because they "back to problem of physiology and inheritance" and that we would should look at differences instead based on culture.

<sup>3</sup> Robert Nisbet, *Teachers and Scholars: A memoir of Berkeley in Depression and War*, New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1992, 148; Unpublished interview of George Hildebrand by Michael Burawoy and Jonathan VanAntwerpen, University of California at Berkeley, 17 July 1999; University of California Office of the President Records, Frederick J. Teggart personnel file. Herbert Hoover was also in this first class at Stanford.



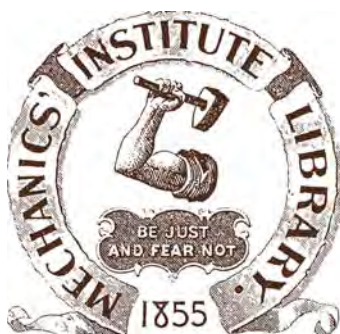
Railroad and adopted son of the widow of another railroad baron, Mark Hopkins. Afterwards, Teggart became librarian for the collection. He served as Acting Librarian at Stanford University beginning in 1895 for three years.<sup>4</sup>



Frederick J. Teggart, 1895 [Bancroft Library]

Then Teggart moved several miles north on the Northern California peninsula to San Francisco taking another library position, this time with the preeminent library in the state, the Mechanics' Institute Library. He held this position until the library was destroyed in the 1906 Earthquake. He started lecturing with the University of California Extension a year later.<sup>5</sup> At this time, the University purchased the Pacific Coast historical collection of Hubert Howe Bancroft (the Bancroft Collection centering on Spanish American, Californian, and Alaskan historical materials) and in 1907 established the quasi-independent Academy of Pacific Coast History to both manage the newly acquired Pacific Coast historical collection as well as to foster education, research, and publications related to the Collection. Teggart was appointed Curator of the Bancroft Collection, though the man who conceived of the acquisition, History Professor and Director of the University Extension, Henry Morse Stephens, was appointed Secretary for the Academy serving as Teggart's boss. Stephens was also an immigrant. He came from a family who made their mark as colonial servants in British India. 1910, the Bancroft Collection

was moved to Berkeley where Teggart continued to serve as Curator, and the Academy was dissolved into the History Department.<sup>6</sup>



<sup>4</sup> Teggart personnel file; and Grace Dangberg, *A Guide to the Life and Works of Frederick J. Teggart*. Reno, Nev: Grace Dangberg Foundation, 1983, 1-2.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid; and Dangberg, 3. Teggart lists his employment at the Mechanics-Mercantile Library as 1898-1907 but the library was destroyed in the earthquake and not rebuilt until 1908.

<sup>6</sup> Stephens Papers, carton 1: "H.H. Bancroft Library"; and Bancroft Library Records, box 1; and "After Me Cometh the Builder," *The Recollections of Ralph Palmer Merritt*, University of California Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1962 (hereafter Merritt), 72

### *Downfall*

Another Teggart student during the 1930s, Robert Nisbet, posthumously published a story intimating that Teggart had a break early in his career from the Bancroft Library and then with the History Department due to relations with Herbert Eugene Bolton and onetime friend, Henry Morse Stephens. Bolton, a scholar of Spanish American history and former student of Frederick Turner, was recruited from Stanford University in 1910 after Stephens learned he was considering going to the University of Texas, and subsequently Bolton was, like Stephens, affiliated with both the library and the department. Nisbet's story came second-hand from History Professor John Van Nostrand who "was in his office one Saturday afternoon in 1915, as he recalled, and began to hear Teggart and Bolton's voices in sharp altercation over the Bancroft. Teggart told Bolton that he, as curator, could keep Bolton if and when he decided... Bolton's reply was that if Teggart ever did, he would knock his false teeth down his throat."<sup>7</sup> Teggart later made light of such confrontations saying that he simply had philosophic differences over historical scholarship with his colleagues including Bolton.<sup>8</sup>

Teggart's charge against Stephens was clear cut. Henry Morse Stephens, who was born in Edinburgh, Scotland and educated at Oxford, was a modern European and English scholar. He had taught at Cornell University before moving to Berkeley where former colleague and intimate friend Benjamin Ide Wheeler had been appointed UC President in 1899. He was initially brought to direct the University Extension, and became the chairperson of the History Department a short while later. Nisbet heard from Teggart's wife, if not also from Teggart directly, that Stephens had offered to smooth the way for him to obtain his Ph.D., if he simply completed his dissertation, the History Chair would waive exam requirements. Teggart completed his dissertation, the *Prolegomena*, but Stephens reneged on his promise.<sup>9</sup>

The real story of what caused the rift between Teggart and colleagues at the Bancroft Library and the History Department involves many more individuals and was more complicated than Nisbet describes it. Bolton and Stevens have left behind no record of the details of their individual disputes

---

<sup>7</sup> Nisbet (1992), 152. Van Nostrand, "M.A. Instructor in Ancient History" was listed in the *General Catalog* as being on the History Department in 1912-13, but not again until 1917-18 when he had received his Ph.D. Whereas Nisbet seems to rely exclusively on information he gathered socially while an academic at Berkeley, Grace Dangberg (*A Guide to the Life and Works of Frederick J. Teggart*. Reno, Nev: Grace Dangberg Foundation, 1983) mined the Bancroft archives but in supporting her mentor provides a whitewashed version of events and ignores complaints about Teggart that would have been difficult for her to miss given what she does cite. Margaret Hodgen's focus (*The Department of Social Institutions and the University of California (Berkeley), 1919-1946*. 1971) was primarily on the legacy of the Department of Social Institutions and her career in it so avoided criticism of her senior colleague and Department Chair, Teggart, altogether. Nisbet's student, Stephen O. Murray's (*American Anthropology and Company*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2013) focus, somewhat exaggerated, is on forces antagonistic to the creation of a sociology department at Berkeley, and Albert L. Hurtado's study of Bolton's life (*Herbert Eugene Bolton: Historian of the American Borderlands*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012) includes some additional incidental information on Teggart to these other works. Frederick Turner had developed the Frontier Thesis in a paper delivered at an American Historical Society meeting in 1893 article arguing that American individualist identity was developed through the frontier experience.

<sup>8</sup> According to Dangberg, 10, Teggart was pushed out as Curator due to an unspecified conflict, and he had "represented intellectual disputes among history faculty as natural." Hodgen states that Teggart left the History Department over differences of "methods and purpose of historical inquiry."

<sup>9</sup> Nisbet (1992), 151.

with Teggart—at least none that have been uncovered as yet. The only recorded hint from Bolton that there may have been a problem is but a vague whisper which occurred in the fall of 1912. Bolton had three books, one of which was a collection of documents, taken from a seminar room. At least one of these books was discovered several months later in the Bancroft Collection—a trivial matter to some though not to a scholar. While we have no evidence that Teggart was involved, later events suggest this possibility.

In his letter to Stephens, who was traveling in Europe during the winter of 1909-1910, Teggart explains that he felt neglected because he had not received the quantity of letters from Stephens his colleagues had and when he did, it was only to inquire about his curatorial opinion of a request from a researcher. So feeling hurt, he had put off writing to Stephens but now gave his answer: "I think we should refuse him. California material seems to exist to be skimmed! He is merely another skimmer and I don't see why the results of your labors and Mrs." Phoebe Apperson "Hearst's money should be turned over in order to enhance his profits. Am well aware that this is small, petty, mean,"..."but there is still room in the world for a few primitive vices."<sup>10</sup>



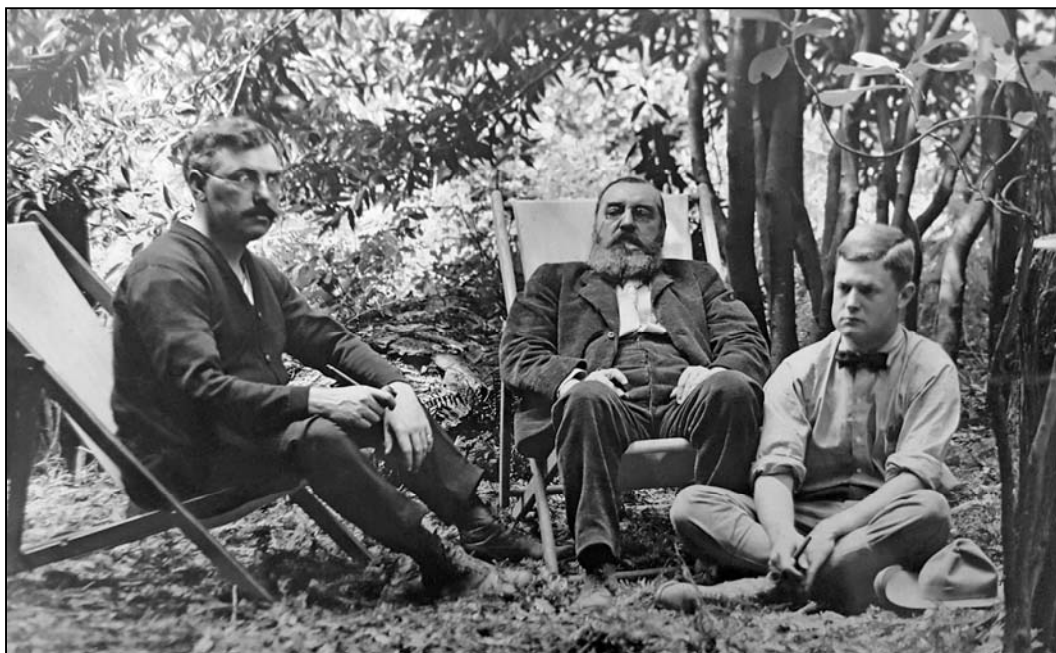
*Frederick J. Teggart, 1898 [Bancroft Library]*

Stephens had chosen Teggart to serve as Acting Chair of the History Department while he was gone. The one request Stephens made of Teggart before he left was to hold the men in the department together, and after stating, "I think a remarkable bond of unity has been forged among them," Teggart fills the rest of the letter listing History graduate students' and his colleagues' deficiencies: he accuses the latter group of "wholesale bad teaching"; graduate student Bowman is "unanimously regarded as hopeless"; Salt, who had already been admitted to candidacy, was given a new test and could not answer a single question; "Newell's best friends could not say, or would not say, that he had been a success"; "Bowman very solemnly peddles small beer around the campus"; Woodward could not answer an academic question Teggart posed him in private but succeeded in passing a reexamination which Teggart excused himself from due to his "kindly disposition"; Porter's thesis "reads well enough on the surface but the least scratch shows one the whole ineptitude of the man's constitution—I will not say 'mind'"; and Westergaard is trying to play Don Smith and Teggart off against each other so he can avoid doing any work. In a postscript to his letter, Teggart adds: "I am sending this with the feeling that there is much in it would have been better left unsaid—but I know the hands for which it is intended will receive it with many allowances."<sup>11</sup> This letters reveals much about Teggart because it was as much an indictment of the History Department and it's chair,

<sup>10</sup> Stephens papers, box 18: Teggart to Stephens, 10 May 1910.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

Stephens. When a research patron of the Bancroft Library, Zoethe Eldredge, brought several complaints about Teggart to Stephens' attention in late 1915, Stephens was initially on the fence about how to deal with the issue. The first complaint Eldredge shared was penned at his request by another researcher, Clinton Snowden. Snowden related how petty Teggart had become when he explained that he was interested in obtaining archival materials for research he was conducting for a project he was working on with Eldredge on the history of California. Eldredge named a professor from Wellesley College who faced similar obstacles put in her place by the "ungracious curator." He wrote of others as well, while stating that he had no personal experiences to complain about other than the fact that Teggart had disparaged Eldredge's own publication on the history of California. Granting Teggart allowances once again, Stephens replied to Eldredge that he was not responsible for the Library and hoped that the "charges of discourtesy that you have made against" Teggart "may be due rather to manner than to deliberate intent." Similarly, he was dismissive of Eldredge's complaint about Teggart's public comments about his publication, arguing that Eldredge must have been exaggerating. Finally, in a manner of typical administrative avoidance, Stephens denied responsibility for anything Teggart may have said or done. Eldredge continued to push though, arguing that "I am aware he can make himself agreeable with those to whom to stand well is a distinct advantage, but believe me there is a side to his character which has never been shown to you..." and suggested he interview the University librarian as well since he would likely have heard similar complaints from students.<sup>12</sup>



*Teggart, Henry Morse Stephens, and "Jack" Fletcher, Bohemian Grove, 1907 [Bancroft Library]*

On March 14, 1916, Stephens forwarded the Eldredge correspondence on to President Wheeler.<sup>13</sup> At

<sup>12</sup> Office of the President, CU-5, series 2, carton 15: Eldredge to Stephens 2 and 13 November 1915; Stephens to Eldredge, 6 November 1915; and Stephens to Wheeler 14 March 1915.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid: H. Morse Stephens to President Wheeler, March 14, 1915. While the informal cover note has "March 14, 1915" written on it, the year must be an error as Stephens references "the correspondence I had with Mr. Eldredge

this same time, while not revealing the totality of concerns prompting him to do so, Stephens told one of his colleagues in the History Department, Assistant Professor Charles Chapman, that he may be called upon to testify about the administration of the Bancroft Library. And so that same day, Chapman dropped off a written statement at President Wheeler's office offering what he knew about the relationship between graduate student Herbert Ingram Priestley and Teggart at the Bancroft where he had worked every day for 6 of the prior 8 years and fulltime over the previous year. Priestley had come to Berkeley in 1912 to study under Bolton.<sup>14</sup> Teggart had lured Priestley to work at the Bancroft with the enticement that he would be able to work towards his Ph.D. while doing so. However, once he began working at the Bancroft, Teggart put obstacles in his way of Priestley working with anyone other than himself and additional barriers in the way of completing his doctorate degree. In 1914, Teggart even attempted to enlist Chapman to help dissuade Priestley from obtaining his Ph.D. because he was concerned "'people might think Priestley was the better man,' i.e., better that [sic] Teggart who was only an A.B." Then Teggart threatened Priestley with dismissal if he attempted to apply for his Ph.D. and...

did succeed in his coming up last May. At that time, harassed by debt and illness of his children, and overworked, since he could pursue his own studies only at night, Mr. Priestley was near a breakdown, and had to stay away from the library for two weeks....

... So generally recognized is it that Mr. Teggart will not answer letters and that Mr. Priestley will, that men who know conditions and want anything usually apply direct to Mr. Priestly.<sup>15</sup> Men like Mr. Rudolph Taussig and the Honorable John F. Davis as well as many others, have taken that course.

... [Priestly] has made translations with a view to publication, but gave up this work when it became evident that Mr. Teggart did not want anything published, unless over his [Mr. Teggart's] signature. Thus but one publication appears over Ur. [sic] Priestley's credit, when it would have been easy for him to produce many times as much.

Such publications which have appeared over his name[,] Mr. Teggart's, were not in fact edited by him, and one of them, the Font Diary, was largely, the work of Mr. Priestley. The truth is that Mr. Teggart does not know Spanish and could not have translated the documents in question. ... The most monstrous case, however, is that of the Nelson Kingsley diary. Positively the only work Mr. Teggart did on this was to hand Mr. Priestley the original document in the first place, and finally to erase Mr. Priestley's name and substitute his own when the work was done.

Finally, not only is Mr. Teggart utterly ignorant of anything more than the titles of some of the books on the fields covered by the materials of the Bancroft Collection, but he has exerted himself to prevent students from making effective use of these materials.<sup>16</sup>

---

about the Bancroft Library I had last November," and Eldredge's letters to Stephens are dated 2, 6, 13, and 14 November, 1915.

<sup>14</sup> Hurtado, 78.

<sup>15</sup> In his correspondence to Stephens several months earlier, Eldredge had said that Priestley would provide documents immediately, but Teggart told him to write a letter applying for access to materials.

<sup>16</sup> Office of the President, CU-5, series 2, carton 15: Chapman to Wheeler, 14 March 1916; and Chapman, "Statement Concerning the Relations of Mr. Teggart and Mr. Priestley in the Bancroft Library." Teggart had participated in a committee along with History colleagues, Herbert Bolton and Louis Paetow, charged with recommending changes to



Prior to trying to fire him, when Priestley took his oral exam, Teggart was also said to have failed him in such a particularly humiliating way that Priestley told Nisbet decades later that he "came very close in earlier years to killing your chief."<sup>17</sup>



Catcher E.G. Sewell, Pitcher Everett S. Brown, 1st Base & Captain Charles E. Chapman, 2nd Base George L. Albright, 3rd Base Keith Vosburg, Short Stop Francis Wm. Rubke, Leftfield G. C. Davidson, Centerfield H.I. Priestley, Rightfield Herbert Bolton, Yell Leader C.D. O'Sullivan, Scorer Clement Moffett, Rooters J. Seamwell, Charles W. Hackett, Henry Morse Stephens with beard, May 8, 1916 [Bancroft Library]

Two days after Chapman delivered the letter to Wheeler, Stephens, who had received no complaint from Teggart about Priestley justifying his firing, came to the latter's defense in a lengthy letter to Wheeler and concluded "It seems to me that the time has come to revise the conditions of the Bancroft Library," and requested to have the Bancroft put back under the control of the History Department, to be supervised by himself and Bolton, when its administration was funded through the Academy of Pacific Coast History, or placed under the University Library. In either case, "I might advise the dismissal of Mr. Teggart, after a year's notice, from his position as Curator..."<sup>18</sup>

It's unlikely that Stephens would have made the agreement to ease the way for Teggart to obtain a Ph.D. as Nisbet claims was made, and even if he had, the reason he reneged was not over a concern with Teggart's *Prolegomena*, which he later spoke favorably of (though we have reason to think that he may have done so disingenuously), but due to these revelations about his maladministration of the Bancroft Library from Edredge in addition to his abuse of Bolton and

---

the graduate program in history including admissions, courses, and degree requirements. Their report was completed on 25 August 1915 (see Bolton Papers, box 100: "To the Department of History," (Signed). H.E. Bolton; F.J. Teggart; L.J. Paetow, 25 August 1915).

<sup>17</sup> Nisbet (1992), 171-72.

<sup>18</sup> Office of the President, CU-5, series 2, box, 12.

Priestley as described by Chapman. Nisbet's story also begs the question why was Teggart so afraid of exams in the first place given his history and treatment of others who did not pass department exams. It seems more likely that to save face, Teggart concocted the tale of an agreement with Stephens inspired by his own agreement with Priestley which he dishonored.

In his unpublished *Reminiscences*, or memoirs, dictated in 1924, Chapman goes well beyond what he revealed in his 1916 letter to President Wheeler fleshing out the story of the Bancroft Library and History Department politics while excoriating Teggart. In 1908, Stephens encouraged Chapman, who was a Harvard law school graduate, to learn Spanish on the way to obtaining a teacher's certificate. Chapman then pursued a master's degree, followed by a Ph.D. all in the History Department.<sup>19</sup> Chapman describes his first encounter with Teggart while he was working away at a table in the Bancroft: "in came a stout, red-faced individual whom I took to be some tradesman or minor employee. I was a little surprised when I found out that he was the distinguished Curator." This line sets the tone for Chapman's story for although he respected Teggart's intelligence and social skills—he was "a wonderful dinner companion, being a most attractive conversationalist on such occasion, especially if there was a glass of beer or two to serve as an open sesame"—Chapman describes a lazy liar, always maneuvering, making ever changing alliances, and manipulating others for his personal gain.<sup>20</sup>

For a time, Teggart confided in Chapman and so we have the following revisionist history of Teggart's biography. He was fired from Stanford as the result of the way he conspired to become the librarian. Subsequently he obtained the librarian position at the Mechanics' Institute Library in San Francisco through his relationship with Rudolph Taussig, who was a trustee and later President of the library. He was fired from the Mechanics' Institute Library though for mismanaging the institution's finances. Taussig, who helped fund and finance the University of California's acquisition of the Bancroft Collection, insisted Stephens agree to appoint Teggart as Curator.<sup>21</sup>

Chapman's own animosity towards Teggart originates from a conversation he overheard in the library stacks between Teggart and head of Spanish in the Romance Languages Department, Rudolph Schevill. Schevill had given a speech in English to the Spanish Club, while Chapman was president of the club. Schevill had apparently never supported the club which was the project of a personal enemy, a colleague in his department. As a result many members of the Club disliked him and some of them said he could not speak Spanish. Chapman shared this information with Teggart who either made the mistake in retelling the story to Schevill or did so wantonly by saying that Chapman said he could not speak Spanish. So what Chapman heard in the stacks was these

---

<sup>19</sup> Charles Edward Chapman Papers: Additions, box 1, *Reminiscences*. The pages of *Reminiscences* are unnumbered. Although he was born in 1880, it's curious why Chapman decided to dictate his memoirs in the mid-1920s. In *Reminiscences*, while Chapman's section on the politics of the History Department and Teggart covers a large section the entire project covers his life up to the point of his dictating his experiences. He states: "Although I have had so much to say about Teggart, it has been a number of years since I felt any real venom against him." Chapman taught in the History Department at Berkeley until his death in 1941.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> There are some elements of Chapman's story which either appear to be exaggerations of the truth or unlikely. Why, for example, would Taussig as President of one institution fight on behalf of an employee who was fired for maladministration at that institution insist he be appointed at another institution where Taussig was affiliated? In many areas where Teggart's character is detailed by Chapman, we have corroboration from others, mismanaging finances is not one of them.

two men conspiring as members of his doctoral committee to fail him so he could be replaced by Schevill's protégé, Julius Klein. After hearing the exchange, Chapman went to Stephens who, as Chapman explains it, already disliked Teggart and took Chapman under his wing after he came to him. Stephens shared a letter he had just received from Klein urging Stephens to drop Chapman and appoint him instead.<sup>22</sup>

Chapman writes that once at Berkeley, Teggart conspired to replace Stephens as chair of the History Department. Teggart's conflict with Bolton centered on Stephens' pronouncement that Bolton would succeed him as chair of the History Department. Teggart had apparently felt that he was first in line after serving as Acting Chair well before Bolton arrived from Stanford, and would get furious if any of the graduate students spoke to Bolton.<sup>23</sup> However, it's not difficult to see how Teggart's petty jealousy made Stephens a mark as well. Even in his later years, Teggart's most effusive acolytes' descriptions of him would never reach the level of Chapman's description of Stephens which is mirrored by others:

I have seen him surrounded by men of national reputation, senators, cabinet officers, and others, and it was always Morse Stephens who was the conversational centre of the group. They wished to talk to him, because, after all, he was infinitely superior to any of them intellectually and certainly socially.<sup>24</sup>

Although antagonistic to Bolton, Teggart also conspired with him by appealing to Bolton's vanity in offering that Chapman was dismissive of his scholarship. On a second occasion, Teggart went to Bolton, who was on Chapman's doctoral committee, and suggested that they give Chapman a tough doctoral examination. Bolton agreed, until Teggart came to him a third time and suggested that he should join with him and Schevill in denying Chapman his doctoral degree. Finally

---

<sup>22</sup> *Reminiscences*. Stephens Papers, box 1: Stephens to Wheeler, 20 February 1915, and Klein to Stephens 9 February 1951. In a confidential "open-to-a-proposal" letter from Harvard, Klein dances around his intentions by saying that "You know as well as I do how strongly" income "'pulls', as does also the possibility of that Latin American chair. And you also know how much I'd like to join in the great work out there," before later adding: "It occurred to me, however that you might not care to have me give Spanish History, because of possible conflict with Chapman's regular course." While this may not be the letter Chapman is referring to, Klein's wording is insinuating, or carefully suggesting a possibility at most rather than urging, as Chapman writes. Stephens forwarded Klein's letter with his own to Wheeler a short while later trying to preempt any misunderstanding that he had proffered an appointment to Klein. Stephens explained to Wheeler that he had hoped someone like Klein, with Spanish American economic history background would be added to the Economics Department "to back up the work in Spanish History" done by Chapman and Bolton. Merritt, 56-57, explains that Klein was his classmate and follower of Stephens, before he went to Harvard for graduate work. Merritt later suggested Klein's name to President Harding's Secretary of Commerce, Herbert Hoover, who then hired him to develop the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce.

<sup>23</sup> *Reminiscences*; and *The Centennial Record of the University of California*. Compiled and edited by Verne A. Stadtman and the centennial publications staff. Berkeley, University of California Print Dept., 1967. When the University of California was established in 1868, the Mechanics' Institute Library was "the foremost cultural center in Northern California." Taussig, whose wealth was derived from a wholesale liquor business his father and uncle started, was the president of the Mechanics' Institute Library from 1902 until the San Francisco Earthquake hit in 1906, then after it was rebuilt in 1908 until 1912.

<sup>24</sup> *Reminiscences*; and *The Abundant Life*, edited by Monroe E. Deutsch, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1926, 345. Wheeler corroborates this characterization in part when he says: "At the club, in his rooms or in the 'Grove'" Stephens "moves and lunches in the midst of a plurality of the friends initiate. Some day there will be a society organized and called the friends of Stephens (Phi Sigma)."



realizing that Teggart had been maneuvering all along, Bolton then went to Chapman and told him the entire story.<sup>25</sup>

Planning on settling in Berkeley permanently, Chapman had just built a house there, but was now realizing how precarious his situation was given the power Teggart wielded over his future so he tried a different tact, submitting to Teggart whom he told, "I have heard a lot of these rumors, but I am paying no attention to them. I am sure you will do what you think is best." This disarmed Teggart and he invited Chapman to lunch with him in Oakland where over several beers he explained that his clique with three other professors (presumably Emeritus Professor of History and Political Science Bernard Moses, Rudolph Shevill, and possibly Assistant Professor of History Eugene McCormac) was discussing the fate of three graduate students. Two of the students, one of whom was Waldemar Westergaard, were Steven's students and because it was expected they would obtain positions at small colleges where "nobody would ever hear of those two men," they would be permitted to pass their exams. The third student, Cardinal Goodwin, was Bolton's student so the clique was going to hold a meeting to discuss whether he should be passed or not. Chapman told Bolton about Teggart's plan.<sup>26</sup>

Several days later the examinations were held, Chapman was the first to be examined. Stephens, who had heard of Teggart's ministrations to use Chapman's exam as a test. Stephens was prepared to put off all other eight scheduled exams if the examination committee failed him. Teggart had given Chapman his questions in advance and stuck to them (previously he had done this only to switch the questions during the exam). Moses and Schevill did not show, and while McCormac challenged him vigorously, Chapman held his ground and passed. Feeling secure enough to do so afterwards, Chapman told Teggart what he really thought of him and the two never spoke again. Goodwin was failed—though he obtained his degree later.<sup>27</sup>

Another story Chapman shares with us involves Teggart's colleague in History, Don Smith, who was having marital problems, and had an affair with one of his students. All those associated with the Bancroft Library were aware of Smith's dalliance, but while inebriated one day, Teggart revealed to Chapman that he had "cooked Don Smith's goose." What Chapman learned later was that Smith's wife had received an anonymous letter on a yellow paper, which Teggart commonly used, telling her of the affair. Before Smith's wife did anything permanent though, Stephens intervened to help mend Smith's marriage. The matter would have ended there, but the press somehow learned of the affair, published it, and Smith was forced to leave the University.<sup>28</sup>

---

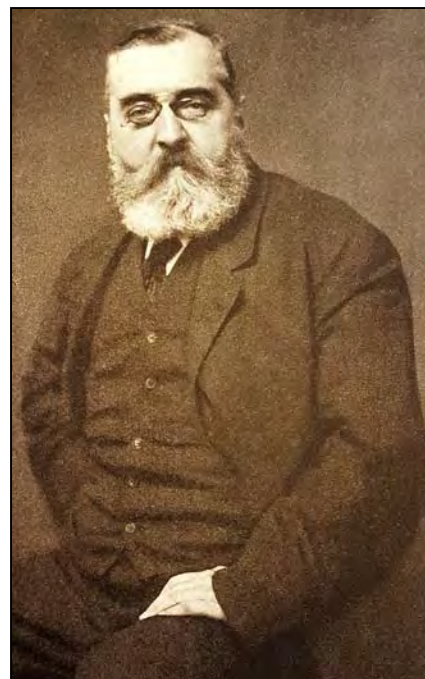
<sup>25</sup> *Reminiscences*.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.* It's difficult to think that Moses had any particular animosity towards Stephens per se. Before Stephens was recruited to head the Extension Program, Moses had recommended Stephens be hired as a faculty member, and Moses told President Wheeler that he was fine with the History and Political Science Department being broken up: "I should find no objection to it as it regards my personal convenience. When I return to the University after my experience here (as a colonial commissioner in the Taft Commission in the Philippines), I think I shall have had enough administrative work to satisfy me for a long series of years" (Stephens Papers, box 5: Moses to Wheeler, 28 October 1901).

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

Most importantly, Chapman provides crucial details about the events that immediately precipitated Teggart's downfall. When Chapman had just returned from sabbatical (earned leave for research purposes) in Spain, he learned that Porter Garnett, whom Teggart had also been conspiring against, had been replaced by Priestly as Assistant Curator of the Bancroft. Teggart asked Chapman to aid him in keeping Priestly from obtaining a Ph.D. Teggart also aimed an attack on graduate student, Karl Leebrick, who Chapman describes as Stephens's "factotum" and a wonderful teacher but "slipshod in his English and with no real claim to scholarship in some respects." As a result of Teggart's attacks, Leebrick withdrew. Then, during the winter of 1915-16, Teggart went to the Dean of Faculties, Henry Hatfield, and said Priestly was insane and he wanted to get rid of him. Without making any additional inquiries into the matter, Hatfield removed Priestly from the budgetary roll. When Stephens found out later, he went to President Wheeler. Chapman maintains that Wheeler never liked Teggart and was against his appointment from the beginning having only agreed to Teggart being made Curator as long as Stephens accepted full responsibility for him.



Henry Morse Stephens [Bancroft Library]

Stephens decided to drop the matter, but Chapman was unwilling to do so and delivered his March 14 letter to Wheeler's office which outlined Teggart's mistreatment of Priestly. After reading the letter, Chapman learned from one of his students who worked in the President's office, that Wheeler met with Regent Rudolph Taussig in San Francisco, and when he got back put Priestly back on the Bancroft's roll. Wheeler took Chapman aside at a subsequent reception and asked him to keep quiet of the affair.<sup>29</sup> It was only after this transpired that Stephens took action on the 16th. Meanwhile, Wheeler asked the new Dean of Faculties David Prescott Barrows to investigate.

After conducting an investigation, Dean Barrows sent his confidential recommendation to President Wheeler in September. In the memo, Barrows implies that Teggart was induced to voluntarily retire in order to continue teaching though he would be teaching through the History Department rather than through the Bancroft Library: "I accordingly recommend...that he be given entire freedom to develop his teaching work, but that he be informed that his future continuance

<sup>29</sup> *Reminiscences*. David Prescott Barrows replaced Hatfield as Dean of Faculties for a portion of 1916-17, in between assignments overseas. Leebrick finished his Ph.D. at Berkeley. In his will, Stephens bequeathed him his "lecture notes, card catalogues, student's essays and similar material for giving instruction in history" (*University of California Chronicle*, Vol XXI, No 3, July 1919, 65). Leebrick went on to teach history and political science at the University of Hawai'i, serve as a dean at Syracuse University, and capped his career as President of Kent State University from 1938-1943.

as” Associate Professor “and perhaps his future membership in the University depend upon his success as an organizer of class work and as a teacher.”<sup>30</sup> Teggart notified President Wheeler on 13 October that after consulting with Stephens and Barrows, he had decided to resign from the Bancroft “for the purpose of devoting my entire time and attention to the courses of instruction which I am now giving...”<sup>31</sup> Barrows responded a few days later acknowledging Teggart’s letter on behalf of Wheeler, adding: “I want to confirm, however, the President’s view which I already have expressed to you in conversation, that it will not be possible to recognize the permanency of your position as a teacher of history. The field of historical theory which you are developing does not seem to be one which the University can afford to establish by the creation of a new professorship.”<sup>32</sup> So at this point, it is pretty clear that President Wheeler and perhaps Dean Barrows as well as Chair Stephens wanted Teggart severed from the University. Bolton was chosen to replace Teggart as Curator at the Bancroft Library, and Priestly was to continue as Assistant Curator. Priestly, who had since received his doctorate, was appointed Assistant Professor.<sup>33</sup>



Benjamin Ide Wheeler, 1910  
[Bancroft Library]

Up to this point, a reference to the “unusual opportunities for historical research offered by the Bancroft collection” had been given prominence in the *General Catalog* listing for the History Department in a paragraph immediately following the list of the department’s faculty. This paragraph was moved to the section on graduate education in the 1917-18 academic year and omitted completely in 1918-19—though faculty who served as curator and assistant curator continued to have these titles listed alongside their names.

In 1913, Stephens had reported that Teggart was “building a reputation as one of the leading authorities on Historical Theory,” and now felt that in spite of the fact that while Teggart’s style in *Prolegomena* was awkward, “his book is being read and discussed by historians both in England and the United States.”<sup>34</sup> So he recommended that Teggart be given a semester’s sabbatical with the hope that “he would be called to some chair in the East,” which, again, suggests that he was at least agreeable to Teggart leaving the University.<sup>35</sup> Teggart taught in the History Department in spring 1917, then took a sabbatical in the fall.

<sup>30</sup> Office of the President, CU-5, series 2, box 15: Barrows to Wheeler, “Memorandum to the President on the Bancroft Library,” 19 September 1916.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid; and Stephens Papers, carton 1: H. Morse Stephens, “Notes of Recommendations for the Budget of the History Department, 1917-18 [undated].” The Regents accepted Teggart’s resignation and appointed Bolton as his replacement on 11 November 1916 (Stephens Papers, Box 2: Secretary of the Regents to Teggart, 14 November 1916, and Secretary of the Regents to Bolton 14 November 1916—the latter is also in Bolton Papers, box 123).

<sup>34</sup> Stephens, “Notes of Recommendations...”.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

During his fall 1917 sabbatical, Teggart wrote to Zoology Chair as well as Founder and Director of the Scripps Institution of Oceanography in La Jolla, William Ritter, to explain that he was planning a trip to the East Coast and asked if he could write a letter of introduction to newspaper magnate, E.W. Scripps, in Washington. It's an interesting, brief letter because he starts by explaining "My sabbatical half-year began with the doctor's order of a stringent type—though I don't give the general impression of being nervously 'run down.'" Teggart doesn't explain the urgency behind his decision to go East given his doctor's evaluation. He also sent Ritter a small book he referred to as "The Elements of History." Presumably he was using a working title when referring to what would later be published as *Processes of History*.<sup>36</sup>

In a subsequent letter to Ritter at the end of December, after writing that he was thankful Ritter found his book "of interest," he spends the entirety of the rest of the two page letter in classically-brash Teggart style schooling him. Here are samples:

...I confess myself somewhat mystified when I consider that you have inferred in my writing Darwinian predilections. As a non-biologist it was certainly not within my province to discuss biological matters, but as a student of scientific method I am of opinion that my discussion of Darwin absolutely put his contribution beyond serious consideration!

...His weakness was the acceptance of a whole series of assumptions which have not been adequately discussed by his successors. (He is certainly not to be blamed for rambling way in which sociologists have taken over his phrases and made capital out of them).

...The very conception of 'evolution' is merely a heritage from 18th Century ideas of 'progress'.

Biology in toto, today, is in a cul de sac (with much diffidence, from a non-biologist) from which it can only be rescued by a searching examination of its presuppositions and assumptions.<sup>37</sup>

Teggart returned to teach in the History Department for one last semester in spring 1918 before setting off once again for leave during the academic year 1918-19. In mid-December, 1918, Stevens queried an old colleague and director of the historical Research Department at the Carnegie Institution, J. Franklin Jameson, introducing Teggart as "the very best man in the whole of the United States" for a permanent bibliographer position in Washington.<sup>38</sup> Whether or not Stephens believed what he had written to Jameson, or in his earlier letter about Teggart's value amongst experts of historical theory, is open for debate. Chapman says that even when Stephens "did not like a man, he would 'play the game' and give him a boost." Chapman observed Stephens dictating a recommendation for another individual: "Between remarks to the stenographer he would make some of the most amusing and disparaging remarks about" the man, "and then in the

---

<sup>36</sup> William E. Ritter Papers, box 2: Teggart to Ritter, 11, October 1917 [sic]. It is obvious that he mistakenly wrote the wrong year as he refers to "ms of a small book which I call 'The Element of History'; and in the letter dated 28 December 1916, discusses only of Ritter's response to "my small book."

<sup>37</sup> Ibid: Teggart to Ritter, 28 December 1916. Although Darwin is discussed at greater length, Chapter 5, "Evolution and History," in *Prolegomena to History*, Teggart's second work was nearly half the size of his first.

<sup>38</sup> Hurtado, 93; and Stephens papers, Box 4: Jameson to Stephens, 7 January 1919.

next breadth—to the stenographer—would paint him in such glowing terms as the "person being written about" himself could not have employed."<sup>39</sup> Still Stephens had motivation to help Teggart find a new position and Teggart's breadth of learning was beyond dispute.

Stephens and Jameson had known each other since 1894 when Jameson was chosen as the editor of the newly established *American Historical Review*, and Stephens, who had helped establish the journal, served on the editorial board. Jameson was also a former American Historical Association President (AHA)—Stephens served as AHA President in 1915. There is little doubt that Jameson could read between the lines of Stephens' proposal. Indeed, Bolton responded to a research query from Jameson dated December 15, 1916 informing him that he had replaced Teggart as Curator of the Bancroft Library, and "Mr. Teggart has not left the University, his title becoming Associate Professor in History instead of 'Pacific Coast History' as formerly." Jameson replied to Stephens in January expressing no enthusiasm that Teggart would be hired.<sup>40</sup>

The letters Teggart sent to Stephens from the East Coast during his leave are all cordial in tone—rather than expressing the enmity Nisbet describes—and speaks of projects, including a stint as Chair of the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) founded by philosopher and historian Arthur Lovejoy, and a scholarly relationship with Isaiah Bowman, the first director for the American Geographical Society (1915-1935), which extended a decade or longer and centered on a discussion of historical geography.<sup>41</sup> But these projects were gained, at least in part, through his affiliation at Berkeley, and not positions adequate to provide a livelihood for Teggart and his family.

While Teggart was teaching his last semester in the History Department before his year-long leave, Wheeler had appointed a three-member Advisory Committee of deans to consult beginning in April. William Carey Jones was the Director of the School of Jurisprudence and Dean of the Graduate Division, Charles Mills Gayley was the Dean of Faculties, and Stephens was serving as the Dean of Letters and Sciences.<sup>42</sup>

On February 3, 1919, the Regents notified Wheeler that he was being forced to retire due to his health, and "changed and changing conditions" brought about by the end of the war.<sup>43</sup> Wheeler submitted his resignation a few days later and made it public at the following week's monthly-scheduled Regents' meeting.<sup>44</sup> Within a month, before Wheeler was scheduled to formally retire upon reaching the age of 65, local newspapers were reporting the names of the leading contenders to replace him: University of California Comptroller Ralph Palmer Merritt, former Dean of Faculties David Prescott Barrows (Barrows improbably claims he did not know until December),

---

<sup>39</sup> *Reminiscences*.

<sup>40</sup> Hurtado, 93.

<sup>41</sup> Stephens papers, box 8: Teggart to Stephens, 20 October 1918, Washington D.C., Teggart to Stephens, 15 January 1919, Washington, D.C., and Teggart to Stephens, 14 February 1919, New York; and the University of Wisconsin; and Milwaukee maintains a collection of the Teggart-Bowman correspondence spanning 10 years: <http://collections.lib.uwm.edu/cdm/ref/collection/agsny/id/45208> (accessed 2017.08.16).

<sup>42</sup> *University of California Chronicle*, Vol XX, No 3, July 1918, 297.

<sup>43</sup> Office of the President, CU-5, series 2, box 39: Earl to Wheeler, 3 February 1919.

<sup>44</sup> *University of California Chronicle*, Vol XXI, No 2, April 1919, 27-28. At the Regents' meeting, Regent John Britton made a point to call Wheeler's resignation voluntary but the resignation came after the Regents notice expecting him to retire.

and Henry Suzallo, President of the University of Washington.<sup>45</sup> Then in April, after departing from the funeral of his friend and University of California patron, Phoebe Apperson Hearst (mother of William Randolph Hearst who was known as the “Fair Godmother of the University” due to her many donations), Stephens died suddenly in a cable car on his way back to Berkeley while sitting next to Regent Walter Hart, and was replaced on the Advisory Committee of Deans by Ralph Merritt.<sup>46</sup>

In May, Wheeler wrote to new History Chair Bolton that he had hoped while Teggart would find a position “in the East,” he had learned Teggart had not so was planning to recommend to the Regents that he be given another year's unpaid leave for the academic year 1919-1920 “the appointment to terminate definitely on June 30, 1920.”<sup>47</sup>

---

<sup>45</sup> Lawson Papers, box 9: Louderback to Lawson, 11 March 1919.

<sup>46</sup> Merritt 38; *University of California Chronicle*, Vol XX, No 3, July 1918, 297, and Vol XXI, No 3, July 1919, 55; Barrows Memoirs, 150; and *The Abundant Life*, 14.. Stephen’s friendship was so close to Wheeler that he used to call him President “Benny Ide.” Merritt says that Wheeler’s health had been “shattered” by the “tremendous pressures and controversies of the war years.” Aristocratic by nature, Wheeler expected everyone else to call him “President Wheeler.” Stephens Memorial Student Union, now Stephens Hall, was later dedicated to Stephens. Chapman, 9, eulogizes Stephens: “he was an inspiring, stimulating man,—the greatest teacher I have ever known. There never was another Morse Stephens, and never can be, for he was unique.”

<sup>47</sup> Bolton Papers, box 122: Wheeler to Bolton, 17 May 1919; and Teggart personnel file. Hurtado, 93, citing Nisbet (1992), 153, writes that “Teggart turned down offers to teach at eastern universities, including Johns Hopkins,” but Nisbet does not speak of Teggart being given or turning down such offers. Nisbet (1992, 146) does say that Harvard looked to Teggart to start a sociology department there but it was “sometime in the late twenties.”



## Rebirth



*President Wheeler [Bancroft Library]*

After Wheeler retired on July 15, 1919, the Advisory Committee was renamed the Administrative Board to reflect the fact that it began acting as the executive body for the University while the Regents continued their search for a new president.<sup>48</sup> Replacing Wheeler was a formidable, if not impossible task. When he had arrived at Berkeley in 1899, there were 1900 students and 153 faculty members. When he retired 20 years later, there were 6980 students and 583 faculty. Student enrollment in summer session increased from 161 to 4300 over the same period. The History and Political Science Department were divided into three separate departments: History, Political Science, and Economics. Fifteen additional departments were created including Anatomy, Anthropology, Architecture, Biochemistry, Physiology, Sanskrit, and Slavic Languages. The University's interests extended well beyond the Berkeley campus, and Wheeler's pattern of promoting expansion occurred in these areas as well.<sup>49</sup>

One of the people who helped smooth the University's expansion under Wheeler was Ralph Merritt. Merritt had gained Wheeler's notice as a student when he was President of the Associated Students. San Francisco had just been hit by the Great Earthquake and was engulfed in flames, and Wheeler enlisted Merritt to serve as his messenger to Regent William Henry Crocker, who was directing relief efforts in the city. After this trial run, Wheeler selected Merritt to serve as his secretary from 1907-10. Merritt worked in the private sector for a short time afterwards, then was appointed as the first comptroller of the University from 1913-17. From 1917 to early 1919, Merritt served in an administrative role for the war effort as Food Administrator for the State before returning to the University as Comptroller. While responsible to the President and Regents, he managed the business side of the University, particularly its property and funds. He helped to establish the College of Agriculture at Berkeley after Governor Hiram Johnson sent him to study Wisconsin's College of Agriculture. Phoebe Hearst had paid for the first monumental building at Berkeley, the Mining Building, Charles Doe had provided a portion of the money for the Library but it was left unfinished pending more funds, and Jane Sather had sponsored the building of the landmark Campanile and Sather Gate, which were beautiful and added luster to Berkeley, but did not help with the need for more classrooms. Merritt orchestrated a State-wide initiative—thanks to Johnson's introduction of the initiative and referendum process—with the sponsorship of the Alumni Association for a bond issue to fund buildings. Then Merritt went around the state



*Ralph Palmer Merritt, 1923  
[Bancroft Library]*

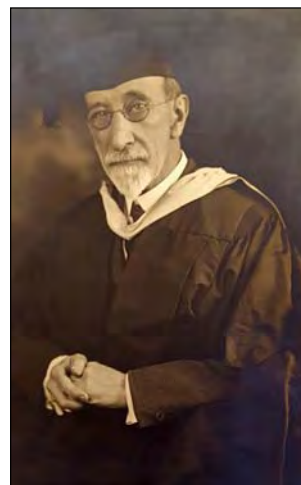
<sup>48</sup> *University of California Chronicle*, Vol XX, No 3, 55; and *Annual report of the secretary to the Board of Regents of the University of California, 1917-1921*, Sacramento: J.D. Young, Supt. State Printing, 1880-, 251-52.

<sup>49</sup> *The Abundant Life*, 7-9. In his *Reminiscences*, Chapman calls Wheeler "one of the greatest presidents in the history of American universities."

lobbying on behalf of the initiative. It passed by a long margin and provided funding for Wheeler Hall, Hildgard Hall, the Chemistry Building, and completion of Doe Library. He was also instrumental in the formation of the Giannini Foundation of Agricultural Economics at the University and the building of Giannini Hall. So while he had scant academic administrative experience, he had proven an effective leader for the University and possessed intimate knowledge of the activities of the President's office.<sup>50</sup>



*Charles Mills Gayley, 1910*



*William Carey Jones, 1922*  
[Bancroft Library]

Sidestepping his own short comings, Merritt redirects any criticism of the Administrative Board away from himself and at his two colleagues arguing that Jones and Gayley were “the type who were not politically popular in the Academic Senate” because they were not politically active. Gayley had replaced Henry as Dean of Faculties. Hatfield was the Dean who summarily dismissed Herbert Priestly from the Bancroft Library based solely on Teggart's complaint without investigation. William Cary Jones had replaced Armin Leuschner as Dean of the Graduate Division, and Stephens had replaced George Adams as Dean of Letters and Science. Adams, a Philosophy Professor and close friend of Teggart's, was active in the Academic Senate, and in and out of the University Administration throughout his career serving numerous stints as the Dean of the College of Letters and Science, the college responsible for teaching the largest proportion of undergraduate students.

In a thinly veiled-vengeful attack on the presidency of Wheeler, Teggart wrote a paper as Chairman for Productive Scholarship of AAUP in an August 1919 that “a typical university president acted arbitrarily, and with autocratic impatience with those who differ from him in opinion” (we often see in keen detail our own faults in others). Universities had become too complex for one executive to manage and in response to the conflicts which arose between faculty and the president on the one hand, permanent committees of university professors had been established. And on the other hand, there was a “growth in power and independence of the professional school or colleges.” Teggart's conclusion was that a board of deans of the schools would be more democratic, and

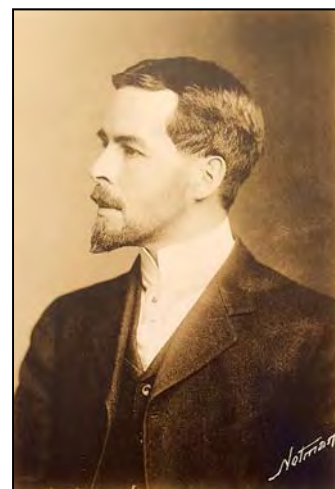
<sup>50</sup> Merritt, 15-16, 25-27, 33, 36-38, 40, 67-69, and 72. Merritt had also helped negotiate the support of E.W. Scripps along with his sister, Ellen, for funding of what would eventually become the UC San Diego, and picked the spot where UC Irvine was built. William Henry Crocker was the President of Crocker Bank.



possessed the depth of knowledge to make decisions that a president could not hope to possess.<sup>51</sup> So in his article he drew from what had occurred at the University of California a month earlier when Wheeler retired, but expanded the number of the board in his plan to be more similar to the number on the Board of Regents. Teggart's blueprint was an unrealistic plan for managing the daily affairs of a university, but it's not difficult to see the appeal to faculty of making the university more democratic and responsive to a broader body.

The war experience and the power vacuum left in the wake of Wheeler's retirement and temporary replacement by the Board of three led to a "revolt" by faculty, many of whom were newer faculty.

In late September, 64 members of the Academic Senate called for a meeting "to consider certain administrative problems affecting the University welfare."<sup>52</sup> Leaders of the faculty "revolt" included such senior faculty as Armin Leuschner, who had returned from war leave in January 1919 (as had Hatfield), Geology Professor and Dean of the College of Letters and Science, George Louderback, and Professor, Chair and Dean of Chemistry, Gilbert Lewis.<sup>53</sup> While we need to be cautious about the motivations Merritt pins to those antagonistic to the Board, he argues that Leuschner was unhappy with his inferior astronomical facilities, and Lewis was "a radical" who often challenged the administration, whomever comprised it.<sup>54</sup> This is an unusual characterization since Lewis, who had also returned from the war in January after having served in part as a Lt. Colonel in the Chemical Warfare Service of the American Expeditionary Forces (AEF) in France,<sup>55</sup> is both credited with making the Chemistry Department's national reputation as well as being its Chair and Dean of the school for several years. The faculty, led by these men and, later, Louderback's Geology colleague and returning veteran, Andrew Lawson, began lobbying the



Gilbert Lewis, 1910  
[Bancroft Library]

<sup>51</sup> Frederick J. Teggart, "As to University Presidents," *The Christian Science Monitor*, 1919. Reprinted in Grace Dangberg, *A Guide to the Life and Works of Frederick J. Teggart*. Reno, Nev: Grace Dangberg Foundation, 1983. Pages 245-247.

<sup>52</sup> Office of the President, CU-9, box 12: 64 undersigned Academic Senate members to the Secretary of the Academic Senate, 24, September 1919.

<sup>53</sup> Office of the President, CU-5, series 2, box 39: University's Budget for the Year 1919-20 Adopted by Regents; *University of California Chronicle*, XXI, No 2, 36-37, and No 3, 70-73; and Nisbet (1992), 190-92. Hatfield had served in the War Board in Washington, D.C.

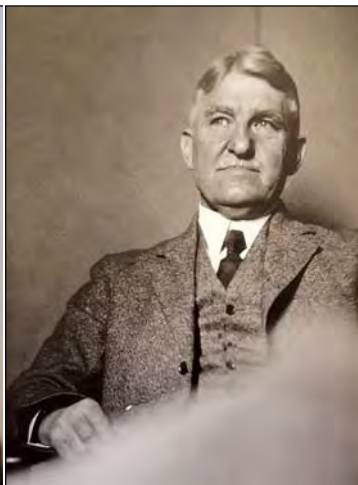
<sup>54</sup> Merritt, 33-34, and 39. In his interview, George Hildebrand said that Teggart was close friends with Gilbert Lewis, but he also said he was close with Herbert Priestley which is difficult to believe.

<sup>55</sup> *The California Chronicle*, Vol XXI, No 2, April 1919, 129-138. Lewis' Chemistry Department colleague, Joel Hildebrand gave an address on 7 February 1919 discussing his work in the First Gas Regiment of the American Expeditionary Force in France. Hildebrand detailed the various chemical gases used during the war, their effects (such as headache, nausea, temporary paralysis, temporary blindness, severe conjunctivitis, skin blistering, intense pain in the respiratory tract, lesions and secondary infections of the lining of the air passages, temporary insanity, or rapid death), and tactical issues related to how quickly the gases would dissipate so an area could be occupied. Lt. Col. Lewis was chief of the Defense Division and initiated a program to train officers on these and other issues beyond the importance of quickly putting on gas masks. Before the AEF, Lewis was Chief of the Division of Planning and Statistics of the War Industries Board in Washington, D.C. (Office of the President, CU-5, series 2, box 39: "University's Budget for Year 1919-20 Adopted by Regents," 13 May 1919).

Regents directly but while the Regents negotiated, they forestalled any final decisions as they searched for a new president.<sup>56</sup>



Henry Hatfield, 1936



Armin Otto Leuschner, 1924



George Louderback, 1939 [Bancroft Library]

Hatfield, Leuschner, Adams, Louderback, and Lawson were also all members of a by-invitation-only faculty club known as the Kosmos Club. William Ritter, who Teggart had corresponded with prior to his first trip to the East Coast, was an honorary member of the Kosmos Club because he resided in Southern California. So Kosmos Club members were both inside and, temporarily out, of the administration, several of whom had recently returned from war service, and were now leaders of the faculty “revolt” with the notable exception of Gilbert Lewis.<sup>57</sup>

Wheeler and Stephens had never belonged to the Kosmos Club. They both possessed magnetic personalities, irrespective though no-doubt aided by their administrative positions, which led to social groups from students to colleagues to gather around them regularly—they were their own *de facto* clubs (Stephens's funeral was held on the Faculty Glade outside of the Faculty Club which

<sup>56</sup> Lawson Papers, Louderback to Lawson, 4 December 1919; Barrows Memoirs, 15; and *University of California Chronicle*, XXI, Vol 3, 74.

<sup>57</sup> Kosmos Club Records, box 1. Nisbet, who was not at the University until the 1930s, draws our attention to members of the Kosmos Club and the “revolt”. He mistakenly places Gilbert Lewis in the Kosmos Club, but he was not, at least not from 1915-21 according to the Kosmos Club records. An E. Percival Lewis (Physics), and Clarence L. Lewis (Philosophy) and was a member of the fraternity of faculty who returned from war leave in January 1919) were, however. *Percival* Lewis delivered a speech at a meeting of the Club on September 2, 1912 on “The University and the President,” though we don't have any details about the speech. It is likely that in stories Nisbet heard as a Kosmos Club member himself from at least 1946-50 when some members from 1919-20 were still active such as Arthur Brodeur, Stuart Daggett, H.M. Evans, Francis Foote, Baldwin Woods, and Benedict Raber he simply got confused about Lewis' identity. Nisbet never identified himself as a member of the Kosmos Club, and stated it was comprised of a “small but powerful group of faculty, numbering some of the university's finest scientists, scholars and teachers, arose, led by...and others of equal luster... No administrators, not even the president, were eligible for membership.” Neither of these points were strictly true. Nisbet, for example, was an Assistant Dean when elected. In 1919 two other Kosmos Club Members, George Noyes and Charles Kofoid were, however, two examples of the University's finest scholars being responsible for helping to develop the respective Departments of Slavic Languages and Zoology as premier institutions—both had returned from war leave in January 1919. Nisbet is also in error in stating that one of the results of the revolt was that the Academic Senate was created. It was already in existence as far back as 1901. Adams had been the Kosmos Club President in 1915-16. Other members of the Kosmos Club who had returned from war leave not mentioned elsewhere included Leonard Bacon, F.P. Gay, and B.M. Wood. Ritter, whose work at the University of California centered at the Scripps Institution of Oceanography in Southern California at La Jolla was an honorary member of the Kosmos Club beginning in the 1919-20 academic year. (he was listed as “emeritus” in 1916-17 and 1918-19, but not listed 1915-16 and 1917-18)

was reported as the lead story and pictured on the front page of the *San Francisco Chronicle* where the attendees were reported to have numbered 4000).<sup>58</sup>

The Kosmos Club was started in fall 1901 by a Zoology instructor Harry Beal Torrey, and limited to men "for the presence of the fair sex might interfere with the formal character of the meetings, e.g. beer and cigars or a dinner somewhere to start with." Teggart was elected to be a member in 1913 and remained an active member throughout his academic career.

Club members, the number varied from year to year but there were 36 in 1919-20, would meet one evening a month during the academic year (7 or 8 times per year) at the Faculty Club from a little after 6:00pm to 9:00 or 10:00pm, listen to a prepared talk on an academic issue by one of its members, discuss the talk, and then break into smaller social groupings and engage in informal discussion.<sup>59</sup> What's important is that the structure of club meetings provided for an extended social element for faculty of different departments, several of whom were either active in the Academic Senate and/or had experience in administration (there were 8 current or former department chairs, and 5 current or former deans who were members of the Kosmos Club during the 1919-20 academic year).<sup>60</sup>

---

<sup>58</sup> *San Francisco Chronicle*, Saturday, 19 April 1919.

<sup>59</sup> Kosmos Club Records.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid. Chemistry Professor Joel Hildebrand gave a lecture on 2 June 1919 before the Kosmos Club entitled, "University Ideals," which was reprinted in the *University of California Chronicle*, Vol XXI, No 4, October 1919, 297-308, however, it was simply about teaching in the university. "It must be recognized that the social impulse and scholastic impulse are to a certain extent mutually exclusive," Hildebrand argued, "and that the college professor is probably constitutionally inclined to underestimate the value of getting along with people, and to leave it wholly to the student to devise means of training himself in this direction." Two months after giving his talk, one of Hildebrand's former students shot him above the right eye and a Chemistry Department colleague because he had not been given a lecturer position. Although Hildebrand's injury was serious, he recovered and lived to be 101-years old (*Sacramento Union*, No 36, 5 August 1919).



On November 10, the Academic Senate elected five of its members to confer with the Regents "concerning constitution and government, etc." They were George Louderback (Chair), Andrew Lawson, Gilbert Lewis, George Adams, and Law Professor Orrin McMurray. Three of these five were Kosmos Club Members, as well as 18 of the 64 who had called for an Academic Senate meeting which started the faculty "revolt".<sup>61</sup>

It was in this atmosphere of a weakened University administration and unrest amongst the faculty, in which Kosmos Club members played a key role, that Teggart's career was saved. On November 11, 1919, the Regents appointed him Associate Professor of Social Institutions noting that he "has been hitherto *terminated* because of personal differences which arose between him and his associates in the Department. He now desires appointment at the University and has agreed that in case he re-enters its service, he will deposit his resignation with the proper officer so that in case the Regents in future consider he is unable to work with his associates, the same may be presented for such reasons only and accepted and his employment terminated immediately. It is upon this distinct understanding that the appointment of Professor Teggart be recommended." He was given a salary but not appointed to any department. Instead, the regents had decided to leave it up the next President to decide to appoint him to a specific department.<sup>62</sup>

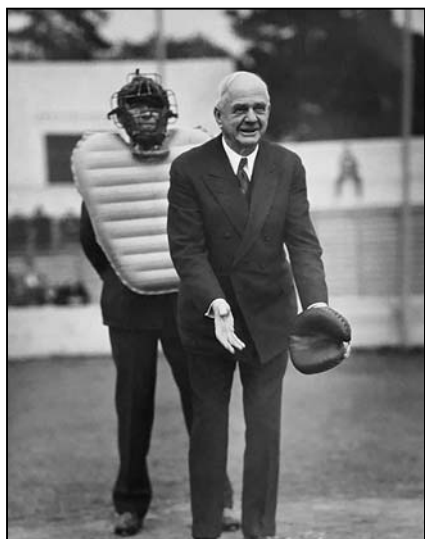
<sup>61</sup> Office of the President, CU-9, box 12: Undersigned members of the Academic Senate to the Secretary of the Academic Senate, 24 September 1919; Matters Pending in Academic Senate, 29 March 1920 (offers timeline of sorts including date of election of 5); handwritten document which includes handwritten "Election result of 5 elected" the list of which is corroborated in various other documents from this collection together with letters in Lawson Papers. See, for example, "Extract from the Minutes of the Meeting of the Academic Senate held...November 24, 1919" in which McMurray reports on meeting held with the Executive Board of the Regents where four of the five members of the Senate Committee were present, Louderback's letter to Lawson (Lawson Papers, box 9: Louderback to Lawson, 4 December 1919): "Last week, we met with the Executive Committee of matters in a very general way," and Barrows Papers, box 3: Barrows to McEnerney, 13 December 1922 which lists faculty in attendance in the 24 November 1919 meeting with the Executive Committee of the Regents as: Adams, Lewis, Louderback, and McMurray.

<sup>62</sup> Regents Meetings, box 95. Emphasis added because this word has been overlooked in prior publications.

The wording of Teggart's conditional reappointment, suggests that he had to negotiate his way back meaning he did so with an individual(s) who knew his history even though Wheeler was retired, Stephens was dead, and Barrows, as former Dean of Faculties was no longer in a position to negotiate anything on behalf of the University. So who was in a position to breathe new life into Teggart's career at the University?

Although the regular way for a social scientist like Teggart to obtain an appointment if not through a specific department should have been through the Dean of Letters and Science, followed by the Dean of Faculties, who was at the time a member of the Administrative Board, before the Regents would be asked to sign off on it, these were peculiar times. We have no reason to believe that Teggart had any connection to the Acting Dean of Letters and Science, Mathematics Professor Thomas Putnam, who filled the position after Stephens died, Teggart had important contacts in both the Administrative Board, through Ralph Merritt, as well as the Regents.<sup>63</sup>

We can derive from Teggart's later election as President of the Kosmos Club for 1920-21—which would have likely occurred shortly after his reappointment, in spring 1920—his relative popularity at the time amongst its members, but we don't know if it was related to the paper he wrote for the AAUP, his intellectual reputation, or that other trait of which Chapman reminds us about here: "...as a dining-companion I miss him very much, for I never saw his equal."<sup>64</sup> Similarly, the precise aid members of the Kosmos Club offered Teggart is unknown, but given the fragile state of the administration during the fall of 1919 it would have been invaluable.



Guy Chaffey Earl, 1933 [Bancroft Library]

Regent Rudolph Taussig, as mentioned above, may have been instrumental in Teggart obtaining the curator position at the Bancroft Library in the first place. He served on the Board of Council for the Academy of Pacific Coast History along with Regents Guy Earl, James Moffitt, William Henry Crocker, Phoebe Hearst, and others. Teggart had, at one time, frequented the Bohemian Grove with Stephens, Ralph Merritt, and Guy Earl. Finally, Earl, who was the Chairman of the Board of Regents, and Taussig were close enough to eat lunch together daily. They would also gather at times with other Regents as well at Stephens' rooms in the faculty club and discuss University business and education more broadly. Again, none of this proves that they supported Teggart's reappointment of course, but they were in vital positions and more likely to have given him personal consideration than others.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>63</sup> *Centennial*, 50.

<sup>64</sup> Kosmos Club Records; and *Reminiscences*. For examples of more common talk titles consider in during the 1919-20 term, for example, Louderback's talk on "War Mineral Problems," or Lawson's entitled, "Observations in France and England." That same year, there were 21 Kosmos Club members in the AAUP, including Teggart, Adams, Hatfield, Louderback, Lawson amongst the 162 representatives of Berkeley at large. (*Bulletin of the American Association of University Professors* (1915-1955), Vol 11, No 1, 11).

<sup>65</sup> Merritt, 8, 70 and 72; Barrows Memoirs, 127; and "The Academy of Pacific Coast History." Merritt says that Stephens' love for the University was the only thing greater than his love for the Bohemian Club and Bohemian Grove. Stephens' camp at the Bohemian Club was named for 18<sup>th</sup> Century poet Alexander Pope's poem, "Isle of Aves"



At the time, Teggart was toying with the idea of building a sociology department by a different name and decided on the term “Social Institutions” with the help of self-styled Social Economist and former student of Bernard Moses, Jessica Blanche Peixotto.<sup>66</sup> During her graduate training, Berkeley did not have an economics department, but rather a History and Political Science Department into which economics was folded. Moses, who had been the department head, was a professor of history and political economy (he was replaced as head of the History Department by Henry Morse Stephens, shortly after Wheeler brought his old friend to California).<sup>67</sup> Peixotto’s dissertation was published in 1901 as *The French Revolution and Modern French Socialists*.<sup>68</sup> Befittingly, it was a historical political-economic study or, as the subtitle states, “a comparative study of the principles of the French Revolution and the doctrines of modern [circa 1900] French socialism.” Peixotto’s conclusion was that the Revolutionaries and Socialists held similar political theories but differed in their economics. The Revolutionaries had held a laissez-faire approach whereas Socialists believed that political freedom was reliant on economic freedom so people cannot be politically free unless they are economically free and this required equality under the law.

---

slightly modified to “The Pleasant Isle of Aves.” The Stephens’s camp was described in 1912 by guest Richard O’Connor as a centered on a “very fine modern tent set on the side of a roadway in a redwood forest. Behind this tent is an open place about 30 feet square cornered with four giant trees more than 200 feet high. The whole area is surrounded by a stockade of redwood bark. In this open place is set a great table made from the trunk of a tree. The ground is covered with redwood boughs to a depth of fur inches, the odor of this greenery giving a perpetual suggestion of a Christmas tree celebration. Beneath the hollow of one of the trees is a sunken box filled with all kinds of both cooling and healing liquors... I can imagine nothing more soothing than to loll about in this arbor on a hot August afternoon and sip tea and listen to the talk in the Home of the Interpreter.” (“First Grove Encampment of Richard O’Connor,” *Bohemian Club Library Notes* 41 [1981]: 7). David Prescott Barrows was at The Pleasant Isle of Aves when the war broke out. Taussig served as Regent until his death in 1922. Stephens and Jerome Landfield had a contract with the Faculty Club to essentially rent rooms as their residence for a term of 15 years and 9 months from September 3, 1904. The contract called for the two to make payments which would cover the construction costs of the house adjoining the original club and was transferrable to other faculty (Stephens Papers, carton 1).

<sup>66</sup> Nisbet (1992), p. 155. Months before he died, Teggart shared the long-held secret with Nisbet, “he had a twinkle in his eye” when he said, “Miss Peixotto and I decided it was best not to use Sociology as the name of the new department.” That Teggart decided something with Peixotto, who was a Jewish female is a little remarkable because besides from being a “rabid Protestant” (Chapman, 14; whether or not this was an exaggeration, Teggart was particularly proud of his relation to two cleric uncles: Dr. Abraham Hume, Canon of Chester Cathedral, Cheshire, England, and the Reverend James Elliott, Dean of Ardmore, County Down, Ireland (Teggart personnel file)), “antifeminist to the core” (or misogynist? Nisbet (1979), 77) and anti-Semitic (Sproul Papers, box 1: Miss Margaret (Prof) Hodgen, 11, November 1940). But then again, Peixotto’s female student turned out to be the person he worked with longest absent of deep-seated animosity in his career. Though this may be simply because he never felt threatened by her.

<sup>67</sup> H.R. Hatfield, “Jessica Blanche Peixotto,” in *Essays in Social Economics in Honor of Jessica Peixotto*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1935, 5-14; *Reminiscences*; and *Economics at the University of California Berkeley, 1871-1942*, Compiled by Ira B. Cross, Berkeley, [1965?], 4. The Departments of Economics was created in 1902, Political Science in 1903. Moses was chair of both the separated history and political science departments until 1904 when Stephens took over as chair of History.

<sup>68</sup> In an extremely brief review of Peixotto’s work, a reviewer who signed only as A.W.S. wrote: “The method is so ruthlessly objective, the analysis is so utterly undiluted with personal preference, that it would be notable in a man. The constituents of this Journal may be trusted not to misunderstand the remark that it is even more remarkable in a woman. (A.W.S. review of *The French Revolution and Modern French Socialism* in *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol 7, No 5, (March 1902), 706-07).



Jessica Blanche Peixotto  
[Bancroft Library]

President Wheeler, who was a friend, had suggested Peixotto put her degree to use by teaching at Berkeley. She started by teaching a course on “contemporary socialism” as a Lecturer in Sociology in 1903 or 1904 in the Economics Department which had been established at the same time as History. In 1907 she was appointed Assistant Professor of Sociology, then in 1911 her title changed, reflecting a change in her scholarly trajectory, to Assistant Professor of Social Economics, and was promoted to Professor of Social Economics by 1917. Her work, and others who joined her in the sub-discipline as lecturer, professors—most important of whom was Lucy Stebbins, and affiliated faculty to teach social economics, was both sociological and oriented towards social work. Regardless of whether she applied the term sociology or social economics to her work, Peixotto's taught courses such as *Contemporary Theories of Social Reform*, *History of Social Reform Movements*, *Poverty*, *Modern Constructive Philanthropy*, *Care of Dependents*, *The Child and State*, *Crime as a Social Problem*, and *household as an Economic Agent*. Her research centered on income and spending, including

a study of 96 faculty households at Berkeley in 1922, and work associated with the research fund she helped established through the sponsorship of Clara Hellman Heller. Peixotto left her mark by developing what hard scientists call translational science, directly bridging research over to practices that help people. She developed a graduate program combining social science, psychology and practical experience in welfare agencies. She retired in 1935, and Social Economics died as a sub-discipline in the department of Economics after Stebbins retired in 1939, but Peixotto and Stebbins' work laid the foundation for a Department (established in 1940) and School of Social Welfare.<sup>69</sup>

Whatever path he decided to negotiate for his career, Teggart would have to go directly to the next president. Although Merritt was an early favorite to be chosen as the new president, he felt that the University needed an academic as president. No doubt the emerging Academic Senate “revolt” running through the University while he was on the Administrative Board solidified his feelings. In October 1919, Merritt had written to the Regents explaining that he wanted to focus on his duties as Comptroller and that discussion of his being likely appointed as president was leading

<sup>69</sup> *Economics at the University of California Berkeley*: 4-5; Milton Chernin, James Leiby, and Beryl Godfrey, “School of Social Welfare,” in *Centennial*, 76-77; and *General Catalog*. Economics Department professor and chronicler, Ira Cross, states she was appointed as Lecturer of Sociology in 1903 and this was changed to Lecture of Socialism in 1904 though changed back to Sociology in 1906 and remained so through her appointment as Assistant Professor of Sociology until 1911. Henry Hatfield states simply that she began teaching in January 1904 as a Lecturer of in Sociology. Clara Hellman Heller was the daughter of California's most prominent banker, Isaias Wolf Hellman, a Jew who emigrated from Bavaria as a 17-year old, and became one of the most important bankers in the US, certainly the most prominent in the West, during his lifetime. Clara married Emanuel Heller, her father's lawyer and University of California graduate. After Isaias Heller helped merged one of his four banking interests, the Nevada Bank with Wells Fargo Bank in 1905, Clara served as the first female director at Wells Fargo-Nevada National Bank. Isaias was a regent of the University from 1894-1918. (*In Memoriam Isaias Hellman*, San Francisco: Privately Printed by John Henry Nash, 1921).

him to "personal and painful embarrassment" so forcefully requested that they publically state he was not being considered, which they did.<sup>70</sup>

With Merritt out of the running for the presidency, David Prescott Barrows became the new favorite and Merritt was one of his greatest supporters. Barrows had experience as a colonial administrator creating American standards of education in the Philippines, he had served as the number two administrator at the University, the Dean of Faculties, and most recently had experience during the Great War as an Army officer so appeared to be a good fit for the position. As Comptroller, Merritt knew David Prescott Barrows when the latter had served as Dean of Faculties, and he filled in for Barrows for a couple of weeks while he purportedly went off to join Pancho Villa in battle. Merritt had also gone to Officer's Training Camp with Barrows at the Presidio in San Francisco during the war.<sup>71</sup>

Barrows was relatively close to Wheeler whom he had first met in the summer of 1900 at a talk the University President was giving in San Diego when he expressed to the President his desire to "get into some form of wider service." Wheeler wrote to Bernard Moses, who was both Barrows' former teacher and one of the five commissioners of the Taft Commission appointed by President McKinley in June to organize a civil administration in the Philippines. Before the end of the year, Barrows was in the Philippines serving as Superintendent of Manila City Schools initially, then Director of Education for much of the period 1900-1910, though he taught at Berkeley in spring 1907 about the people of the Philippines and ethnology of British Malaya at Wheeler's request. He was appointed as Professor of Education in 1910, then Professor of Political Science, and served as Dean of Faculties starting in 1913 before he left again around 1916 to join the Belgian Relief Commission. He returned to serve as the Dean of Faculties in fall 1916 before going on military leave during the Great War in May 1917.<sup>72</sup> When he returned to Berkeley in 1919, his office was on the same floor of Wheeler Hall as Teggart's.<sup>73</sup>

Meanwhile, the committee of five chosen to represent the Academic Senate met with Executive Committee of the Regents. The Executive Committee consisted of the Chair of the Board of Regents, Guy Earl, and the chairs of each committee of the Regents. The faculty pushed for the right to communicate directly with the Regents through a standing committee. The Regents, however, were skeptical, they felt that this would create conflict between the President and the Academic Senate, but said they were inclined to defer the decision to the President when he was appointed.<sup>74</sup>

---

<sup>70</sup> Merritt, 34, and 40-42; and Merritt Papers, Merritt to the Executive Committee of the Board of Regents, 7 October 1919. Also in 1919, Merritt served as a catalyst for the creation of UCLA by convincing first Regents Earl, Taussig and two other regents of the value of what he would later designate as the "Southern Branch of the University of California." He chose this denominative in preparation for a successful lobbying effort to the State Legislature. Merritt was himself appointed regent in 1924.

<sup>71</sup> Merritt, 42.

<sup>72</sup> Barrows Memoirs, 41-42, 45, 107, 112, and 137; and Barrows Papers, box 3: Barrows to Costo, 1 September 1920. Taft would later be appointed Governor of the Philippines, would be President of the US and then Chief Justice.

<sup>73</sup> Barrows Papers, box 3: Barrows to Wheeler, 23 July 1919. Teggart's office was in room 413; Barrows lectured in Wheeler Hall and his office was located in room 432.

<sup>74</sup> Andrew Lawson Papers, box 9: Louderback to Lawson, 4 December 1919.



Less than a month after Teggart's reappointment was approved by the Regents and in the midst of the Academic Senate fight—disproportionately represented by Kosmos Club members—for more control over the University's Administration vis-a-vis the President, David Prescott Barrows was appointed President of the University on December 3, but the appointment was backdated to December 1.<sup>75</sup> Teggart's new boss was now Barrows.

Although Teggart had an appointment, without a department he had no stable budget, so he tried to get help in February 1920 from John Merriam, the new Dean of Faculties who had returned from war leave a year earlier and was a fellow Kosmos Club member.<sup>76</sup> Their discussion was not documented. Chapman says that Teggart attempted to get appointments in the Departments of Philosophy, Anthropology, Geography, and Political Science, all on the theory that he was so well-equipped with universal knowledge that he could serve as an expert in any field. Teggart was after all beholden to no single discipline but rather felt he was creating a new "study of man."<sup>77</sup>

Academic Senate members met several times throughout the remainder of the academic year, including March 8, 31, and April 20, 1920, in sessions referred to as "faculty forums" where arcane matters of how the University should be run were discussed and Teggart was an active participant.<sup>78</sup> In November, the Academic Senate's Committee on Courses of Instruction recommended to President Barrows that a Department of Social Institutions should be created. The motion had been made by J. Frank Daniel, another Kosmos Club member, and seconded by Eugene McCormac (a longtime ally of Teggart's and also member of the Kosmos Club). Teggart was on the committee as well being one of 5 of the 9 members in total who were Kosmos Club members (including George Adams, who served as Committee Chair, and Leuschner; a sixth member, French Professor L.M. Turner, was elected to the Kosmos Club the following February.<sup>79</sup>

This was apparently just a gambit for Teggart though because a month later he requested that Barrows appoint him to one of the two recently vacated positions in the Political Science Department after pointing out the Committee on Courses's recommendation:

My own desires and ambitions may be briefly stated. I have written two books which have received the highest approval from competent critics. These books represent the application of scientific method to the study of institutions, and more particularly to Government Institutions. I am very anxious to pursue this line of work, and have my plans mapped out for several years...<sup>80</sup>

His plans included morphing the Historical Geography course he had taught in the History Department into Political Geography and, similarly, the Theory of History to Political Theory.<sup>81</sup>

---

<sup>75</sup> Barrows Memoirs, 150.

<sup>76</sup> Office of the President, CU-5, series 2, box 47: Teggart to Merriam, 27 February 1920. Ibid, 36-37, and Vol XXI, No 3, 74, 80.

<sup>77</sup> *Reminiscences*.

<sup>78</sup> Office of the President, CU-5, series 2, box 47: Secretary, Forums to President Barrows, 6 April 1920, and Secretary to Barrows 22 April 1920; and Barrows Memoirs, 152-53.

<sup>79</sup> Kosmos Club Records; University's Budget for the Year 1919-20 Adopted by Regents; and *University of California, Officers and Students, 1920-21*, 10.

<sup>80</sup> Office of the President, CU-5, series 2, box 47: Teggart to Barrows, 10 December 1920.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid.

Teggart had picked the right person to sway even though, according to Chapman, Barrows had sworn never to let Teggart into Political Science. Barrows had received his training, along with classmate Peixotto, in Bernard Moses' tribrid History and Political Science Department, and was part historian, anthropologist, and political scientist so who was he to question Teggart's fluid academic posturing. Teggart's good fortunes continued: Political Science Chair, Thomas Reed, agreed and the Regents approved Teggart's appointment as Professor of Social Institutions in the department beginning in the 1920-21 academic year.<sup>82</sup>

Although Teggart had found a new home he was unsatisfied and had new scores to settle. In response to a query from the same J. Frank Daniel, who also served on the Academic Senate's Executive Committee of the Faculty of Letters and Sciences, if there was a way the Committee could serve the group of Humanistic Studies, Teggart first took aim at Franz Boas' student, Anthropology Department Chair, Alfred Kroeber. Teggart said Kroeber held that Anthropology is not a science, and didn't have a "scientific aim." He continued, Kroeber "objects to men on the ground that they do 'believe in' Evolution." and is opposed to the idea of 'Evolution'." Teggart also objected to physical geographer and Geography Department Chair, Rulif S. Holway, being in the position to appoint faculty in the then new field of human geographer because he knew nothing about the field, as Teggart wrote: "I speak on this subject from direct personal knowledge." Finally, he took aim at his old foes in the History Department: Chair Bolton, Priestley, and Chapman arguing that "Spanish-American" history should not be taught as "History", but should "set up the local history group as an entity separate from the department of History." Philosophy Department Chair, George Adams was spared.<sup>83</sup>



Herbert Priestley and Herbert Bolton  
[Bancroft Library]

Teggart's attack on Kroeber is particularly interesting because he himself had been a critic of Darwin for at least a decade. His attack is based largely on Kroeber's review of Teggart's *Prolegomena*. In his review, Kroeber argues that "the mere employment of the comparative method has obviously been insufficient to put history on a status at par with the recognized science"; and "There is scarcely an ethnologist in this country, in France, or in Germany, who does not believe the narrow, simple method of the classic evolutionary school to be sterile. That nevertheless only this school has been able to impress with its existence sincere students in allied branches, as well as the public, argues that it alone has consistently attempted or professed to solve wider problems."<sup>84</sup>

Meanwhile, Barrows claimed that when he came back to the University in 1919 "having been in the Army, where

<sup>82</sup> Ibid: Barrows to Teggart, 15 December 1920; and *Reminiscences*. According to Chapman, Barrows said he would let Teggart into the Political Science Department "over my dead body."

<sup>83</sup> Louderback Papers, box 26: Teggart to Daniel, 3 April 1921. The people Teggart was attacking were all in the School of Letters and Science when Louderback was serving as the school's dean having replaced Merriam.

<sup>84</sup> A.L. Kroeber review of *Prolegomena*, *American Anthropologist*, Vol 19, No 1 (1917), 68-70)

authority is necessarily autocratic, and I suppose it was thought I would carry this system into academic administration."<sup>85</sup> The problem was not that he was too firm, rather he was seen as too weak and inconsistent.<sup>86</sup> Wheeler had wielded tremendous authority and respect over the 20 years of his administration so any successor would have faced a difficult transition. The faculty "revolt" and the fact that the Regents had opened the door to changes then handed the issue over to Barrows only made it more difficult. He told Merritt: "President Wheeler was a man everybody respected and everybody recognized the greatness of his position. They just push me around and I have to fight my way with everybody. I'm in trouble all the time."<sup>87</sup> Barrows believed the faculty had two goals connected to their belief that they should have more input in University governance: to "control appointments and promotions, and prepare the University budget." The changes the Academic Senate, President, and Regents finally settled on were that the institution of standing committees, originally proposed by Gilbert Lewis, particularly the Committee on the Budget and Interdepartmental Relations, often shortened to "Budget Committee," would hold discussions and make decisions on appointments and promotions independent of the President. Barrows accepted this as a compromise after not agreeing to faculty interference in fiscal matters, and since he was not bound by the faculty's decisions, the committees continued to be advisory.<sup>88</sup>

What upset Barrows most was disputes over fiscal matters with the Regents, particularly the Chairman of the Finance committee, Guy Earl, who was also the Executive Committee Chair, and some of its members. Barrows felt his views were "suppressed" on several University issues. One such issue was the location of a medical school. He felt the medical school should be integrated with the pre-medical programs at Berkeley—similar to how the programs were linked at Johns Hopkins University which he had studied in person—rather than be located in San Francisco, but was overruled by Regents who disagreed due to various interests in San Francisco. Barrows also ran into opposition from Comptroller Merritt and the Regents over the building of a stadium and student housing and felt his opinions were squashed. The final dispute with the Regents was over his



David Prescott Barrows [Bancroft Library]

<sup>85</sup> Barrows Memoirs, 153-55. Office of the President, CU-9, box 12, Academic Senate Meeting, 19 December 1919. Barrows had initially held that Wheeler's practice of using ad hoc faculty committees to advise him was a flexible and sufficient practice.

<sup>86</sup> Barrows Memoirs, 153; Merritt, 58; Chapman, in his *Reminiscences* say, "Barrows was utterly lacking in stability, and set the whole University by the ears"; and Directors' Files: Teggart to Bowman, 17 May 1922. After informing Bowman that Barrows has resigned, Teggart says, "the situation calls for an 'honest to goodness' male, for what has happened is that the whole machine has run away from D.P.B."

<sup>87</sup> Merritt, 58.

<sup>88</sup> Barrows Memoirs, 153-55. Office of the President, CU-9, box 12, Academic Senate Meeting, 19 December 1919. Consequently, in recognition that the "Budget Committee" is a misnomer, the other campuses created later in the University of California system typically refer to their version of it as the Committee on Academic Performance (CAP).

request to have his assistant's position elevated and salary attached to the position increased.<sup>89</sup>

The real problem for Barrows that is only evident in hindsight is that he was a man of leisure unprepared for the rigors of the office; and it may not have helped that he all too often lacks the intellectual curiosity which is the essence of an academic. "I don't understand this job of being President of the University," He confided in Merritt. "President Wheeler used to come to the office every morning about ten o'clock and he'd stay until about twelve and then he'd go to lunch in the Faculty Club and three out of five afternoons in the week he'd play golf with you and with somebody else. He went out to dinners at night. It was a pleasant and apparently easy life."<sup>90</sup> In September, 1919, before becoming president, Barrows wrote to an officer he knew from his service with the AEF stating forthrightly: "I propose to devote" my life "to the study of our foreign relations and the actual political conditions in the countries where our interests are involved. I am going to travel a great deal and Mrs. Barrows hopes to accompany me..."<sup>91</sup> He knew how to exploit his various positions to maximum advantage: bringing his wife and university-aged children with him while an officer serving overseas, sharing his superior's yacht on a voyage to the Southern Philippines with his wife and daughter—"it was a real holiday," he wrote Stephens, enjoying the lavish Dutch colonial *rijsttafel* in which no less than 16 Javanese boys paraded food to his table in Jakarta, and supervising a corps of Belgian colonial administrators, apparently home after a stint in the Congo, while residing with his wife in a palatial residence as a member of the Commission for Relief in Belgium. He interviewed the man he recognized as captured President of the Philippine Republic, Emilio Aguinaldo, but does not discuss the issue of Philippine independence; and witnessed the poverty of Japanese women passing small baskets coal up a line, one at a time to refuel ships at Nagasaki, and the "Japanese toilers" who mined the coal "working practically naked in the underground heat" at Hashima but still does not delve beneath the superficial observations.<sup>92</sup>

So it should not be surprising in retrospect that by 1921 he was wishing only for "freedom—and all it would bring of relief and opportunity—the chance for travel, exploration, study, writing and perhaps the production of a real philosophy."<sup>93</sup> Barrows sent the Regents his resignation in May 1922, but did not actually retire until June 1923.<sup>94</sup>

After informing the Regents of his desire to retire, an inconsistent Barrows also decided to move Teggart out of his department before he returned to it full-time. While we cannot say if he had

---

<sup>89</sup> Barrows Memoirs, 155-59; and Barrows Papers, box 3: Barrows to Rowell, 15 December 1922. Though the letter to Rowell mostly concerns the handing over the presidency to his successor, Barrows notes to the Regent "the Finance

<sup>90</sup> Merritt, 58.

<sup>91</sup> Barrows Papers, box 3: Barrows to Landon, 17 September 1919. Colonel E. Landon was an Adjutant General of the AEF in East Siberia (Barrows Memoirs, 143).

<sup>92</sup> Ibid, box 2: Barrows to the Quartermaster General, Washington, D.C., 6 March 1928, and carton 3: "Notes on the Dutch East Indies, 1909."; Stephens Papers, box 1: Barrows to Stephens, 4 January 1918; and Barrows Memoirs, 42, 52, and 127-37. Aguinaldo was unwilling to discuss politics with Barrows, instead, he provided the curious Barrows ethnographic information about the mountain peoples he had lived with while hiding from American forces. Barrows' paper on Bolshevism which appeared in *The University of California Chronicle*, Vol XXI, No 4, October 1919, 309-330, is an exception to the rule showing a passion for a subject and suggestive of the strength of the intelligence he was able to gather but unable to effectively use.

<sup>93</sup> Barrows Papers, carton 4: Barrows' 1921 diary (day not given).

<sup>94</sup> Ibid, box 3: Barrows to General Churchill, 1 October 1919, and Barrows to The MacMillan Company, 17 July 1919; and Barrows Memoirs, 153-59.

done so at the request of the Committee on Courses, due to Teggart's own request, or for his own reasons—Chapman maintains (speculates?) that Barrow did this because Teggart had again plotted to become head of that department, in the end it comes as no surprise that Barrows recommended the Department of Social Institutions be created, and Teggart's appointment be transferred there beginning in the 1922-23 academic year. Barrows also appointed Teggart chair of the department.<sup>95</sup> It is notable that when the Regents approved of Teggart's move to his new department they stated that in the "absence of a budget provision for a Department of Social Institutions," the funds would come from and as a sacrifice to the Political Science Department.<sup>96</sup>

Teggart reluctantly, given his ego, reconciled himself to not being in an established department because it gave him independence and control. Once ensconced as chair of his own department, Teggart was able to avoid the sort of conflicts he created at the Bancroft, the History and possibly Political Science Departments, but only because he was the indisputable boss. Still, he continued to undermine his own intellectual influence throughout his career through his inability to work for more than a few years with nearly anyone, and by limiting his mentoring of graduate students, which is an essential part of an academic's worth. He started the Department of Social Institutions with Nicholas Spykman, a newly minted Political Science, Social Institutions, and Economics Ph.D. who served that first semester as Teggart's teaching assistant before being promoted to instructor the following year, but Spykman left after less than two years for an appointment as an Assistant Professor of International Relations at Yale University.<sup>97</sup> Teggart's second faculty hire, Margaret Hodgen, had been Jessica Peixotto's student. Hodgen had a resilience beyond anyone else Teggart would appoint to the Social Institutions faculty, and remained beyond his retirement. The other female member of the department, Grace Dangberg, held a bachelor's degree and served as a teaching assistant from 1927-1932. In her last two years, Dangberg taught on migrations as a "laboratory or tutorial course," according to Hodgen. In the Acknowledgments section for his *Rome and China*, Teggart thanked Dangberg for her assistance in "bringing together data." She was the second longest serving regular-member of the department under Teggart. Joseph Schneider followed a similar pattern to Spykman, ten years later. After only a short stint in Social Institutions he grew concerned that Teggart was too domineering and held back the department from expanding so he left to accept a position at the University of Minnesota. Lastly, after obtaining his Ph.D., Henry Hoag Frost, Jr. taught alongside Teggart from 1936-1939, but seems to have then dropped out of academia altogether afterwards. There was one other faculty member in the department during this period, Guy Montgomery who was an English professor but held an affiliate appointment in Social Institutions from 1928 through as late as 1935 (records for academic years 1933-34 and 1934-35 are missing).<sup>98</sup> Recall Teggart never obtained a degree above his bachelor's

---

<sup>95</sup> *Reminiscences*; Office of the President, CU-5, series 2, box 13: Executive Secretary to Teggart, 11 May 1923, and box 101: Regents Meeting, 12 September 1922.

<sup>96</sup> Regents Meeting, Box 101: Regents Meeting, Tuesday, 12 September 1922. Barrows had continued to teach

<sup>97</sup> Frederick J. Teggart, "In Memoriam: Nicholas John Spykman, 1893-1943, *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 49, No. 1 (Jul., 1943), 60.

<sup>98</sup> *General Catalog*; *Officers Students*; Hildebrand interview; and Kosmos Club Records. *Officers and Students* does not capture Guy Montgomery's work in Social Institutions because it was not his primary appointment. Montgomery served as Secretary for the Kosmos Club from 1928-34. His first year teaching in the department, he taught *The Idea of Progress in the Eighteenth Century*. After this year he either taught *The Idea of Progress in the Seventeenth Century* by itself or in addition to *The Idea of Progress*. All these courses appear to focus on lessons learned from English and French literature, and in his *Idea of The Idea of Progress* course, the period study went through the nineteenth century. Nisbet (1992) states that Teggart taught his introductory course, *Idea of Progress*, from 1923-1939 (except 1931-32) in 312 Wheeler Hall, which could only seat 200 students, preferring the acoustics and aesthetics of the classroom, not

degree in English from Stanford yet continued to help decide who should and should not be awarded a Ph.D. Social Institutions awarded only 8 or 9 Ph.D. degrees in the 20-year period from 1920-1940. By comparison, Teggart's nemesis Herbert Bolton had 14 graduate students earn their Ph.D.s in his first 10 years as a professor.<sup>99</sup>

Sociology was a relatively new field, and as both a critic of all the social sciences and ostracized from the History and Political Science Departments, it appears that Teggart was hoping to define his alternative version with the label Social Institutions by himself. Spykman was assigned to teach an upper-division introductory sociology course. When he left, Hodgen taught it next, and the burden of teaching it would be pushed off onto whomever was the junior faculty member throughout Teggart's time as chair of the department. Teggart would never teach sociology himself and was dismissive of it as a discipline.<sup>100</sup> Yet, ironically, all but two of the not numerous graduate students trained in Social Institutions wrote their dissertations on sociology subjects, and obtained positions in sociology departments throughout the country. Visiting professors who came to the department were also sociologists.<sup>101</sup>

When he was nearing retirement, Teggart admitted what anyone not directly involved could clearly realize, that Social Institutions was a hybrid, history and sociology, department.<sup>102</sup> In a review of Teggart's work a year after his retirement in 1940, a Wisconsin Sociologist, Howard Becker, wrote: "Teggart's steadfast refusal to apply a label more definite than 'social institutions' to his department at Berkeley seems a bit lone-wolfish. Always an isolated figure among historians, most of whom appreciated neither his methodological finesse and erudition nor his assault on their cherished foibles, he deprived himself of valuable allies among sociologists." Becker identified Teggart as a historical sociologist.<sup>103</sup>

---

to mention it was only a few steps from his office on the fourth floor of the building—it's ironic that after his academic career was revived, Teggart spent it in the building named after the person who wanted him to have nothing more to do with the University. Teggart actually handed over the course to Montgomery for 1930-31 and 1931-32 terms while he taught a new course, *History of Civilization*, before taking back the introductory course and renaming it *Progress and Civilization* beginning the 1932-33 term. This may be why Montgomery eventually stopped teaching in Social Institutions.

<sup>99</sup> The list of Ph.D.s for Social Institutions may not be conclusive as the General Catalog for 1933, 1935, and 1938 is not available. However, I assume Joseph Schneider earned his degree in 1933 and Henry Hoag Frost earned his in 1935 because they both began teaching in the Department the following year and had their Ph.D.s at that time. The other Social Institutions Ph.D.s include Pardaman Singh in 1922 (his Ph.D. was also in Political Science), Nicholas John Spykman in 1923 (also in Economics and Political Science), Vernon Guy Sorrell in 1929 (also in Economics), Gladys Bryson in 1930 (also in Political Science), and in 1940, Robert Nisbet and John McKenzie Foscett. William Burton Chernin's dissertation, "The German Historical School of Economics," was approved in 1933, but given the title may have been in Economics or Social Institutions. In his interview, Bock listed all the Ph.D.s listed here except for Singh, Sorrell, Chernin, and Foscett. Bock received his MA (1942) and Ph.D. (1948) after Teggart retired. Social Institutions awarded as few as 6 terminal masters degrees over this period.

<sup>100</sup> *General Catalog*.

<sup>101</sup> Edward W. Strong, *Philosopher, Professor and Berkeley Chancellor, 1961-1965*: oral history transcript; interviews conducted by Harriet Nathan in 1988. Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 1992, accessed online at <http://nma.berkeley.edu/ark:/28722/bk0005z3472> on August 27, 2017, 90; and Nisbet (1992), 155-56.

<sup>102</sup> Sproul Papers, Box 1.

<sup>103</sup> Howard Becker, review of *Prolegomena to History*, and *Theory and Processes of History* by Frederick J. Teggart in the *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 6, No. 5 (Oct., 1941), pp. 731-736.

According to Robert Nisbet who was one of his undergraduate students, Teggart was a popular lecturer who learned how to perform through his involvement in the amateur theater circles of San Francisco:

He lectured from brief, penciled notes on a single sheet of paper. I learned later, when I was his graduate assistant in the course, that he prepared these during the hour or two before his lecture. In some teachers this can make for thinness, anecdotalism, a preponderance of rhetoric over substance. It didn't for Teggart. He had remarkable powers of recall while on his feet, and he seemed to have no difficulty whatever in building his spare, telegraphic notes into sentences and paragraphs which, from both style and content, might have been prepared word for word in advance. I once asked him why, in order to save energy, he hadn't spent some early year typing his lectures for reuse. All he said was, "Never type your lectures; you and the students will both be their slaves."<sup>104</sup>

Students who obtained undergraduate degrees in Social Institutions during Teggart's career, a time when life in America was still overwhelmingly rural, was lopsidedly female. In 1928, 7 women and 0 men received their bachelors in the department; in 1929, 12 women and 1 man; 1936 had 8 women and 1 man; and in 1939 there were 10 women and 1 man. This trend changed to be more even after Teggart retired so that by 1950 the ratio evened out to 7 women and 7 men though the mix would of course vary from year to year.<sup>105</sup> It may have been a reaction both positive and negative to the fact that the other long-term faculty member, Hodgen, was female, or some reason less obvious.

In his 1939 work, *Rome and China: A Study of Correlations in Historical Events*, utilizing English, German, French and Italian sources, but no Chinese sources even in translation, Teggart finally employed the theoretical historical methods he had been championing throughout his life. In this work, he argued that interruptions in trade led to conflicts during a 165-year period of his study in antiquity, but its reception in academia was mixed. Typical favorable reviews were uncritical summaries of Teggart's argument.<sup>106</sup> Former Teggart undergraduate student, the economist George Hildebrand, being the most schooled in Teggart's approach to history, spends much of his review going over its merits before uncritically summarizing the methodology employed in the work. As an economist, though, Hildebrand ends his review with the question: "Has not economic theory contributed considerably to our knowledge of the processes of economic change, even granting the logico-mathematical and non-historical character of the conceptual schemes which it employs? In other words, is Teggart's approach necessarily a substitute for much of the work already done in the social sciences, as the whole of his writing suggests, or is it to be viewed as a possibly fruitful alternative path to knowledge about man?"<sup>107</sup>

---

<sup>104</sup> Nisbet (1979), 73.

<sup>105</sup> *University of California Register* at <http://digitalassets.lib.berkeley.edu/generalcatalog/>

<sup>106</sup> See, for example, W. Perceval Yetts, review of *Rome and China* in *The Journal of the Royal Asian Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, No 1 (Jan, 1942), 52-53; and John L. Myers in *The Classical Review*, Vol 56, No 1 (Mar, 1942), 42-43.

<sup>107</sup> George H. Hildebrand, Jr. in *American Sociological Review*, Vol 5, No 5 (October 1940), 822-825.

Other reviewers often praise Teggart's research, but criticize his writing style and conclusions.<sup>108</sup> Frederic Lane, a medieval historian from Johns Hopkins University, for example, says, "Concerning the existence of a correspondence between wars in the East and invasions in the West, Teggart's demonstration leaves much to be desired. Any attempt at smooth flowing narrative is avoided, as inappropriate to historical *science*, yet the form of presentation adopted requires the reader to do some painful analysis himself in order to be sure just what constituted each of the 'forty occasions on which uprisings took place in Europe.'" R.F. Arragon was concerned how descriptive classifications, fundamental to Teggart's thesis, could change from page to page so that "war" in one instance, becomes "outbreak", and "uprising" in another.<sup>109</sup> Related to this criticism, C. Martin Wilbur, a China historian at the Field Museum of Natural History, who while applauding Teggart for his "meticulous presentation of detail," complains that he "fails to indicate clearly which, among the welter of invasions, uprisings, punitive operations, and defensive measures in Europe, were separate occurrences" and of his oversimplification "of a very complex situation."<sup>110</sup> Writing a review appearing in *The Far Eastern Quarterly*, Earl H. Pritchard says that without "clearly discernible cycles of peace and war spreading from one region to the other" there is not "the slightest justification for hypothesizing a correlation between the events."<sup>111</sup> Finally, Harvard Sociology's founder, Pitirim Sorokin, introduced *Rome and China* as "an important study in several aspects," before arguing that "the bulk of these disturbances on all the boundaries of the Roman Empire can be accounted for by a simpler hypothesis, without invoking the highly uncertain hypothesis of the author, namely, the very fact of the expansion of Roman Empire inundated larger and larger areas inhabited by tribes and, like the expansion of the British and other empires, often deprived them of their rights, territory, and possessions, prohibited many of their mores, limited their freedom, imposed heterogeneous regulations, and often killed and uprooted them. Under such circumstances, it would be miraculous if these tribes did not 'revolt.'"<sup>112</sup>

Dangberg and Hodgen were uncritical admirers standing apart from Teggart's other acolytes such as George Hildebrand, Robert Nisbet, and Kenneth Bock. After he retired, Teggart continued to go to his university office daily. George Hildebrand, who had earned a minor in Social Institutions in the early 1930s, returned to teach in the department in the mid-1940s after obtaining his Ph.D. in economics at Cornell University, shared an office with Margaret Hodgen next door to Teggart's and they talked regularly. "I don't think you could accuse Teggart of teaching anybody but himself," Hildebrand recalled, he "tended to dislike anyone who was a threat to his own view." In an interview with Michael Burawoy and the latter's graduate student Jonathan VanAntwerpen, Hildebrand recalled a brief exchange he had with Teggart about W.I. Thomas. Thomas was a sociologist and social psychologist who started out at the University of Chicago (1895-1918) and collaborated with Florian Znaniecki on a pioneering methodological work dealing with immigration in five-volumes entitled *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (1918-1920). Teggart respected Thomas, according to Hildebrand who explains:

---

<sup>108</sup> Another former Teggart student, Kenneth Bock, made a side comment about Teggart's *Rome and China* work: "The book is unreadable, pick it up sometime. See he was so opposed to this artistic production of narratives that by god he was going to write something that had no luster to it at all. It's impossible to read; it's just a recitation of events." (Unpublished interview of Kenneth Bock by Michael Burawoy and Jonathan. VanAntwerpen, University of California at Berkeley, June 21, 1999.).

<sup>109</sup> R.F. Arragon in *Geographical Review*, Vol 31, No 1 (Jan, 1941), 172-173.

<sup>110</sup> C. Martin Wilbur in *The American Historical Review*, Vol 46, No 1 (Octo, 1940), 93-95.

<sup>111</sup> Earl. H. Pritchard in *The Far Eastern Quarterly*, Vol 1, No 4 (Aug, 1942), 392-396.

<sup>112</sup> Pitirim A. Sorokin, in the *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol 46, No 3 (Nov., 1940). 387-390.



He apparently knew about that book, I doubt if he had ever read it page by page, but I said, "Have you ever met W.I. Thomas? He's here in town." Teggart said, "Well, he's never been to see me. [laughs...] That's the ego."<sup>113</sup>

Nisbet, who heaped praise on Teggart saying: "I have met no one since then who has approached him in range, diversity, and depth of knowledge,"<sup>114</sup> tells us:

[A]nother quality in Teggart that I thought then, and still do, [was] largely unfortunate: his almost total dismissal of any work (much of it very good) done by contemporaries which had at least some affinity with his own contributions. His outlook on what historians and social scientists were doing was dour, to say the least, and he could be as ill-tempered about some occasional favorable acknowledgment of his ideas that I might find in my reading as he could about any criticism of them. This generally dismissive attitude toward the work of others in the scholarly world was set in a personal reclusiveness that became more and more complete during the years when I knew and saw a great deal of him.<sup>115</sup>

Although he worked primarily with Hodgen, Kenneth Bock said that Teggart was "a hard man to get along with." Bock called him "cantankerous," and that he was "the most stern, cold man I ever met."<sup>116</sup>

As much as we know about Teggart's scholarship from his writings, interactions with others, and occasional comments about his wife or children from Chapman, Stephens, Hodgen, Dangberg, Nisbet, Hildebrand, and Bock, his relationships with members of his large natal family and any impact they had on his adult life remain a mystery to us.<sup>117</sup>

---

<sup>113</sup> Hildebrand interview.

<sup>114</sup> Nisbet (1979), 73.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid, 79.

<sup>116</sup> Bock Interview.

<sup>117</sup> We know something about his natal family from his personnel records, Chapman, Nisbet, and letters to Stephens. Teggart married Adeline Margaret Barnes in 1894 at San Mateo, and they had two sons, Barnes and Richard. Barnes died in 1912. Richard, who suffered permanent injuries from a fire that burned down Teggart home in Berkeley, taught for a short while at Yale University before returning to Berkeley homesick and then worked for the University library.

### *Metamorphosis*



*Robert Gordon Sproul*

Barrows was followed by another lackluster president, William Wallace Campbell who served from 1923 to 1930. So the Regents looked to appoint the comptroller as president once again, and this time he agreed. Merritt's successor as Comptroller of the University of California, Robert Gordon Sproul, was appointed President in 1930 and his leadership skills though unique were reminiscent of Wheeler's. Monroe Deutsch was appointed at the same time as Vice President and Provost at Berkeley (a separate Vice President and Director was appointed for Los Angeles by this time). After graduating from the University of California, by an odd coincidence, Deutsch had been Sproul's high school Latin teacher at Mission High School in San Francisco. He was a Professor of Latin and had been Dean of Letters and Science.



*Monroe Deutsch*  
[Bancroft Library]

In September 1939, Teggart lobbied for Sproul not to convert his Department of Social Institutions to a more conventional sociology department after he retired at the end of the year. Sproul noted that there were others who were pushing him to take advantage of Teggart's retirement by doing just the opposite. That same day, Director Carl Alsberg of the Giannini Foundation of Agricultural Economics, discussed with Sproul the possibility of hiring Dorothy Swaine Thomas as a professor of sociology. Thomas had collaborated with W.I. Thomas who had retired and was his second wife—W.I. Alsberg was straightforward that Anthropologist Alfred Kroeber disliked her because her "approach to sociology was too statistical to be valid," but Alsberg liked her precisely because of her quantitative approach. Again, Sproul noted that he had heard different opinions on the matter so was not willing to give her a permanent appointment. She was appointed as a Lecturer in Sociology with the Giannini Foundation and was also listed in the Economics Department from fall, 1939 to January 13, 1941.<sup>118</sup>

Months earlier, with Lucy Stebbins retirement imminent, the Economics Chair and Dean of the School of Commerce, Robert Calkins, had already written Sproul suggesting that the Teggart's department be converted to a sociology department. Sproul agreed and asked Calkins to work with Charles Lipman, the Dean of the Graduate Division, to "start the ball rolling by giving me a plan and estimate of cost for such a department." Calkins and Lipman reported back in June offering a preliminary assessment and advised that a committee of representatives from the social sciences "most intimately related to sociology" be formed to draft a detailed plan for the consolidation of the Department of Social Institutions with a new sociology department.<sup>119</sup> The Budget Committee nominated the following to be on the committee: George Adams (Chair), Alfred Kroeber, Carl

<sup>118</sup> Sproul Papers, Box 1; and *University of California Register*, 1939-40.

<sup>119</sup> Office of the President, CU-5, series 4, box 32, Sproul to Calkins, 28 February 1939; and Calkins and Lipman to Sproul, 30 June 1930.

Alsberg, Eugene McCormac, and three faculty members we have not previously introduced: Frederick Paxson (History), Frank Russell (Political Science), and Carl Sauer (Geography).<sup>120</sup> Although the Committee's deliberations and others which followed were confidential and not recorded, we do have a window into the complex cacophony of arguments considered by their and other committees as well Sproul and Deutsch.

Earlier in the year, a former student of Guy Montgomery in English and Social Institutions, who was then a Professor of Sociology at the University of Indiana, wrote to him of his interest in returning to Berkeley in the event that a sociology department might be initiated. He said he was increasingly able to "appreciate more fully Mr. Teggart's sterling qualities;" then shifted gears by attacking his antiquarian approach: "I am convinced he does not know what the modern social scientist is trying to do, especially the sociologist."<sup>121</sup>

This sentiment about the aims of the modern social scientist were supported in the comments by the Chair of Northwestern University's Sociology Department, Arthur Todd, who argued vigorously for Berkeley to create a sociology department adding that a department should come before deciding on personnel, but could help there as well: "I might, for example, be able to name a single outstanding scholar in some such field as Professor Teggert's [sic], who might do very well as a one-man department, but might not be successful at organizing a cooperative group of scholars into a department or maintaining harmonious relations with other departments in the field of the social sciences and in the general body of the University." He felt that the field of sociology had matured enough to be clearly distinguishable from other fields and that the University of California may have failed to recognize this. Yet, while he understood that there might be some tension created by placing sociology curriculum under one department, he felt the specialization warranted this and proper negotiation between departments could lessen conflict.<sup>122</sup>

In the midst of the discussions about the future of the Department, Teggart sent Provost Deutsch a lengthy letter in which he argues that sociology as taught in American universities was "directly related to the demand for training which would fit individuals for position in Social Service. All departments of Sociology emphasize occupational training." He goes on to explain that sociology was initially taught at the University of California by Bernard Moses under the conglomerated department of "California History, Political Sciences, Economics, and Jurisprudence," then, after the Department of Economics was created, Jessica Peixotto developed her own sociology courses, before acknowledging that Social Institutions had become the "inheritor" of sociology courses at the University. He pointed out, however, that sociology courses were taught in several departments of the University including: Anthropology, Economics, Psychology, Jurisprudence, Political Science, Philosophy, and Agriculture, and drew implausible concern that a new department of sociology "would aspire to a new centralization" of the kind that had been broken up with the History and Political Science Department.<sup>123</sup>

Less than two weeks after suggesting a former student take over the helm of Social Institutions, Teggart changed his mind, telling Provost Deutsch that he believed his replacement should be

<sup>120</sup> Ibid: Budget Committee Minutes, 1 November 1939.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid: excerpt from letter A.B. Hollingshead to Dean Guy Montgomery, 9 February 1939.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid: Deutsch to Todd, 21 November 1939; and Todd to Deutsch, 7 December 1939.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid: Teggart to Deutsch, 8 December 1939.

Tracy Kittredge who received his bachelor's degree in Jurisprudence and History in 1912 at the University of California. He sold Kittredge's appeal based on his experience to know "both the factual side of social conditions, and the intellectual attack upon the problems which appear of first importance to students in many countries." After receiving his degree, Kittredge had studied for a couple of years at Oxford University, worked for the Commission for Relief in Belgium, then the staff for a navy admiral, served as the secretary-general for the Red Cross for 10 years, and was at that time working at the Rockefeller Foundation in Paris. However, Teggart did not explain how Kittredge's early academic interests meshed well with his own. Teggart had no doubt been privy to his correspondence with Stephens a quarter of a century earlier where he had explained his intellectual interests: "the beginning in primitive institutions—in the study of the comparative history of religions, social and legal ideas in primitive societies..."; and "prehistoric archaeology and comparative cultural anthropology... as well as the themes that have been devised to explain the early stages of social development."<sup>124</sup>

For his junior colleague, Hodgen, Teggart's retirement presented an existential crisis. She knew his reputation was all that sustained the department's independence and was insecure about talk of the department being converted to a sociology department once he left. She fought for the department's survival, railing against sociology as a discipline. In late 1939, she parroted Teggart's criticisms of sociology and his argument that it was best to avoid centralization because it would cause undue friction between departments. Where she differed was in her necessarily more urgent and insistent warnings of various issues such as the cost that creating a department would incur for the University. Missing all along would be the intellectual value, in any concrete terms, of continuing the Social Institutions project post-Teggart.<sup>125</sup>

After hearing these and other views, the Adams Committee decided against creating a sociology department, arguing instead that "the field of study represented by the Department has won a deserved recognition in the University, and it would be needlessly unfair both to Professor Teggart and Associate Professor Hodgen to terminate now the life of the department." And so it recommended that the Department of Social Institutions continue on as before after Teggart's retirement, believing since it was impossible to replace Teggart that Hodgen should be made chair, and that an instructor or assistant be appointed to help continue the department's work.<sup>126</sup>

Regardless of the committee's recommendation, inertia to create a sociology department had been created and the discussion continued. One of the most insightful commentaries from this period came from Harvard mathematician Edwin Wilson a couple months after the Adams Committee recommended supporting Social Institutions. He saw a similarity between what Teggart had done in the Department of Social Institutions and William Graham Sumner at Yale University much earlier. Yale's president tried to "liquidate" Sumner's courses when he retired because the "courses were courses in as well as by Sumner," and "without him the real life would be gone out of them." Instead they were taken over by someone else with much less merit and "no great work has come

---

<sup>124</sup> Ibid: Deutsch to Sproul, 19 December 1939, and Teggart to Deutsch, 20 December 1939; Stephens Papers: Additions, box 1: Kittredge to Stephens, 4 October 1914, and 1 January 1915; and *General Catalog*, 1911-12.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid: Hodgen Memorandum [undated but presumably 8-15 December 1939 given placement of document in folder arranged chronologically].

<sup>126</sup> Ibid: [Committee members signed] to Sproul, 20 February 1940. McMurray (2013), 249-50, cites a report dated 7 February in which Kroeber was chair and a subsequent note from Kroeber to Sproul neither of which I could locate.

out of the school since..." From this lesson, Wilson recommended that Social Institutions should be dissolved unless an interdepartmental committee could be set up to decide an approach and someone could be found who was "very sympathetic and able in the same line of work." He pointed out how Peixotto was "a leader in her day more or less on the social work side..." in as much as she "was interested in the realities of current social situations. Teggart was certainly a leader in the historical approach to social institutions. You have a background of a small amount of work but of very good work in this field." He added: "Personnel in this general field of high intellectual caliber is very difficult to get" and "real first class personnel in this country are rare and your department is about as bad as the rest of them."<sup>127</sup>

Wilson also recommended that someone be found who was conducting "real research in some aspects of sociology. This costs money provided one goes into those aspects which require field work. You have of course in Miss" Dorothy Swaine "Thomas one of the best scientific sociologists in this country..." He also thought it would be important to find someone who could "give a large general course on sociology" such as Sumner had done at Harvard or W.I. Thomas had done at the University of Chicago.<sup>128</sup>

Wilson was sympathetic to Teggart's antiquarianism. All along, we have assumed that Teggart's inability to fit within a specific department discipline was related to his inability to work with others due to simple arrogance on his part. But taken from a viewpoint Owen offers, delivered in a crisply succinct manner Teggart was incapable of doing, we should also consider it as an alternative to what was an increasing trend towards specialization and what was lost in the process:

Our undergraduates seem to me densely ignorant of the facts about society on any side. I had a long talk more than a year ago with the president of Yale who was much concerned with the apparent fact that our undergraduates took entirely too short a time base in thinking about society. You see when you and I went to college, or when Charles Seymour did, most of the best of us had a good deal of Latin and a good deal of Greek and we knew our Bible. We had therefore spent a good deal of time on civilization that went out of Egypt and developed in Palestine and died. We had followed the Greek civilization more or less from the time of Troy to that of Alexander the Great and we knew not a little about Roman civilization from the founding of the city to the time of Augustus or Trajan. Today my children have no Greek, they don't know their Bible, they do have some Latin but not all children do and the Latin is not really taught as Roman culture to the extent that Latin was taught to me. What they have in history is 150 years of America which is insufficient to give them any real background as to America's place among the nations or of the place of any civilization any time. I believe that at Yale they are trying to do "something to reconstitute a time scale for the undergraduate."<sup>129</sup>

It becomes evident by this point to see that Sproul took advice from all sectors, much as Wheeler had two decades earlier, the only significant difference was that since the faculty "revolt" he had to go through the Budget Committee to form ad hoc committees to consult on issues such as this.

---

<sup>127</sup> Ibid: E.B. Wilson to Carl Alsberg, 25 April 1940. Teggart would have, of course, hated to have been compared to Sumner in any way as Sumner was a sociologist of the worst kind: a Social Darwinist.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid.

As time progressed, Wilson's letter served to reflect what the University was ultimately forced to do, but they followed the Adams Committee recommendation for the short term. In May 1940, the Committee reaffirmed their earlier report going so far as to reassert their belief that someone new should not be brought in to replace Teggart, "it appears impossible to find any such person." As such, they showed they weren't completely beholden to Teggart since they dismissed his suggestion of appointing Tracy Kittredge because he had no record of teaching or research. Instead, they suggested "a younger man" be appointed to buttress the department.<sup>130</sup>

Following the Adams Committee recommendation, Hodgen told Sproul that a man should head the department rather than herself and recommended three former Teggart students whom she felt would add more distinction to the department than older men she knew. They were two Social Institutions Ph.D.s, William Chernin and John Foscett, and George Hildebrand, who minored in Social Institutions as an undergraduate. She felt Chernin was the brightest and would have been given a position in the department were it not for Teggart's anti-Semitism. John Foscett was teaching sociology at the University of Utah. She felt George Hildebrand, who was an Economics Ph.D. and had taught at Cornell, Harvard, and Princeton was "the best man of the three" but cautioned that he was only 27-years old.<sup>131</sup>

In August 1941, Dean Lipman sent another committee report to Sproul recommending that still another committee be created, with Lipman at its head, to create a graduate program in sociology from amongst courses already offered by various departments. The six members in favor of this proposal were countered by four who offered a minority report asking that the program not be created. The minority consisted of Margaret Hodgen, Economics Professor and another former student of Jessica Peixotto, Emily Huntington, Law Professor Alexander Kidd, and Robert Nisbet.<sup>132</sup> Three days after the committee report was sent to Sproul, Nisbet, who had started lecturing in Social Institutions as an graduate student in 1938 and received his Ph.D. a year later, wrote to Hodgen: "I am certain as I am of anything in life that sociology is coming to the campus. And I do not think there will long be room on one campus for both Social Inst. and a department of sociology—not budgetary room."<sup>133</sup>

Hodgen tried to shore up her department by pressing ahead with her request to Sproul for George Hildebrand to be appointed arguing that the department's course load demanded it. In the margin of her letter, two handwritten questions and answers were made. The first was whether or not the Budget Committee had studied the "desirability of continuing the dept" followed by a reference to "Com under Adams 1/20/40" [sic]. The second concerned what Sproul did next, seeking out Registrar William Pomeroy's advice. Pomeroy pointed out that contrary to Hodgen's claim that enrollments in Social Institutions courses had recently increased by 50%, they had only increased by just over 12%. But his major conclusion was that the larger issue was the one brought about by the Budget Committee: whether or not the department should be continued and argued that "if there is any questions about the future continuance of the department, such an appointment would

<sup>130</sup> Ibid: George P. Adams for the Committee to Sproul, 2 May 1940.

<sup>131</sup> Sproul Papers, box 1: Miss Margaret (Prof) Hodgen, 11, November 1940. Sproul's minutes had misspelled William Benton Chernin's last name as "Sheron", which is corrected above. (see Hodgen, 241, lists as a Social Institutions student who with a dissertation dated 1933).

<sup>132</sup> Office of the President, CU-5, series 4, box 32: Report of the Committee on Higher Education in Sociology, 23 August 1941, and Minority Report.

<sup>133</sup> Hodgen, 154: Nisbet to Hodgen, 26 August 1941.

seem to be unwise." In his cover letter to Sproul which accompanied Hodgen's letter, Deutsch had also reopened the issue of Social Institution's future but only after first reminding the President that Teggart did not think Hodgen should be the chair of the department. Deutsch felt that adding Hildebrand was not a solution, rather "I am inclined to feel that the work in Social Institutions should either be absorbed in a Department of Sociology or in the Department of Anthropology."<sup>134</sup>

Deutsch subsequently followed up with the Anthropology Chair Kroeber, who apparently had a change of heart since he signed the earlier Adams Committee report. Kroeber was both strongly supportive of creating a sociology department and equally adamant that the work of Social Institutions not be taken into his department: "it would introduce a different and discordant element into the department," and "Hodgen would not be an easy person to work with." Deutsch finished his memorandum to Sproul by listing various options which lay ahead including: continuing Social Institutions but replacing Hodgen as chair, and creating a sociology department either by converting Social Institutions or by augmenting the converted new department with either Dorothy Swaine Thomas or Labor Economist Paul Taylor.<sup>135</sup>

Similar to Peixotto, Paul Taylor was not simply satisfied as a scholar but wanted to effect change and his work led him to focus on public policy. Taylor's interest in labor economics was established as an undergraduate at the University of Wisconsin, Madison where under the tutelage of Richard Ely, E.A. Ross, and John Commons, he was trained to appreciate a variegated approach incorporating history, sociology, political science and law. After graduating, he enlisted in the Marines and served in the World War I trenches of Verdun where he suffered lung damage in a gas attack. As a result, health concerns prompted Taylor to go to graduate school to continue his studies in economics at the University of California rather than his first choice, Columbia University. In addition to the training he received from economists such as Stuart Daggett, Ira Cross, and Solomon Blum, he also worked with Teggart's nemeses in the History Department, Herbert Bolton and Herbert Priestley. After obtaining his Ph.D., Taylor was hired on the Economics faculty. From 1927-30, he studied Mexican migrant labor firsthand traveling around California before returning to Berkeley where Priestley's daughter transcribed his field notes, then expanded his study to other regions of the country leading to a 13-volume work, *Mexican Labor in the United States*. During the Great Depression he studied migrant farm labor in California first in connection with the California Department of Industrial Relations, then the California Relief Administration which led to his lifelong drive to push for change in public policy.<sup>136</sup>

---

<sup>134</sup> Ibid: Hodgen to Sproul, 29 August 1941; W.C. Pomeroy to Sproul 11 September and 2 December 1941; Deutsch, Memorandum to the President, 13 September and 8 November 1941.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid: Deutsch, Memorandum to the President, 6 October 1941. At "The Southern Branch," UCLA's Anthropology Department had been folded under the Psychology Department until 1939 when Psychology Professor Knight Dunlap chaired the first Anthropology and Sociology Department consisting of two faculty from each of the two disciplines. The sole lower division course offered in Sociology in that academic year, 1939-40, was a year-long sequence, "Social Institutions," but this was replaced by an introductory sociology course the next year. Keep in mind the two campuses were more closely connected at this time because there were as yet no chancellors and UC President Sproul would spend part of his year in Berkeley and part in Los Angeles. It wasn't until 1964 when anthropology and sociology were finally separated into two independent departments at UCLA. Paul Taylor was married to photographer Dorothea Lange and future President of the University of California, Clark Kerr, served as his research assistant in the early 1930s.

<sup>136</sup> This biographical information is derived solely from Richard Street's brief but excellent, "The Economist as Humanist: The Career of Paul S. Taylor," in *California History*, Vol 58, No 4 (Winter, 1979/1970), 350-61.



Following his exchanges with Deutsch, Sproul took a trip to the East Coast and the Japanese launched a surprise attack on Pearl Harbor on 7 December forcing the US into war. Sproul and Deutsch agreed in the early part of 1942 that the war and resulting uncertainty of University finances forced them to put aside for the time being any further discussion of creating a department of sociology.<sup>137</sup>



*Paul Taylor and possibly Priestley's daughter  
[Bancroft Library]*

By mid-1944, the war outlook had vastly improved as the Russians were pressing the Nazis in the Eastern Front, the Allies had retaken Northern Africa, moved halfway up the boot of Italy, and the D-Day Invasion was imminent. The Allies were advancing in the Pacific Theater as well, and Deutsch re-sparked the discussion about hiring George Hildebrand and creating a sociology department in place of Social Institutions. A short while later, at the request of the Director of the Giannini Foundation and Professor of Agricultural Economics, Harry Wellman, Dorothy Swaine Thomas sent a letter to the Dean of the College of Agriculture, Chase Hutchison, laying out plans for a rural sociology program and the creation of a sociology department. Although she was particularly interested in rural sociology her frustration was aimed more broadly. She started out by explaining the difficulties she faced as Chair of the Committee on Sociology to offer a Ph.D. training program in sociology: "The Committee

has been in existence for three years, and has had a fairly large number of applications from students whose interests lie within this field. Of these applicants, only one, who had his training in another University, has been encouraged to proceed. The reason for our conservatism is our inability to provide the training we consider basic to the specialization which we are in a position to offer."<sup>138</sup>

<sup>137</sup> Ibid: Sproul to Deutsch, 26 January 1942; and Deutsch to Sproul 4 February 1942.

<sup>138</sup> Sproul Papers, box 1: Deutsch, 5 June 1944; Office of the President, CU-5, series 4: Thomas to Hutchison 7 August.

Hutchison was encouraging and asked her to lay out a plan. Thomas started with the core areas of study: social institutions, social change, and social interactions. Then she identified problems



Dorothy Swaine Thomas  
[American Sociological Association]

sociologists were concerned with such as primary group organization, urban and rural ecology, and population movements. She also discussed methods with an emphasis on empirical data collection. Thomas recognized that there were courses offered by myriad departments where much of what was needed could be found but argued the lack of emphasis in a coherent program which created gaps. Finally, she suggested that a department head be chosen based "primarily on the basis of research performance or ability to guide research in others," people like sociologists Samuel Stouffer or Chair W.F. Ogburn at the University of Chicago, E.H. Sutherland at Indiana University, Donald Young the Chair at the University of Pennsylvania; or the Assistant of the Bureau of the Census, or the Director of Research in Population at Princeton University.<sup>139</sup> Hutchison forwarded Thomas's two letters to Sproul with his "full concurrence and endorsement."<sup>140</sup>

Robert Nisbet, who had taken leave from the University to join the military service in 1942, began corresponding with Hodgen from Saipan in the spring of 1945 about his academic future and that of the department. In March 1945, he wrote her that he had received an appointment offer from Smith College Sociology Department Chair Frank Hankins, he presumed, based on an article he published in the *American Journal of Sociology*, calling for the government to organize agencies to aid soldiers reentering society after war, and had begun negotiating with the Dean of Letters and Science, George Adams, about staying at Berkeley. Hodgen, who possessed a diminutive stature and was normally quiet but quite tenacious when her principles were involved, welcomed this support for her mission to keep Social Institutions and Teggartism alive but seems to have overlooked another thread in Nisbet's letters, his clearly overriding self-concern. He wrote that he had a "deep seated interest in promotion and salary" and that if he went to Smith, it would be to a sociology department, and if Social Institutions were reorganized as a sociology department he would still prefer to stay at Berkeley because it would be a smoother path for him.<sup>141</sup>

Still, Nisbet continued to play to both sides to ensure either way he would come out ahead. Nisbet stressed his support of the work of Hodgen and hoped their work in Social Institutions would continue to serve as the core of the department even if it was reorganized:

May 19, 1945

<sup>139</sup> Office of the President, CU-5, series 4: Thomas to Hutchison, 25 September 1944.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid: Hutchison to Sproul, 14 November 1944.

<sup>141</sup> Hodgen, 104-107: Nisbet to Hodgen, 12 March 1945; and Nisbet, Robert, "The Coming Problem of Assimilation" *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol 50, No. 4 (Jan., 1945), pp. 261-270. Nisbet (1992, p. 156) says that Hankins was one of the East Coast sociologists invited to teach during the summer session for Social Institutions.

Dear Margaret:

Only scraps of information reach me, but one did today that I quote, feeling certain you will be interested: "Dismiss your worries about Dorothy Swaine Thomas. Adams was talking today with Dean Hutchison and he said she would definitely stay in the Giannini Foundation, and would not belong in any new organization."

So your mind should be set as much to rest as mine is. Not that she could have focused us much trouble—if you think so you underestimate the efforts of the Army on my patience and tolerance—but I did not relish the annoyance of having to work for her removal or poisoning.

That's all—no more news about the dept. just that. But I thought you'd be interested

As ever

Bob<sup>142</sup>

He felt it was strategically important to get a sociology department started so "we are in a position to say something about its complexion" and believed they could count on the support of Dean Adams and possibly Provost Deutsch. At other times, he tried to assure Hodgen that he believed that the only change he foresaw was that the department name would become "Sociology".<sup>143</sup>

Adams was feeding Hodgen hope through Nisbet that would prove false. Deutsch had called for a committee to be formed anew in March 1945 consisting of Economics Professor Stuart Daggett as chair, with George Adams, who had previously chaired the committee recommending against a sociology department, and Law Professor and former Peixotto student, Barbara Armstrong, on one side, and the two people who had been mentioned as possible chairs of a future sociology department on the other, Paul Taylor and Dorothy Swaine Thomas. The committee also included several new faces to the issue: Robert Lowie from Anthropology in place of Kroeber, Professor of English Willard Durham, Professor of Psychology and Director of the Institute of Child Welfare Harold Jones, and Professor of Psychology Edward Tolman.<sup>144</sup> The report noted certain deficiencies in the discipline such as some prominent sociologist who had made "sweeping generalizations" and "some tendency for sociologists"... "to attempt to present accumulations of detail which their students can hardly assimilate and which they themselves are not always equipped to interpret." Yet the Committee, balancing these defects "against merits and accomplishments" recommended that a sociology department be established, absorbing the Department of Social Institutions and "that instruction and research now carried on by the Department of Social Institutions should be continued...which may not fall within the usual fields of interest of Departments of Sociology..."<sup>145</sup>

---

<sup>142</sup> Hodgen, 135.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid, 172.

<sup>144</sup> Office of the President, CU-5, series 4:: Deutsch to Daggett, 29 March 1945.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid: members of the committee to Deutsch, 14 June 1945.

Adams, Armstrong, and Durham signed the report along with all the other committee members but did so with reservations outlined in an addendum to the main report. The most important points they argued for were 1) that Social Institutions provide "the nucleus of the new department" rather than be "supplanted" by it which was the enduring hope of Margaret Hodgen, 2) that "one of the men to be initially appointed" should not be of professorial rank as "younger men would be more likely to understand and to take advantage of the unique circumstances presented by the wide diffusion of social studies in the various departments in this university," and 3) recommended that the new department be called "The Department of Social Institutions and Sociology."<sup>146</sup>

Deutsch spearheaded administrative stewardship of discussions about the future of Social Institutions and whether or not to create a sociology department beginning when Sproul went to Europe in the summer of 1945.<sup>147</sup>

Adams had asked Teggart for information about why Social Institutions should remain as it was rather than be converted into a sociology department. In his response, Teggart took a somewhat different tact than he had six years earlier in his letter to Deutsch. Instead of focusing on centralization, he attempted to construct the field of sociology as undisciplined compared to his Social Institutions, attacking something at each of the leading sociology departments in the country:

Chicago: To decide between competing methods: the social survey method, the statistical method, the case-study method. The general situation, as described by R.E. Park, is that "Social problems have been defined in terms of common sense, and facts have been collected to support this or that doctrine, not to test it."

Columbia: To formulate an objective in terms of action. R.S. Lynd speaks for a large group when he asserts that we must make up our minds as to what we want and then devise means to change the present so as to achieve it. Correspondingly, a focal interest in all departments of Sociology is the discussion of "Social Change," as a basis for the advocacy of "Social Control." It is freely stated that Social Control is necessary for the "rational organization of society," and I find no objection offered to the opinion that in order to maintain this control "the employment of force will perhaps always continue to have a legitimate place."

Harvard: The response of sociologists to any analysis of their activities is, in the words of P. Sorokin (Harvard), "we may advise the critics that they would be better silent."<sup>148</sup>

(Robert Ezra Park was a sociologist at Chicago University and Robert Staughton Lynd was a sociologist at Columbia University, and, as noted earlier, Pitirim Alexandrovich Sorokin was the founder of Harvard Sociology and a critique of Teggart's *Rome and China* book).

---

<sup>146</sup> Ibid: Adams, Durham, and Armstrong "reservations and qualifications, 20 June 1945.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid: Sproul to Teggart, 12 March 1946. It's not clear if Sproul was still involved at the time this minority report was delivered because from some administrators at the University, the summer may not officially begin until July 1, the beginning of the academic year.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid: Teggart to Adams, 20 June 1945.

Unfortunately, what Teggart offered in comparison sounds like something he drew from a hat though placed within the context of the end of a Second World War: "The name 'Social Institutions' stands for certain actualities of human existence, and represents the study of the basic forms of social organization. Today, our social institutions are in the process of disintegration, as a result of increasing activity of the 'State,' and this fact alone warrants a specific designation, and makes the most thorough investigation an urgent requirement."<sup>149</sup> While Teggart did not suffer fools well, he often treated those to whom he was making an argument as fools, even when that person was a long-time supporter.

On the other side was the new Dean of the Graduate Division, John Hicks, who in a letter to Chair of the Budget Committee Benjamin Lehman was both critical of Teggart and the delay in creating a sociology department:



*Frederick J. Teggart, 1940 [Bancroft Library]*

Professor Teggart, in a long lifetime of effort, has not succeeded in pushing his Department of Social Institutions over the Berkeley Hills. For us to cling tenaciously to a set-up which no other institutions either flatters by invitation or understands is to make ourselves just a little ridiculous. In the Graduate Division we have long since yielded to obvious necessity and established a major in Sociology. This is merely a gesture as long as we have no department to back up the field, but it shows the direction in which we are finding it necessary to go. We should have a Department of Sociology, and not a Department of Social Institutions and/or Sociology.<sup>150</sup>

Nisbet's recommendation to Lehman was that Social Institutions be enlarged, but differed from Hodgen in recommending that rather than the department stick fundamentally to Teggartism, he preferred "individual research and teaching" as the basis for this enlargement. He hoped to gain advice before designing additional coursework from Robert Lynd at Columbia—whom Teggart had criticized, Louis Wirth at Chicago and Lewis Mumford at Stanford. He did not believe rural sociology (a pointed reference to keep Thomas out) should be included in the augment department program since he felt it more "logically" belonged in the College of Agriculture. Nor did he believe criminology should be included it not being "the business of a liberal arts department to train criminologists." In a nod to Teggart, he pointed out that since graduate students awarded Ph.D.s in Social Institutions typically received appointments in sociology departments across the country, the department's present courses focusing on "history and theory" should remain the nucleus of a new department.<sup>151</sup>

<sup>149</sup> Ibid.

<sup>150</sup> Ibid: Nicks to Lehman, 26 October 1945.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid: Lehman to Nisbet 16 August 1945, and Nisbet to Lehman, 8 September 1945.



George Adams, 1952  
[Bancroft Library]

Budget Committee Chair Lehman wanted to put off naming a chair for a sociology department until Nisbet had time to mature. George Adams unsurprisingly agreed with Nisbet's views and believed he should "be chairman of the Department" in the "not too distant future," however, suggested the possibility of following a precedent set in other cases whereby his colleague, Edward Strong, might be made acting chair. Stuart Daggett, who thought Teggart was a better philosopher than researcher, and felt that Nisbet was tainted by his experience in Social Institutions. He preferred his colleague in the Economics Department, Paul Taylor, as chair of a new sociology department. Hicks did not think it wise to bring in a senior faculty member to chair a sociology department, but preferred instead to give it to Nisbet.<sup>152</sup> The majority of the Daggett Committee, however, excluding Daggett, Adams, Armstrong and Durham, rallied around Thomas in pressing Sproul to appoint Chicago's William Ogburn instead of Nisbet.<sup>153</sup> Nisbet's letter to Lehman and both Hicks's and Adams' support convinced Deutsch that Nisbet would serve the goal of developing a sociology department with the least amount of conflict particularly if his appointment as chair was made in concert with an advisory committee consisting of seasoned, senior faculty such as Edward Strong as chairman, Letters and Science Dean George Adams, and at the suggestion of the Budget Committee, Stuart Daggett. He wanted to rename the Department of Social Institutions: the Department of Sociology and Social Institutions, but wanted to wait to enact all these changes until Nisbet returned to the University from war leave.<sup>154</sup>

The appointment of George Hildebrand in the spring semester helped increase the department faculty by an additional 50 percent, but it was too late for Hodgen. Early in the second week of February, she requested sick leave for the spring semester and Deutsch granted it. When Hodgen met with Hildebrand and Nisbet to tell them she was going on leave, Nisbet told her he already knew as Deutsch had asked him to serve as Acting Chair of Social Institutions. He added that "he thought the administration proposed to re-organize the Department; and then without pause or transition added the statement: 'I intend to expand the work of the Department by adding several new members and several new courses...'" Hodgen protested that such moves would "threaten the integrity of the Department" and Nisbet told her, "This is an order." Hodgen stood up to his brashness intimating that she would not "yield to coercion." He replied flatly: "Then there is nothing for you to do but resign." The following day, according to Hodgen, Nisbet told Teggart that he was going to change the name of the Department. Keep in mind that Assistant Professor Nisbet had only received his Ph.D. in 1940 and since he left for the war in 1942, had served as a faculty member for a mere two terms—he had yet to be awarded tenure and so was not yet a permanent faculty member. Hodgens had taught for 11 years before being given tenure in 1938, not to mention the fact that she was still the official Chair. So she was justifiably incensed and told

<sup>152</sup> Ibid: Daggett to Lehman, 22 September 1945, and Comments by GPA (George P. Adams), [undated], and Hicks to Lehman, 26 October 1945.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid: Jones, Lowie, Thomas, Tolman and Taylor to Sproul, 29 January 1946.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid: Budget Committee Minutes, 23 November 1945, and Deutsch to Sproul, 11 December 1945, and 29 January 1946. The Budget Committee wanted Dean Hicks included in the advisory committee to Nisbet, but Deutsch apparently felt it his presence might create too much conflict. Deutsch had by this time renamed "Sociology to Sociology and Social Institutions" in the budgetary rolls.

Adams sarcastically: "I am more than willing to concede that a young man, whose teaching experience barely exceeds three years,"—he had begun teaching after he received his master's degree—"may well have failed to grasp some of the subtler techniques of successful leadership."<sup>155</sup>

Roughly a month later, Hodgen learned that Nisbet was fed up being the Department Chair blaming the lack of cooperation from Hodgen and Hildebrand. Hodgen certainly opposed Nisbet openly but Hildebrand tried to stay out of the feud without actively supporting either side though he didn't care for Nisbet personally. Hodgen appealed to Deutsch to replace Nisbet with Hildebrand.<sup>156</sup> Both Teggartism and Social Institutions were essentially dead though and she knew it.<sup>157</sup> Teggart died later that year. In their place, from the seed that Teggart planted a new department of sociology would blossom. The three members of Social Institutions would remain for varying lengths of time but contrary to Nisbet's mechanizations and Adams's unfailing support, they would not be integral to the new department.

W.I. Thomas died in December, 1947, and Dorothy Swaine Thomas resigned a short while later. Before she left, Sproul invited her to his office to solicit her about her experience at Berkeley. She responded honestly (summarized here by Sproul):

She believes her experience at Berkeley is the best evidence one could ask that the committee system does not work well in the University. She regards it as a system designed to protect vested interests, and to prevent the development of new fields. She regrets that the men on the faculty who know anything about Sociology were in agreement with her, but that the elder statesmen, physicists, chemists, et al, who dominate the committees, prevented any action along the lines proposed by her and her colleagues. She says that if she had been 35 years old, she would have stayed and fought it out, but that she has not enough years left to make this a reasonable plan.<sup>158</sup>

Thomas accepted a position at the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School the following year where she came to prominence for her work with Simon Kuznets, *Population Redistribution and Economic Growth in the United States, 1870-1950*. She served as the first female president of the sociology field's flagship organization, the American Sociological Association.<sup>159</sup>

---

<sup>155</sup> Ibid: Deutsch to Nisbet, 12 February 1946; Hodgen, 163, Hodgen to Adams, 20 February 1946, and 167: Hodgen to Deutsch, 16 March 1946; and Hildebrand interview. Hildebrand corroborates Hodgen's characterization that Nisbet was heavy handed.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid, Hodgen to Deutsch, 16 March 1946; and Hildebrand interview.

<sup>157</sup> Hodgen had earlier told Adams that any plan to merged Social Institutions and sociology was "doomed to failure" but if the Administration's aim was to have a department of sociology, it would have it a few months or years.

<sup>158</sup> Office of the President, CU-5, series 4, box 32: Dr. Dorothy Swaine Thomas, Berkeley, 4 June 1948.

<sup>159</sup> *General Catalog* and American Sociology Association website: <http://www.asanet.org/about-asa/asa-story/asa-history/past-asa-officers/past-asa-presidents/dorothy-swaine-thomas> (accessed 2017.10.14).).



It wasn't necessarily that the committee system which had become more influential after the faculty "revolt" was at fault, but that the process was secretive. Thomas, Hodgen, and not even Nisbet, ever knew exactly what was going on behind the scenes. To the extent that Nisbet knew more than the other two, it was because of his communications with Adams and others. The secrecy of deliberations served a purpose but left no one particularly happy. What most did not know was that Sproul and Deutsch were convinced before the War of the need for a sociology department at Berkeley. Beyond this, Deutsch clearly endeavored to satisfy as many people as he could while completely satisfying none. Throughout though, Adams had an uncanny influence over Deutsch and Sproul presumably due to his experience as Dean of Letters and Science over the years and his activities in the Academic Senate.



*Monroe Deutsch, 1948*  
*[Bancroft Library]*

### *Conclusion*

Part genius all intellectual ruffian, Frederick J. Teggart was a lying, vindictive son of a distiller from a land wrecked by sectarian violence. These deep character flaws arguably stifled the breadth and impact of his ideas which were revolutionary at the time he espoused them. His saving grace was his ability to become sociable under the drink. Published accounts of Teggart, including to some extent Robert Nisbet, have heretofore glossed over the origins of his isolation in academia. Nisbet is the only person to document—through conversations he had a decade or two after the incidents—Teggart's "early" troubles. This is the first time a full account of Teggart's machinations have been openly revealed from accounts presented by his contemporaries, Bancroft researcher Zoeth Edredge and History graduate student then Professor Charles Chapman. They are not flattering accounts and are validated in letters penned by Teggart himself.

The rebirth of Teggart's career was fortuitous on many levels. The death of History Chair and Dean of Letters and Science, Henry Morse Stephens, forced retirement of President Benjamin Ide Wheeler and the subsequent weakened state of administration at the University of California, the faculty "revolt", and academic fraternity of the Kosmos Club all fell in place to save Teggart's academic career. Then, the weak and inconsistent man-of-leisure who succeeded Wheeler as president, David Prescott Barrows, gave Teggart the peace and security necessary for his future survival, his own department.

Teggart and the person who helped him come up with the name of a new department, Jessica Blanche Peixotto, present interesting parallels. Both Teggart and Peixotto realized their scholarly identities in 1910-11, which were uniquely their own, and would not be sustained without their individual brilliance and fiercely guarded independence. Teggart broadly defined his field as "the study of man," though more specifically it was historical theory, comparative world history, and migration studies. Peixotto was a social economist who taught about sociological themes with a quantitative bent moving towards social welfare. Her work ultimately led to a new department of social welfare, while his led to the Sociology Department.

They both denied sociology yet were of it. The differences are less meaningful to our story in all ways except two. Peixotto was a woman, born a few years earlier and entered academia through a conventional path, while Teggart entered through the backdoor as a library curator. Yes, she was Jewish and he an anti-Semite, but what truly separated them was what Teggart recognized in himself in that 1910 letter to Stephens: he was "small, petty, mean." He was outclassed in the area in which he began his academic life, Pacific Coast or Spanish American history, and humiliatingly kicked out both as Curator of the Bancroft Library and the History Department. He suffered what he might have seen as slights weakly, and was vindictive. Teggart's brilliance started with his breadth of knowledge and continued through his keen analysis but his influence was severely limited by his often turgid writing, even for an academic, and inability to synthesize and to articulate his message more articulately. While his convivial nature in social settings aided him and provided him with broad support at Berkeley, his deep-seated insecurity damaged and hindered the potential for meaningful collaborations consequently his most ardent supporters were students and two female acolytes who subsumed their own growth to his intellect. Hodgen's shift from Peixotto to Teggart was complete and yet because he was so overbearing, she never had a

chance to really blossom as an intellectual so the brilliance that was Teggart did not outlast him and the light burned out with his passing with few exceptions.

What's interesting about the discussions over the post-Teggart course of his department and creation of sociology at Berkeley is how ultimately the best advice seems to have come from scholars outside of the University of California, unencumbered by internal alliances and politics. Also insightful is how female voices were often glaringly ignored. Even if one were to argue that Hodgen's voice was discounted on the merits or because she was simply a mediocre scholar, the value Dorothy Thomas added to the discussion was not measured high enough to keep her or bring in on of the many qualified sociologists she recommended over placing a junior faculty member at the helm of the transitional Sociology and Social Institutions Department. In Deutsch's defense, not only did he not ultimately follow the advice of either of these two women, but he did not choose Paul Taylor or Edward Strong to serve as Acting Chair, at least not initially, because he wanted the transition to a new sociology department to be achieved with the least amount of friction.

## Sources

### PRIMARY SOURCES

Bancroft Library, University of California Berkeley

BANC MSS 74/171 c Monroe E. Deutsch Papers

BANC MSS 78/64 c Margaret Hodgen Papers

BANC MSS 78/65c Frederick J. Teggart Papers

BANC MSS 83.153C Charles Edward Chapman Papers: Additions

BANC MSS 2005/177 c Edward Strong Papers

BANC FILM 2827 University of California, Office of the President Records.

BANC MSS C-A 223 Kosmos Club Records

BANC MSS C-B 602 Andrew C. Lawson Papers

BANC MSS C-B 840 Herbert Eugene Bolton Papers

BANC MSS C-B 926 Henry Morse Stephens Papers

BANC MSS C-B 928 George Davis Louderback Papers

CU-1 Records of the Regents of the University of California, 1868-1933

CU-5, Series 2 University of California, Office of the President Records.

CU-5, Series 4 University of California, Office of the President Records.

CU-5.2 Series 1 University of California, Office of the President Records, Frederick J. Teggart  
Personnel File

CU-12.1 Bancroft Library Records

CU-301 Gordon Sproul Papers

Unpublished Books, Bancroft Library

*Economics at the University of California Berkeley, 1871-1942*, Compiled by Ira B. Cross,  
Berkeley, [1965?].

Hodgen, Margaret T., *The Department of Social Institutions and the University of California (Berkeley), 1919-1946*. 1971. *This is a scrapbook supplemented with notes of Hodgen's selectively edited story of the department which is extremely prejudicial, but valuable however for source documents.*

Memoirs of David Prescott Barrows, 1873-1954.

### Online Resources

Directors' Files, Isaiah Bowman, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, accessed online at <http://collections.lib.uwm.edu/cdm/ref/collection/agsny/id/45208> August 16, 2017.

*University of California Register*, (various years from 1904-1940), accessed online at <http://digitalassets.lib.berkeley.edu/generalcatalog/> July 12, 2017. *This source was used with caution because it is an administrative document which was necessarily published in advance permitting no chance for corrections closer to the dates of the records it provides. Volumes for 1908-09, 1909-10, 1933-34, 1934-35, and 1937-38 were not available; and there was no Social Institutions faculty listing in volume one for academic year 1942-43.*

## Oral Histories

"After Me Cometh the Builder," The Recollections of Ralph Palmer Merritt, University of California Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1962, accessed online at <http://nma.berkeley.edu/ark:/28722/bk0005z3w6w> on August 25, 2017. *Based on an interview manuscript which was edited into narrative form at the request of the interviewee.*

Strong, Edward W., Philosopher, Professor and Berkeley Chancellor, 1961-1965: oral history transcript; interviews conducted by Harriet Nathan in 1988. Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 1992, accessed online at <http://nma.berkeley.edu/ark:/28722/bk0005z3472> on August 27, 2017.

## Unpublished Interviews

Kenneth Bock, unpublished interview with Michael Burawoy and Jonathan VanAntwerpen, University of California at Berkeley, June 21, 1999. *Conducted when Bock was about 83-years old, Bock appears lucid and with a clear memory in the interview. He points out. However, that he did not work closely with Teggart, rather Hodgen was his advisor.*

George Hildebrand, unpublished interview with Michael Burawoy and Jonathan. VanAntwerpen, University of California at Berkeley, July 17, 1999. *Conducted a little more than a week after Hildebrand's 86<sup>th</sup> birthday we might be cautioned by issues with his memory which was flagging but we can't be dismissive. It's clear that he needed references to jog his memory in some areas, that he may have relied on written materials for his memory in others, but some personal memories and judgments are rendered with a clarity that is beyond question.*

## SECONDARY SOURCES

### Unpublished Article

Michael Burawoy and Johnathan VanAntwerpen, "Berkeley Sociology: Past, Present and Future," November 2001 accessed online at <https://publicsociology.berkeley.edu/intro/berkeleysociology/index.php> August 14, 2017.

### Published Articles

Becker, Howard, review of *Prologemona to History*, and *Theory and Processes of History* by Frederick J. Teggart in the *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 6, No. 5 (Oct., 1941), pp. 731-736.

"Economics at Cal: At the Cutting Edge for 100 Years," *The Econ Exchange*, Vol 5, No 1 (Spring 2002), 1-5.

Hatfield, H.R., "Jessica Blanche Peixotto," in *Essays in Social Economis in Honor of Jessica Peixotto*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1935, 5-14.

Nisbet, Robert, "Teaching: Teggart of Berkeley," *The American Scholar*, Vol 48, No. 1 (Winter 1979), 71-80.

- Perrin, Robert, "Robert Alexander Nisbet," *American Philosophical Society*, Vol 143, No. 4 (Dec., 1999), 694-710.
- Teggart, Frederick J., "The Circumstance or the Substance of History," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 15, No. 4 (Jul., 1910), pp. 709-719.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Causation in Historical Events," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (Jan., 1942), 3-11.

## Books

- Annual report of the secretary to the Board of Regents of the University of California, 1917-1921*. Sacramento : J.D. Young, Supt. State Printing, 1921.
- Abundant Life: Benjamin Ide Wheeler*. Edited by Monroe E. Deutsch. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1926.
- Dangberg, Grace, *A Guide to the Life and Works of Frederick J. Teggart*. Reno, Nev: Grace Dangberg Foundation, 1983.
- Hurtado, Albert L. *Herbert Eugene Bolton: Historian of the American Borderlands*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012.
- Murray, Stephen O. *American Anthropology and Company*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2013.
- Nisbet, Robert, *Teachers and Scholars: A memoir of Berkeley in Depression and War*, New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1992.
- Peixotto, Jessica B. *The French Revolution and Modern French Socialism*. New York: T.Y. Crowell, 1901.
- Teggart, Frederick J. "As to University Presidents," *The Christian Science Monitor*, 1919. Reprinted in Grace Dangberg, *A Guide to the Life and Works of Frederick J. Teggart*. Reno, Nev: Grace Dangberg Foundation, 19830. Pages 245-247.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Prolegomena to History: the Relation of History to Literature, Philosophy, and Science*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1916.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Rome and China: A Study of Correlations in Historical Events*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1939.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Theory and Processes of History*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1941.
- The Centennial Record of the University of California*. Compiled and edited by Verne A. Stadtman and the centennial publications staff. Berkeley, University of California Print Dept., 1967.
- The University of California Chronicle, an Official Record*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1918-19.
- University of California, Officers and Students*. Berkeley: University of California, various years.