

Brewing Bachelors: The History of the University of Newark

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No large community is complete without its university, both as a source of opportunities for individuals and as a radiating centre for the subtle but powerful interplay of the intellect upon its activities. I envision Newark University with a strong faculty of free and inspiring spirits at its heart. There will be a Liberal Arts College in which our children may make their contacts with the main cultural trends of the centuries, and so come into the fraternity of educated men that is without borders of time and nation. Around this college will be grouped the professional schools, building upon this general culture professional skills informed by understanding of the larger issues of life. The lawyer, the business man, the medically trained, the social worker, the religious leader, and the teacher will go forth from its portals, bearing not only the stamp of a great university's approval, but also the equipment of workers who need not be ashamed. The name of Newark shall have a new luster in the minds of men, and for those who bear its degrees, a new content of affection, making them loyal to it though they travel to the ends of the earth.

Frank Kingdon, 1934¹

1. Origins

At the turn of the 20th century, the city of Newark was on an upward swing, having based its economy on both manufacturing of high demand products such as beer, leather, chemicals, and drugs and on services such as banking, legal services, and insurance. Newark's boosters thought the combination invincible: the city catered to consumer needs both the night before and the morning after. A growing population, spurred by the city's development as a transportation center, provided a labor force while broadening the tax base. Newark's 347,469 residents in 1910 made it the 14th largest city in the United States.² The population grew to 414,524 in 1920, though its rank dropped to 15th. By 1931, observers claimed the intersection at Broad and Market Streets was the busiest in the world.³ The city's diverse population included much of Europe, especially Germany, Ireland, Italy, England, Russia, and Austria; about half the city's

population were foreign born or of foreign parentage. The proportion of African Americans grew rapidly from its small turn of the century base after Congress restricted immigration in the early 1920s.

With prosperity came cultural institutions. But, unlike the trend in other cities, Newark's key cultural institutions did not separate rich from poor. John Cotton Dana and Bernice Winser, the city's library and museum directors from the second through the fifth decade of the 20th century, believed that such institutions were not ends in themselves, to be admired for the architecture and opulence; nor were they places just to be seen. No, Dana and Winser would educate the entire public by making the city's libraries and museums accessible to all neighborhoods and economic classes.⁴ On the elementary school level, Dana promoted reading by offering books to teachers and classroom libraries for their students. Dana and Winser similarly used their positions as board members of the city's nascent colleges to focus attention on the advanced educational needs of the entire community.

Newark lacked any college-level institutions when Dana assumed the city's librarianship in 1902. Boosters not only called for a change in that situation; they urged the founding of a university; an institution possessed by every other self-respecting twentieth century American city. Country colleges, they claimed, were vestiges of the 19th century now that most Americans lived in metropolitan areas. Only a few miles away, Columbia University built a magnificent campus on the shores of the Hudson, while New York University responded with an uptown campus of its own on the banks of the Harlem River. Newark, claimed many citizens, deserved a similar institution on the banks of the Passaic. But the contributions from their wallets and pocketbooks did not match their aspirations,

and the city moved piecemeal at best towards creating a higher education infrastructure during the first three decades of the 20th century.

New Jersey was the only state with two pre-Revolutionary War colleges, Princeton and Rutgers, which together preempted the growth of public colleges. But a growing demand for higher education created opportunities for entrepreneurs to increase the supply. Legal education was a target of opportunity, since the state of New Jersey had no law school. Thus, in October 1908, Richard D. Currier (1877-1947) opened the for-profit New Jersey Law School (NJLS) in Newark's Prudential Insurance building.⁵ A graduate of Yale (1900) and of New York Law School (1902), a practicing lawyer in New York, and the author of several legal textbooks, Currier shared the early twentieth century optimism about the future of higher education. Education may not be the panacea of every social evil, he wrote in 1901. But it is "a most potent factor in the progress of human development toward the ideal in the individual and the state."⁶

Proprietary status was not uncommon for law schools. NJLS—the state's only law school for almost two decades—met a real demand, growing from 30 students in its first year to 401 students in 1921-22, and 2,335 students in 1926-27.⁷ Enrollments never reached that level again due to increases in entrance requirements conforming to Bar Association edicts. Like most contemporary streetcar colleges, NJLS had no residential facilities at its permanent home at 40 Rector Street, the former Ballantine Brewery, located about a half-mile from Broad and Market Streets, often called America's busiest intersection. Most students commuted to the law school via bus, trolley (until 1938), the Newark subway (opened 1935), or by foot, car, and bicycle.

Purchased by NJLS in 1927, the old brewery building—the beer company was one of the area’s largest businesses until Prohibition—remained a primary location for higher education in the city.⁸ “Traces were visible here and there of the former occupation of the building,” wrote Herbert P. Woodward, a professor and administrator at Newark for 37 years beginning in 1928. “What now [1965] holds the John Cotton Dana Library was once the malt room with sloping floors for better drainage.” He continued: “Beneath, on the ceiling of the present stack area, were great stains where something dark had seeped down.” The back area, he noted, “along Ogden Street below the present periodical room was a four-story open drop with hoists to raise or lower material from cellar to roof.” “Where the ‘old’ chemistry laboratories were built ten years later,” he recalled, “there was an open courtyard paved with Belgian bricks.”⁹

Until 1913, students had to complete a two-year law course, the school moved to a three-year curriculum in that year.¹⁰ NJLS required three years of high school for admission, but—responding to Bar Association recommendations and state mandates—raised entrance requirements to a high school diploma (1914), a year of college (1927), and then two years of college (1929).¹¹ Believing that the future of legal education in Newark lay in accreditation, Richard Currier opened a Pre-Legal Department in 1926 to offer general education courses.

Currier faced another hurdle as he contemplated eventual accreditation. A move to reform legal education had gained momentum, and the Association of American Law Schools, the accrediting body for law schools, would not accredit proprietary institutions. In 1930, Currier therefore began the move to non-profit status by converting the Pre Legal Department into Dana College—a legally separate, not-for-profit, and therefore creditable, college with an independent

board of trustees. He named the college for the by-then legendary John Cotton Dana, who died in 1929, just months before the opening of the college that bore his name. The college, like the Pre-Legal Department, offered two (later three) years of the college-level education required by the state for admission to law school.¹² But Dana College soon enrolled students who wished to study in Newark and aspired to careers other than law.

In 1929, Currier opened the Seth Boyden School of Business. Named after the 19th century Newark inventor of patent leather and malleable iron, the school technically remained part of NJLS until 1934. Seth Boyden attempted to redress the state's lack of college-level business schools: as late as 1923 all 1,662 New Jersey students enrolled in college-level commerce and business programs studied in institutions outside the state.¹³ The school provided an alternate path into NJLS, since the state required college attendance, but not a liberal arts course, prior to entry.¹⁴

Dana College, at its founding, did not monopolize liberal education in Newark. As early as 1906, the Newark city school district imported faculty from New York University and Columbia University to enable pre-service teachers to complete courses needed for certification without traveling to New York City. In 1910, these college extension courses were incorporated into the Newark University Board (founded 1909), which offered courses in education and business to working youth. The Board offered most classes during evenings and Saturdays at the Newark Technical School (later the Newark College of Engineering). In 1910, the school district merged its college courses into the Board; the combined unit was renamed the Newark Institute of Arts and Sciences. The Institute moved its offerings to other venues, including the Newark

Public Library, between 1910 and 1915, when it moved back to the Newark Technical School. NYU faculty members continued to teach most courses.¹⁵

The Institute, directed by Andrew L. Sloan from 1919 to 1935, moved into its own homes—to 878-880 Broad Street in 1922, and then to 17 Academy Street in 1926. Offering popular business courses as well as a liberal arts curriculum, the unaccredited Institute completed a series of articulation agreements with NYU. NYU provided faculty members, who commuted on Hudson and Manhattan Railroad trains to Newark. The agreements also permitted bachelor's degree aspirants who completed two years of Institute course work to transfer their credits to NYU's Arts and Sciences or Commerce colleges at Washington Square.¹⁶ The two entities split financial gains and losses, but authorities sometimes engaged in testy negotiations over other provisions: NYU officials, for example, expressed concern over the Institute's lenient admissions policies and the qualifications of locally appointed instructors. By 1930, NYU had assumed control over course offerings and faculty appointments.

Prior to the opening of Dana College, the Institute faced only sporadic competition from universities offering extension work at local sites. Currier, for example, briefly administered Columbia's extension work in Newark.¹⁷ In another brief exception, the Newark school system established the Newark Junior College in 1918, linking the city's high schools and professional schools. But the junior college closed in 1922 when a new group of school commissioners refused to incur the capital expenses needed to fund a new campus. Beginning in 1926, Currier's pre legal courses competed with the Institute. Dana College provided greater competition, once it opened, by expanding its general

education program—this, in the midst of the Depression and despite low initial enrollments.

The demand for legal education strengthened in the 1920s, despite the rapid expansion of NJLS: 53.6 percent of the state's law students enrolled at out-of-state schools. The NJLS monopoly on legal education in Newark ended when several eminent Newark residents, including Arthur T. Vanderbilt—the future Essex County Republican leader and dean of the NYU law school—opened non-profit Mercer Beasley Law School in 1926. Named for the Chief Justice of New Jersey between 1864 and 1897, Mercer Beasley competed with NJLS until they merged a decade later. Like NJLS, needing a liberal arts feeder to meet state and bar association rules and recommendations, Mercer Beasley established a working relationship with the Newark Institute.¹⁸

Newark's educational landscape also included several specialized institutions: the Newark College of Engineering (1918; founded 1881 as Newark Technical School, now the New Jersey Institute of Technology), and the Newark College of Pharmacy (1892), which merged into Rutgers University in 1926.¹⁹ The Newark Normal School became New Jersey State Normal School at Newark in 1913, and Newark State Teachers College in 1935.²⁰ Teachers' colleges in Montclair and Jersey City also attracted students from Newark. Local private college competition included Upsala College—founded with ethnic Scandinavian students in mind—and Seton Hall—a Catholic college founded by the Newark Diocese in 1856, and located in South Orange since 1860.

Rutgers University had irregularly provided evening lectures and courses in Newark since 1893. Though designated the state university, Rutgers more resembled a private institution like Temple and the University of Pittsburgh. The

988 students enrolled in Rutgers in 1923 constituted only 7.4 percent of all New Jersey students attending college anywhere; the corresponding figure for the University of Wisconsin was 43.8 percent. “New Jersey is not offering an educational program sufficiently varied to meet the needs of its diversified social and business life and of its large population,” wrote one critic. “It would seem that in New Jersey the need for a well-developed state university is obvious.”²¹

The Dana College faculty did not view the New Brunswick campus as direct competition. Its location, noted a Dana College faculty report (circa 1930), “makes it impossible...for it to serve the needs of the many students in the Metropolitan area who cannot afford to become resident students.” Yes, the report continued, “a fairly large number commute at considerable inconvenience to New Brunswick from this direction; but they come from only one edge of the area and many of these could come more easily to Newark, and would very probably come to a degree-granting institution recognized as doing good work.”²²

Finally, several local junior colleges attempted to set down stakes in the mid-1930s, including Essex Junior College, Newark Junior College, and junior colleges from neighboring counties. By providing cheaper postsecondary education than Dana or the Institute, these schools reduced the need to commute to downtown Newark.²³

Despite this array of postsecondary institutions, Newark, Essex County, and New Jersey remained student exporters. Princeton and Rutgers notwithstanding, students desiring an accredited specialized program, graduate or professional education, or a residential college offering liberal education often traveled across the Hudson.²⁴ Students living in the southern part of the state made a similar

journey across the Delaware to colleges in Philadelphia. Dana College might eventually reduce this outflow of liberal arts students.²⁵ But, many residents believed, Newark needed a university.

2. Maneuvers and Mergers

Here is this great metropolitan area—virgin territory so far as an urban college is concerned, and Dana College, unhampered by tradition, can do practically anything under the sun. It is a staggering responsibility, but two things stand out: We cannot shirk it and we must succeed. And it is true, I am sure, that if we succeed it will not be through the efforts of any one person. Success will only come through the development of a spirit of cooperation on the part of all those interested in collegiate education in Newark.

Richard D. Currier²⁶

“It is most significant fact,” stated a 1917 survey, “that of the eighteen largest cities of the United States, with one exception, Newark is the only one with so few educational advantages of the university type.” “There is no city anywhere in the United States with a population equal to that of Newark,” Richard Currier echoed several years later, “which does not have and has not had for many years at least one university and in some cases several.”

“It cannot be,” he continued, “that Newark is so entirely different from all the other cities with a similar population that it does not need and cannot support at least one university.” Many attempts to create a university in Newark out of institutions local and remote, for-profit and non-profit began in the early 1930s. Merger talks took place within the Currier school family, and among these schools, the Newark Institute, and Mercer Beasley.

Expressing a preference for the continued independence and local leadership of a combined institution, Currier proposed that Dana and the Newark Institute merge under the Dana College name. He also suggested that Seth Boyden merge

into the Institute's business program, and that NJLS convert to non-profit status as a preliminary step towards accreditation. But discussions with the Institute board reached an impasse over the price of the 40 Rector Street property, owned by Currier.²⁷

Currier had preliminary talks with administrators at Columbia University's extension division, which still offered its B.S. in business in Newark. He entered more serious negotiations with Robert C. Clothier, who assumed the Rutgers presidency in March 1932.²⁸ The New Jersey legislature reluctantly funded some divisions of Rutgers, but most Rutgers trustees refused to trade the university's independent status for additional aid. A merger, some Rutgers officials believed, might help to right a power imbalance: dependence on state funding gave Trenton legislators considerable power over the university.²⁹ The state's Board of Regents, believed Rutgers officials, preempted the Rutgers trustees as the ultimate authority over expenditures. Incorporating colleges in the state's largest city, noted a Rutgers board member, might enhance the Regents' opinion of the university's value to the state, righting the balance between state and university. Lacking a law school, the Rutgers trustees eyed NJLS—a larger, more established school than Mercer Beasley—as an alternative to opening a competing school. A university takeover might gain favor with legislators, whose numbers included increasing numbers of NJLS alumni.³⁰ Precisely this reasoning, some observers speculated, might explain the opposition of some state officials to a merger.³¹

Competition from Dana College did not upset Rutgers authorities. Dana's enrollments increased between 1931 and 1932, but part of that increase came from admission of Dana's first junior class, composed of students who might otherwise have entered NJLS. True competition, Rutgers officials believed,

required mounting a four-year program—still some years away. To the contrary, some Rutgers trustees viewed Dana as a salutary complement that might “relieve New Brunswick of one of its most troublesome educational problems,” whether by amalgamation or competition, by reducing the Jewish presence on the main campus.³²

Others at Rutgers disputed both this sentiment and the logistics. “Rutgers being an educational institution should always try for the best minds in the State irrespective of race or creed,” wrote Vreeland Tompkins, a Rutgers trustee from Jersey City. “I do not think that these institutions in Newark would keep boys from going to New Brunswick,” he added. “With the new and rapid means of transportation,” he noted, “New Brunswick is not as far from Newark today as it was years ago, which means that the commutation problem will increase rather than decrease.”³³

Discussions among Rutgers trustees took on added seriousness when NJLS moved to assume non-profit status. Opinions about a merger with Currier’s colleges ranged from “morally wrong” through “instrumentally and economically wrong” to “fine if it works.” The trustees were also divided over if and when to expand northward, absent a merger.³⁴ A merger, many trustees concluded, made more sense than unilateral expansion, which would further divide the city’s college clientele at a time of declining enrollments. The issue also split the deans of several Rutgers units. The pharmacy dean objected when the dean of Rutgers’s Newark extension service—permanently established in 1927 and initially located in the pharmacy building—pushed for a college of arts and business. The well-established pharmacy college, its dean noted, was already

authorized to give a B.S. Many students who opted for non-pharmaceutical careers, he added, studied there because of its location.³⁵

Most Dana College students opposed a Rutgers merger; a large-scale student demonstration preceded a 1933 resolution proclaiming the desirability of an independent Newark university, and warning that a merger meant less academic freedom and liberalism, lower academic standards, and state regulation without commensurate state aid. In short, claimed the protesters, the college would become “the tail end of the Rutgers kite.”³⁶

A 1934 parody of Gilbert and Sullivan operettas reflects this view:³⁷

Dana sings:

*If some day it's got to happen that a husband must be found,
I've got a little list: I've got a little list,
Of superlative pretenders who might well be underground,
And who never would be missed, who never would be missed.
There's that suitor from New Brunswick with his academic hash,
Whom so many seem to favor for he has a lot of cash.
Monetary romance palls—no, it's not enough for me—
In dreams I see more prepossessing fishes in the sea.
My life's at stake, why should I take these Shylocks on my list—
They'll none of 'em be missed; they'll none of 'em be missed.
I've got them on my list, I've got them on my list,
And they'll none of 'em be missed; they'll none of 'em be missed.*

Enter Dana's father:

*My child, I grieve to see that you are a prey to melancholy.
You should be looking your best today, for Lord Rutgers will be here this very afternoon
to seek your hand.*

Dana:

*Oh, father, your words cut me to the quick. I can esteem and venerate Lord Rutgers, but I
cannot love him. My heart is already given.*

Father (aside):

*It is then as I feared. (aloud) Given, and to whom?
Not to some gilded lordling.*

Dana:

*No father, the object of my love is no lordling. Oh pity me, for he is only a vision—an
ideal—a dream.*

Father:

Ah me, Fool!

Dana:

I blush for the weakness that allows me to cherish such a passion, but I do.

Father:

*But since you have no real love, for my sake, Dana,
You will marry Rutgers? He could give you
All the things a young girl craves.
Take Lord Rutgers, my child.*

Dana:

*Lord, no. I should die with Rutgers.
I shall call upon my council to defend my independent state.*

Rutgers:

*I'm from New Brunswick, New Jersey.
A college monarch, look at me-
My praise all Newark loudly chants,*

Chorus:

*But we wouldn't be your sisters and your cousins or your aunts,
No, we wouldn't be your sisters and your cousins or your aunts,
Your sisters and your cousins or your aunts.*

Rutgers:

*Oh my fame I could not hide,
My bosom swells with pride,
And I snap my fingers at a foeman's taunts.*

Chorus:

*But woe to your sisters and your cousins or your aunts,
But woe to your sisters and your cousins or your aunts,
Your sisters and your cousins or your aunts.*

Rutgers:

*When criticisms come,
I stay sublimely mum,
And seek seclusion that New Brunswick grants.*

Chorus:

*But what about your sisters and your cousins or your aunts,
He'd forget about his sisters and his cousins or his aunts,
His sisters and his cousins whom he reckons by the dozens.
His sisters and his cousins whom he reckons by the dozens.
And his aunts.*

Rutgers:

*My fame I could not hide.
My bosom swells with pride.*

Council (to Rutgers):

Enough!

Council (to Council):

*We know Lord Rutgers is a great man. He has just told us so himself.
(To Rutgers) But spirit has never been lacking in this place, sir, and as president of this
council I have a word for you.*

President: (Tune—“Admiral Song”-Pinafore) (Sings)

*Dana’s men are dauntless souls
As free as mountain birds,
And with energetic fist we are ready to resist
Your patronizing words.*

Chorus and President sing:

*We can stand one shake, but you’d better stop
Since pre-Volstead days we’ve been known to pop
Dana’s not a maid who is easily wooed,
And we like her present independent attitude.*

Repeat

President: (Tune—“When I Was a Lad”-Pinafore)

*This brewery seemed a likely spot
For a school in a place where schools were sought;
We remodeled, repainted, de-malted,
Gave an order to an artist for a big front door,*

Chorus:

Gave an order to an artist for a big front door.

President: (sings)

*A big front door which the world could see,
And now we have a University.*

Chorus repeats.

President: (sings)

*Of legal knowledge we acquired such a grip,
That our graduates were taken into partnership;
We added business courses and next there came
A liberal arts college with a swanky name.*

Chorus: (Sings)

A liberal arts college with a swanky name.

President: (sings)

*Our college acquired such a faculty
That now we are a university.*

Chorus repeats.

President: (sings)

*We're proud as punch of our history;
We're proud of our future as proud can be;
We're proud of the present — do pardon please,
While we give an exhibition of abilities.*

Chorus: (sings)

While we give an exhibition of abilities.

President: (sings)

*Our students are clever as you'll agree,
No wonder we're a University.*

Chorus repeats.

Rutgers sings to Dana:

*In the trees by our river the whippoorwills sing,
Asking will you, oh will you, please will you,
And the old Raritan sings the same kind of thing,
Saying will you, oh will you, please will you,
Is it weakness of intellect, Dana, I add,
We've a campus, a wall, things you've never had,
A life of such luxury wouldn't be bad,
Oh will you, oh will you, please will you.*

Dana replies, singing:

*Admit all the reasons for taking your name,
Oh will you, oh will you, please will you,
It's just selfish ambition that makes you exclaim,
Oh will you, oh will you, please will you.
I have faith in my future, far better for me,
Our own muddy river and campus to be,
And so my dear Rutgers, go climb up a tree,
Oh will you, oh will you, please will you.*

Rutgers sings to Council:

*Oh honored council, can't you see,
That Dana ought to marry me,
With all the wealth I have to give,
What a gloriously happy kind of life we'd live,
What a gloriously happy kind of life we'd live,
What a happy kind of life we'd live,*

Council:

*Your boast of wealth, a campus wall,
Means less than nothing after all,
You can't intrigue us not at all you can't,
Dana won't be your consort or your cousin or your aunt,
No, she won't be your consort or your cousin or your aunt,
Not your consort — not your cousin — what's one more,
You've got a dozen,
Not your consort — not your cousin — what's one more,
You've got a dozen,
No she shan't.*

Essex County legislators and some Dana College trustees joined the Newark-based opposition to a Rutgers merger.³⁸ To put it crudely, stated Newark mayor Jerome T. Congleton (1928-1933), “It looks like under the Rutgers plan we would be rather far from the base of supply. In my mind it smacks too much of the chain store system.” The state Commissioner of Education opposed the move; so did Wilson Farrand, respected headmaster of the Newark Academy and a University of Newark trustee.

And so did Newark Institute and Mercer-Beasley officials. These representatives included Franklin Conklin, president of the Newark Institute of Arts and Sciences, municipal director for Newark for the State Emergency Relief Administration, and eventual chair of the University of Newark board, and Spalding Frazier, then dean of Mercer Beasley, a Newark Institute trustee, and future dean of the University of Newark Law School.³⁹ Frazier called for “co-ordination” of Newark educational institutions “free of the taint of commercialism,” leading to “the establishment of a pure eleemosynary institution whose only aim was the raising of the standards of education.” A merger, he concluded, “may well involve the destruction of those institutions founded on (non-commercial) principles because of the fact that the prestige of

Rutgers may well be sufficient to impress the public mind with the thought that the commercial principle has been discontinued.”⁴⁰

Newark Institute and Rutgers officials met in January 1933. Conklin, representing the Institute, told Clothier of the opposition to the merger by many prominent Newark citizens. Conklin contacted his allies after this meeting, who promised to let Clothier know their views. News of the contemplated merger—not coincidentally—became public just at this time, and Clothier and Currier suspended discussions. Confronted with the need for capital improvements to the New Brunswick campus, tight budgets brought on by the Depression, and potentially rival claimants for the Newark prize if he moved forward, Clothier proposed to do “nothing in the matter other than to ‘let it simmer.’”⁴¹ The simmering continued until the last days of World War II.

Currier might have negotiated with Rutgers to provoke a reconfiguration of Newark’s educational landscape. “The whole educational problem in Newark,” he stated, “is too important to be solved on the basis of personalities or on the theory that one institution, located in New Jersey and but a few miles from Newark, should be barred from discussing the entire educational problem, when the protests originate from another institution [the Newark Institute] which, while located in Newark, is in reality merely an extension department of a university in another state.”⁴²

But Dana College trustees remained divided about merging with Rutgers or competing Newark institutions, so, with all negotiations in abeyance, Currier and the Dana trustees moved on their own. They marked the 25th anniversary of NJLS in spring 1933 by converting the law school and Seth Boyden into a non-profit institution—a step on the road to accreditation. Currier considered the sale

terms for the law school and the Rector Street building “reasonable.” The new unit would then merge into non-profit Dana College, with any surplus from the professional schools earmarked towards balancing the budget of the liberal arts college.⁴³

Currier proposed the name of Dana University, though some Dana College faculty favored the University of Newark.⁴⁴ Currier argued that paying the president’s salary, though difficult during the Depression, would help to attract successors. But he contributed his Dana College salary to its endowment fund; the state and accreditors required all non-profit colleges to maintain a minimum endowment.

Mercer Beasley Law School and the Newark Institute of Arts and Sciences responded with a merger of their own. Each unit retained its identity; the law school moved into 17 Academy Street, and the collective enterprise pre-empted the University of Newark name. In 1934, the Institute filed for the right to offer baccalaureate degrees in the same areas previously offered through NYU; the state granted the right to offer the BA, BCS, and BS degrees during 1935. George H. Black replaced Sloan as the Institute’s leader the same year.

In early 1934, Currier attempted to ensure the stability of his institution by adding more trustees to its board.⁴⁵ The roster included Frank Kingdon, who replaced Currier as president of the Dana group later that year. Richard Currier remained a board member and treasurer.⁴⁶ Kingdon advocated merger with the University of Newark. “Firm establishment of a centre of learning here,” Kingdon stated, was “more important than any other step we can take for the reconstruction of Newark.”

The Institute's announced intention to offer a four-year bachelor's degree program brought about intensive negotiations leading to the final merger, signed in October 1935. In 1936, the five divisions making up the two groups of colleges became one University of Newark with three divisions: the College of Arts and Sciences, including faculty from Dana and the Institute, the Law School, including faculty from Mercer-Beasley and NJLS, and the School of Business, including faculty from Seth Boyden and the Institute's commercial division. Frank Kingdon headed the merged enterprise; the Institute's Franklin Conklin chaired the board of trustees, which included all board members from both groups of colleges.

Currier had yielded the Dana group presidency to become president of Stoneleigh College, a two-year college for women in Rye, New Hampshire. He would resign from the university's board of trustees in 1936 to protest continuation of the former Institute's teaching agreement with NYU. Instruction by commuting NYU professors, many students correctly believed, facilitated acceptance of University of Newark credentials for transfer to the accredited Washington Square campus. The practice, they added, spurred enrollments while according recognition to the university. Such "recognition," Currier responded, threatened chances for Middle States Association accreditation. Not coincidentally, the bilateral arrangement terminated when Dana College obtained regional association accreditation in 1939. But the enigmatic Currier remained a donor, even after resigning.

3. The University under Frank Kingdon

The low registration reflects the poor economic condition of the Newark area. Most of our students barely manage to pay their tuition fees. A large proportion of them hold down jobs while they study. Most are surrounded

*by discouraging financial conditions at home. It is a tribute to the reputation of our faculty and to the judgment of the students that the cheaper competing institutions do not enroll most of the young people who come to us.*⁴⁷

Frank Kingdon had migrated from the U.K. to the U.S. as a young man in 1912, and became minister of a small Methodist congregation in Maine at age 18. He commuted between two churches on Sunday, just as Newark students commuted to the converted downtown brewery. At first, he walked the 18-mile round trip; then he swapped a room in his parsonage for using one of the tenant's horses.⁴⁸ These early experiences helped him bond with Dana College students.

Moving to a Boston suburb, Kingdon commuted to Methodist-controlled Boston University. College, he later wrote, "gave me an altogether new vantage point from which to see the American panorama." He blended in with "a light-hearted company of young people, just out of high school, and from backgrounds as varied as the population of the metropolitan area." "They had magnificent vitality," he added, "were healthy, handsome, possessed a deep seriousness under their insouciant exteriors, and spoke the living tongue of ingenious slang."⁴⁹ He became a Dana College trustee after moving to New Jersey to take the pulpit of a prominent Methodist church; his prior experience in educational administration consisted of a brief tenure as head of an emergency junior college in a neighboring suburb. Often mentioned for political office, Kingdon immersed himself and his institution in the affairs of the day.

His mission: to establish a university of high standards in the largest U.S. city without one. Casting the university as a servant of Newark's poor, Kingdon asked potential supporters whether democracy could survive as long as the

American electorate averaged a sixth grade education. “In an age when the media of propaganda have attained unprecedented scope and power,” he warned, “America presents fertile soil for the same kind of demagogue who has utilized these media with such success abroad.”⁵⁰

Success required defining a unique role in Newark’s educational community. “We are threatened on every side by competition and by hostile circumstances,” wrote one Dana College faculty member who visited many local high schools in 1934. The growing number of junior colleges posed a special threat since Dana largely educated first and second year students. The declining pool of potential students brought on by the Depression increased the competition.⁵¹

The tuition dependent university constantly strived to keep costs low and to find ways of supporting its students. Tuition at Newark (\$10.00 per credit) was lower than at NYU (\$11.00 per credit), but higher than at neighboring Seton Hall and Upsala (both \$7.00 per credit). The faculty considered petitioning the state for scholarship funds noting, “that the largest City in the State receives the least amount of money from the State.” But Kingdon nixed the suggestion as amounting to throwing themselves on the state.⁵²

Kingdon also had to resolve merger-related articulation and coordination issues. The merger of the two law schools and two undergraduate institutions required delicacy. Each law school had a dean, but the amalgamated law school needed only one. In the end, all agreed that the deanship would go first to NJLS, then to Mercer Beasley (Spaulding Frasier). Of greater immediate importance to maintaining enrollments: the “progressive” Dana faculty wanted to retain the College’s more liberal admissions requirements, and contemplated two new reforms. First, officials wished to add music to the list of high school courses

acceptable for college admission. Second, they hoped to increase the number of required Carnegie entrance units presented in any subject offered by a high school—including *commercial and vocational subjects*—from three to six (of 15).⁵³ The Dana faculty could not always resolve such proposals internally, since the school’s academic and financial health depended on maintaining a strong relationship with NYU. The refusal of NYU—especially its School of Commerce—to concur, strained relations, especially since NYU accepted credits from several unaccredited junior colleges in New Jersey. The collaborative agreement ended in 1939; in part a victim of substantive differences on academic preparation, and in part a necessity for accreditation of the College of Arts and Sciences.⁵⁴

A. The Students

A 20-year old Newarker... At the head of his high school class (244 students) but from a family which needs every penny he can earn... Entered on the urgent plea of his high school principal... Holds a full-time job in bookkeeping and accounting while majoring in that subject at the University... Has been granted loans (payable after graduation) up to capacity. His brilliant work has also led to a scholarship... Will graduate in June.

She wanted to be a doctor; now holds a full-time job in a bakery... An out-of-town girl, raised on a farm with eight others... First in her high school class... Lives and boards with relatives in Newark... Wouldn't take a loan she had no prospects of repaying; got her job instead... University now emphasizing difficulty of going through pre-medical training on her meagre financial resources... If guidance is successful, she will be happier and some Newark firm will gain a first-rate laboratory technician.

University of Newark promotional material⁵⁵

“Unlike most colleges,” stated an article in the first issue of the *Dana College Chronicle*, “Dana College is primarily a workers’ institution.”⁵⁶ A college named after John Cotton Dana could not be otherwise; Dana College primarily attracted

local youth from modest backgrounds. Richard Currier's schools complemented the vision of Newark's great librarian, and Kingdon built upon this focus.

In 1935, the Research Office of the New Jersey Emergency Relief Administration queried about 10,000 Essex County youth about their educational and vocational aspirations, social backgrounds, and employment opportunities or the lack thereof. The survey found a rapid drop off in high school attendance for white students between ages 16 and 18, correlated with socio-economic status. Considerable socio-economic self-selection propelled only a small proportion of college-age students to college.⁵⁷ "Study in the sense of pursuing courses of higher education, scarcely ever stirs the imagination of the majority of these young people."

A greater proportion of current students, noted the study, aspired to white-collar professional and semi-professional positions for men; semi-professional and commercial positions for women.⁵⁸ The survey found virtually no African American males in college, and lower professional aspirations for African American than for white youth. But among 16 to 18 year old women, a greater proportion of African Americans attended college (5.8 vs. 3.1 percent).⁵⁹ The University of Newark largely appealed to this small minority of Essex County students who aspired to college education; it was the only option for many students, save for the junior colleges.

The faculty easily profiled the typical Dana student that emerged from this pool of Essex County youth. "He is one born in Newark, living in Newark, and likely to spend most of his days in Newark." Such "city conditioned" students "must be prepared for membership in a city community." The faculty noted an intellectual hunger, even keenness "for he is making some effort of his own to go

forward with his education.” Awareness of social problems accompanied intellectual vigor, “particularly of their pressure upon under-privileged groups.” Altogether, the faculty concluded, “he is promising educational and social material, but rough in exterior and manner.”⁶⁰

A fall 1937 survey of Newark freshmen in two divisions of the university, conducted by sociologist Paul Lazarsfeld (1901-1976), found that first and second-generation Americans comprised well over half the student body: Americans = 42.5 percent, Russians, presumably Jews, = 21.9 percent, Germans = 11.6 percent; English = 9.4 percent; Romance States = 8.4 percent; Slavic States = 5.4 percent; and others = 0.8 percent.⁶¹ The reported breakdown by religion was: Jewish = 43.5 percent; Protestants = 28.2 percent, and Catholics = 25.2 percent.⁶² Competition from Seton Hall—accredited since 1932, offering business courses in 1936, and opening extension centers in Newark and Jersey City in 1937—helps to explain the relatively low enrollment of Catholics.⁶³ Some administrators attempted to use Lazarsfeld’s study to counter “exaggerated statements” about the presence of Jewish students. But the Jewish percentage was comparable to the religious distribution at the universities of Pittsburgh, Temple, and Buffalo, which also faced competition from local Catholic colleges and universities.⁶⁴

Virtually all surveyed freshmen came from northern New Jersey—47 percent from Newark, 28 percent from the rest of Essex County, and 23 percent from the rest of northern New Jersey.⁶⁵ Twenty percent had attended another college; 12 percent had attended a vocational school.⁶⁶ Nearly 87 percent of the university’s students were male, and all but seven were white. Lazarsfeld’s earlier study of Newark youth showed a history of discrimination affecting Black aspirations, especially in medicine and the arts.⁶⁷ About half the fathers of Newark’s students

were in sales (22.2 percent) and skilled work (25.2 percent) combined. Another 14.8 percent were proprietors or managers—mostly of small shops. Only 10.3 percent of the fathers were professionals.⁶⁸

The poorest students discerned their socio-economic differences from peers. “Within days of beginning [Dana] College,” wrote Seymour Sarason, “it was apparent to me that the blacks and I came from the most economically impoverished homes.” How did he know? Other students bought lunch at a nearby luncheonette and a “fair amount” commuted by car or train. Sarason brought his lunch, and patronized the eatery only to buy Cokes, using his trolley fare for that purchase. Other students, he added, attended downtown movie theaters, which charged more for admission than local theaters.

Sarason correctly noted a lack of abject poverty; most students had money in their pockets—an allowance “proof positive to me that they came from another world.”⁶⁹ A 1934 men’s fashion forecast, written “in due consideration of their pocketbooks,” predicted brown and gray bi-swing, inverted pleated suits, knitted wool and bow ties, and moccasin shoes in conventional chocolate brown.⁷⁰ Sarason (and many others) could ill afford such a wardrobe; indeed, he (and many others) had trouble paying back a small loan from the university.⁷¹

But the source of student funds was more likely a job than an allowance: 65 percent of Dana College freshmen and 70 percent of business school freshmen worked in 1937—most over 30 hours per week.⁷² About 60 percent of Newark’s students—one third of the day students and almost 80 percent of the evening students—were at least partially self-supporting.⁷³ Job demands kept day session enrollments—day and evening sessions were on an academic par—relatively low: 37 percent of Dana students and 25 percent of business students.⁷⁴ Students

whose offices or factories closed at 5:00 had just enough time to gulp down dinner and make it to a 6:10 class.

Few students received financial aid; Newark, as a private institution, did not award state scholarships. The Greek community established a scholarship after surveying many possible recipients.⁷⁵ Two benefactors from Newark's Italian-American community, the largest ethnic group in Newark at the time, likewise established the Dante Fund.⁷⁶ The university could only afford to parcel out small loans, but it deferred the tuition of a few refugees from fascism it found among its students—"though not entirely destitute"—until they obtained employment.⁷⁷

Job commitments and related financial issues, Paul Lazarsfeld noted, confined 88 percent of Newark's 262 freshmen to local institutions if they attended college at all.⁷⁸ Only one-fourth of Newark's freshmen applied elsewhere; these students often cited a desire for a campus, though many students mentioned Rutgers extension (University College) as a realistic alternative.⁷⁹ But competing colleges rejected half the applicants who ultimately enrolled at Newark.⁸⁰ Newark might have been more willing to give students a chance: the university continued to admit the top three-quarters of high school graduates by rank, and used the College Board's Scholastic Aptitude Tests to identify eligible students with grades below this cut—a not uncommon practice at the time. Newark also continued to permit students to offer high school vocational work for entrance. This liberality might have facilitated matriculation of the 12.2 percent of freshmen who previously attended vocational schools; in 1934, Dana College had refused to end this practice for reasons of equity and finance.

Many students only learned about the University of Newark as high school seniors; about half the time, guidance counselors recommended the university. Students cited the attractiveness of business school offerings (especially accounting) and faculty quality as incentives. Many liberal arts students intended to transfer to a four-year college—mainly to NYU—since after the merger Newark continued to focus on freshman and sophomore coursework. The NYU connection, Lazarsfeld speculated, explained why potential transfer students attended Newark in the first place.⁸¹

Contemporary urban colleges often focused on bringing the campus to the adult community, and the university and its constituent predecessors made several forays into adult education.⁸² But these aspirations often fell victim to poor planning. Newark offered adult learning through local organizations, but left administrative tasks to officials of those groups, with unfortunate results. Rutgers had a well-organized evening program in Newark, so Newark refocused its efforts on providing evening versions of its degree-granting day curricula.

B. Student Life

Our students work in the kind of place where they will live their adult lives, and...have the resources of the city with which to shape and enrich their learning...Our campus is the city crowded with experience. What a campus it is! There is no moment day or night when it is still, and in its restless life move the forces making the civilization of tomorrow.

Frank Kingdon⁸³

Richard Currier nudged Dana College towards academic progressivism. “Unhampered by tradition,” Currier told the college community, Dana College “can do practically anything under the sun.”⁸⁴ Though a graduate of Yale, Currier wanted Dana College to find its own way, rather than follow traditions laid down by well-established colleges. But three years of merger talks hindered

curriculum development, and Currier—spurred by the announced opening of low-tuition junior colleges in Newark and surrounding suburbs in 1934—resumed the conversation during the last months of his presidency. His goal: public proclamation of a curriculum that “answers the needs of the present social order of Newark and Essex County.”

Currier and the Dana faculty explored many options under discussion nationally, including an increase in vocational courses—Currier noted a one thousand percent increase in US collegiate business school enrollments since World War I—length of degree, a formal division into junior and senior colleges, and the use of freshman orientation courses.⁸⁵ He was especially intrigued with Minnesota’s new General College, targeted at freshmen and sophomores, and aimed at creating an intelligent “followership” via survey courses.⁸⁶ Dana College offered these courses in 1935, but Currier’s departure, the merger with the Newark Institute, and the quest for accreditation relegated innovation to the back burner.

A 1936 resolution of the Dana College faculty reiterated the primacy of the academic mission of the college, especially when challenged by the lure of athletics. “Higher education can and must stand on its own feet,” resolved the faculty, “and cannot afford to depend on circuses for its support.” The faculty would tolerate inter-collegiate athletics when conducted on “a truly amateur basis and designed to represent a natural and healthy culmination of a sound physical education program within the college.” But, the faculty concluded, few colleges could justify their athletic programs on this basis, though more officials “are coming to conceive of athletics from the standpoint of true sportsmanship.”

The University of Newark, the faculty concluded, “must be with the leaders and not with the laggards.”⁸⁷

The faculty was not indifferent or hostile to extracurricular participation, but a university in a brewery featured few signs of a country college. There were no studies or lounges—dances were held in the building lobby—and a cafeteria opened only in 1949, well after the merger with Rutgers.⁸⁸ Commuting and working left Newark’s students with little time for extracurricular activities, and students claimed to prefer interaction with faculty outside the classroom in their few free moments. “We thoroughly believe in the adage that ‘lectures pass from the professor’s note to the student’s notes without passing through the brains of either,’” wrote the scribe of the 1938 sophomore class. Therefore, “it has been found wise to become intimate with our professors, as far as they will allow us, and discover lights of knowledge in a more personal manner.” The sophomores, added the scribe, have come “to realize the value of a liberal education, and to take liberal advantage of it.”⁸⁹

The university did mount a basketball team, a Liberal Club, a history club (also left-wing), a debating club, eight fraternities and sororities, and a Girls’ Association, designed to unite the relatively small number of women in the college.⁹⁰ It also published *the Dana College Chronicle*, a student newspaper, and *The Encore*, a yearbook.⁹¹ Like other colleges with diverse ethnic representation, Dana sanctioned clubs for specific racial and national groups, including a Dante Society for Italian-American students, a Newman Club for Catholic students, and, after 1940, a Cardozo Club for Jewish students.

Pegasus, the student literary society, published two issues of *First Flight* in the late 1930s. The journal included standard essays on the end of adolescence and

young love, but also contained stories of fading memories of the old country, shoplifting a dress for a prom, the contradictions confronted by a debt collection worker, and a poem, entitled “De Highway Robber,” containing four “Kentos” in Yiddish-ized English.⁹² Many clubs went into limbo during World War Two, but were reconstituted soon after the war’s end.⁹³

How did the students view the University of Newark? The 1939 *Encore* summarized four years of student life:

September ‘35—the last class to enter Dana College and the Seth Boyden School of Business (an experimental class—latest educational methods...survey courses...a transitional class, separate schools going into a new and bigger University in October of that year) ... students approved style of study...first real glimpse of school, handsome gentlemen in white linen suit and goatee in August ‘35 testing IQ’s of prospective students ... memorable year ... Dr. Kingdon an awe inspiring monument to all the frosh, teaching his final class—Survey of Philosophy... those long arduous discussions in Axel’s and in the parks—what is truth? what is beauty? Was Shophe right? ... at last we begin to think ... our first course in psychology ... Professor Gaudet’s stock jokes—we fell... freedom of thought jolted into us ...freedom! freedom! accept nothing! Disbelieve! question everything! scientific method—objective approach ... we don’t see, we don’t believe ... perfectly normal freshman—the same the world over ... time to cool off in the Junior Year ... Dr. Woodward’s lectures ... timed to the second ... remarkable ... class election—by political engineering—Chester Micek morning and Owen Teevan evening prexies ... Joe Melillo and Stan Totten representatives ...remember the noise we made? racing down stairways yelling “whee!”—real frosh—just kids live and prancing ... the lobby at night? Packed to the gills ... frat and sorority rushes ... the Amateur Review on Feb 7, ‘36 ... first of its kind ... for new freshmen ... in the library, large crowd ... terrific fun at rehearsals ... Marty Rakitt, unforgettable clown, Abe Mirsky, Art Reisinger, Lou Finkel, Caryl Sonnabend, Leon Ross, Flowers Snell, our songbird, Eddie Geiger... frosh regulations ... innovation ... guinea pigs again soph vigilante squad—Sam Giacome, Reichenbacker, Epstein, bruisers all be meek, or else! ... frosh buttons, matches, pins ... court trials ... example of true injustice ... guilty, 3 whack ... not guilty, ten ... broken paddles (oh boy!) ... spring warm, balmy spring ... spirit of freedom again cuts ... April 17th frosh hop ... Robert Treat, Sunset Room, practically exclusive ... formal, smooth, swell time ... first real signs of romance Ruth Krivens-Ben Madnick—Evelyn Wagner Morty Wald, first real date, Gert Prestup-Andie Endler (Our Gert has since left us—young, pretty, charming—we’ll never forget) ... Remember George Malanga’s piano playing; Herman Shultz’s wienie roast on his farm, Cookie Schreiber, baker’s scion, Hilda Mae Meridith, Ohio born, Max Rogel, newspaper snoop—all have left our portals ... May exam’s,—vacations ... whee! To a jolly year.

September ‘36—Registration ... Am I glad to see you! How are you? Where were you all summer? ... Class still intact ... some dropped out ... some transferred ... some added from Newark Institute ... merger still operating ... new courses, no more survey type ... class elections, new officers, Morty Wald, morning and Irv Kaufman evening prexies ... innovation—freshman reception on Convocation Day ... Soph leaders with groups of frosh on tour of building and activities ... successful orientation scheme ... school in swing ... Terror of the times ... Professor Buckingham in English Lit ... face is pale with fright ... 60 a high mark ... swell course ... roller skating party, Riviera rink ... first of its kind for the school ... downs and ups, but everybody happy ... intramural football at Weequahic Park ... tied by the frosh ... fie! ... but fun! ... cooperated with September

frosh for the review for February frosh ... Rakitt and Geiger again the heroes ... bowling team another soph spark ... our team school champs—uncontested ... well, at least we tried something ... election of Soph Charm Girl ... every girl a candidate ... Evelyn Wagner by overwhelming vote ... big jig of the year—swankiest and most expensive school affair ever held ... also most successful ... formal ... Chanticleer still topic of talk—criterion of all other affairs ... Dr. Flink and wife as guests ... perfect evening ... trips of abnormal psych classes ... Vineland, leading institution for I.Q. of 70 or less ... Florence Wagner's car ... cyclone on wheels ... horrible launch... tasted feeble mind ... lectures by officials of research directors ... tour of buildings ... trip to Totowa ... equally instructive—demonstrations invaluable ... school elections ... voting machines ... hottest campaign ever staged ... moves to oust Frank Harris ... lining up of factions ... Sam Farb-Bob busse coalition ... high-pressure of Sal Russoniello ... new method of electing representatives by school at large ... Evelyn Wagner choice, but never served ... Janet Roessler, pinch-hitted ... Harris, 2nd faction in by big margin ... policy of, by, and for students ... our New Deal ... exams ... we parted not to see many again ... vacation ... a year of fast activity ... on the go all the time best in entire school life.

September 1937—Junior Year ... search for familiar faces ... so many strange ones ... something missing ... secretarial graduations ... transfers to law school ... many students change to evening classes ... majors ... dignity and restraint coupled with fresh energy ... elections ... Irv Glassner as morning President and Norm Burns industrious, as president of the evening class ... the Prom ... biggest and best in the history of the University ... first name band dance ... brought to us through the untiring efforts of Bernie Goldstein ... George Hall and Dolly Dawn ... what a combination!! ... did we dance? we danced and danced and danced ... what a crowd ... Bernie Bense, Gordie Brown, Abe Mirsky, Lill Rittenband, Kern Thompson, Jerry Urso, ... Stan Jacobs sang ... nice voice ... Irv Glassner gave flowers to Rena Rosenthal, our Queen ... both beautiful ... whee! ... congratulations to B. Goldstein for a swell affair ... exams ... slavery ... anxious moments ... results ... SENIORS!

September 1938—few survivors ... closer ties ... Gosh! that last year flew ... elections ... Bernie Goldstein day pres. ... Seymour Fried evening pres. ... Muriel Singer representative ... Joe Melillo pres. of board ... Encore elections ... Irv Glassner, editor ... Bernie Goldstein, business editor ... Anita Frankle, literary editor ... Doc Stephens, faculty adviser ... worry ... worry ... worry ... money ... pictures ... activities ... engraving ... printing ... advertising ... pages ... pages ... pages ... deadline ... tout est fini ... good! Huh? ... Junior prom? ... Senior Ball? Date? ... Place? ... orchestra? ... culmination ... Junior prom in honor of the graduating seniors ... April 22nd ... Elizabeth Town and Country Club Royal Commanders ... Trienah Meyers, queen ... big attendance ... Irv Glassner with Evie Schreiber ... Bernie Goldstein and Anita Springer ... surprised? ... Rena Rosenthal with Chopper McConnell ... we wonder! ... Anita Frankel with Joe Lederman ... what, no Mitch? ... Jo Melillo with his pretty sister ... poor Bonzo ... Spring ... romance ... weddings Harold Schein ... Fred Walker ... Krivins-Madnick engagement ... Ho Hum! ... poor fellows ... Jerry Kessler's endowment drive ... big success ... student refugee committee ... swastika eradicated ... concerts ... rings ... keys ... pins ... Ah! ... it's here ... fears ... sorrows ... sobbing ... nerves ... tension ... why? ... COMPREHENSIVES ... of course ... results ... relief? more studying ... finals ... grades ... Class night sadness ... crying ... broken ties ... adieus ...GRADUATION.⁹⁴

Recognizing the academic primacy claimed by faculty, Caroline McGowan, Newark's director of student relations, advocated coordination—even integration—of the academic and the extra-curricular by transforming Newark's academically oriented clubs into credit bearing workshops with limited and

selective admission. Her recommendation went nowhere, but reflected McGowan's belief in the need for participation in a revamped set of extracurricular activities through which the university might exert influence and guidance over Dana's unsophisticated, immature undergraduates.

Administration-student relationships, McGowan argued, were "intricate and unpredictable." Intricate, "because there exists considerable confusion in the minds of the students as to the extent of their own abilities, authorities, and values." Unpredictable, "since we do not adequately appreciate the various influences brought to bear upon their lives outside the realm of the University's influence resulting in reactions which are not always those expected, desired, or desirable."

"By offering adequate guidance in their social relationships, attitudes, and behavior," McGowan wrote, "we are fulfilling an obligation, beyond the purely academic, which society expects of us when we assume the responsibility of producing a college-trained individual." At Newark, this required beginning "with those more elementary concepts with which students of the more privileged backgrounds are already equipped upon their entrance into college." The university could take little for granted. "Ours is the elementary task of defining and teaching by various methods the abc's of social relationships." A successful program at Newark required taking "our students as we find him and help him progress in his own way and at his own speed."⁹⁵ McGowan frequently reiterated the problems associated with creating a strong extra-curriculum in a commuter university with minimal facilities. Ephemeral student interests and unreliable student leadership further hindered progress. So did the practice, by students controlling the purse strings, of funding only select activities.⁹⁶

McGowan also contended with student career aspirations. Ten years into the Depression, students still had difficulty getting jobs and obtaining admission to graduate and professional schools. Jewish students, for example, could obtain teaching jobs in several New Jersey cities, but were barred from most suburban positions. A member of the Hawthorne New Jersey School Board interviewed a Jewish candidate from a local teachers college while he continued to mow his lawn. No job offer developed.⁹⁷ The university, McGowan believed, *had* to guide talented students during the nation's most severe economic decline. "Why try to be an engineer when you will make a better draughtsman?" she asked. "Why be a mediocre lawyer when you could be a good accountant? And if you are well qualified for work as a secretary, why not capitalize on the fact?" In 1937-38, the university did not furnish a candidate for any of the 200 or more inquiries for secretaries received by the personnel office. The personnel department, McGowan concluded, "must constantly study the needs of the city and the state, and, where possible, to fit the individual student into those needs in terms of his capabilities."⁹⁸

Carolyn McGowan preferred informing students about the realities of economic depression and racial, gender, and ethnic discrimination rather than taking up arms against those practices. The university's 1938 capital campaign would appeal to Newark's business elite by adopting McGowan's stress on fitting the student to the needs of the community. But this focus might not have satisfied Newark students who questioned the fundamentals of the economic system. Even less radical students—whose present and former teachers encouraged high aspirations—would not easily accept McGowan's "realism." Perhaps more students would have taken her message to heart if Newark's students and its

president had not often fought for social justice. But president and students did take on the system—intellectually and politically.

The job structure changed and the unemployment rate declined after the war. The postwar demand for faculty abetted the careers of Newark's proto-academics. Clark University, for example, accepted Seymour Sarason for graduate work; the Yale psychology department then accepted him—its first identified Jewish student. Others from this financially starved college embarked on careers in academe, journalism, and politics. But Frank Kingdon would not witness this turnaround from the helm.

C. College and Community

The university itself must be an active and sharing agent in the community life. Socrates is remembered as the man who has had a more profound influence upon the intellectual life of the world than any teacher who has ever lived, yet he did not write a book or erect a building. He lived in the very midst of Athens, participating in the active ferment. He drew his stimulus and nourishment from its walks and markets. In a similar way, a university that is to continue his tradition must be quickened by the identification of itself with its city. It must lay its heart against the teeming tides of life that ebb and flow about it and tune its utterances to the rhythm of their beating. In one aspect of its development I see the university as an instrument fitted to the community's use and accepted by all kinds of enterprises, political, commercial, social, and cultural, as committed to their service.

Frank Kingdon⁹⁹

The University of Newark claimed to be part and parcel of community life. Its trustees, faculty, and administrators often emphasized the role of alumni in the economic, political, and social life of the city of Newark; these same individuals contributed directly in many arenas. While president, Frank Kingdon chaired several community chest drives, headed the New Jersey Conference of Social Work, mediated several labor disputes and strikes, and frequently spoke before civic organizations. His faculty members served as members and advisers to

citizens' committees; the university established a working relationship with the Institute of American Banking, and the Sociology Department coordinated student research and projects for the local Welfare Federation.¹⁰⁰ The University also sponsored a city-oriented research center, and planned for a "human relations" center to "correlate academic studies with the actual problems of living." Such externally funded activities offered high visibility at relatively low risk, for they required much lower investments of hard money than extension work.

Paul Lazarsfeld ran the research center for two years.¹⁰¹ Reflecting on its evolution, Lazarsfeld called the center a "recognized institution of social research and learning." Now, he added, it "has to become the center of social intelligence for the city of Newark and its area."¹⁰² The center embarked on this mission by completing and publishing a survey of ten thousand Newark young adults conducted, but never analyzed, by the New Jersey Emergency Relief Administration. Initially funded by Welfare Federation of Newark and the International Institute for Social Research, the university assumed financial responsibility for the study in mid-1936.

A strong professional staff supported Lazarsfeld—ex-wife Marie Jahoda, for example, who with Lazarsfeld had published the influential Marienthal Study at Vienna's *Wirtschaftspsychologische Forschungsstelle*.¹⁰³ Lazarsfeld completed several other studies under the center's aegis, using National Youth Administration funds to employ 16 students in 1936. The university used part of its own NYA funds to delegate another 31 students to work at the center—jobs enabling many Newark students to continue their studies.¹⁰⁴ But lacking permanent internal funding, Lazarsfeld was asked to move his center to less

ample quarters within the brewery, and he left Newark for full-time work on the Princeton Radio Research Project, precursor of Columbia University's Bureau of Applied Social Research.¹⁰⁵

The University of Newark contributed to the community through its educational, research, and even political activities, though, as events proved, not all community members appreciated all the university's contributions. But this service required communal augmentation of the university's limited resources. Save for NYA funds and trustee gifts, tuition was the only consistent source of revenue for the university. At its peak, the university's tuition dependence reached 96 percent of its budget; a percentage its officials believed the highest in the nation.¹⁰⁶

The past history of the Dana group as proprietary schools hindered fund raising efforts, and only a few members of its large board of trustees provided financial sustenance. Largely composed of lawyers—not surprising given the university's focus on legal education—the board of trustees lacked significant alumni and business representation, groups capable of greater largesse.¹⁰⁷ One exception: department store magnate and philanthropist Louis Bamberger, who erased the annual deficit as long as he remained on the board, and bequeathed \$50,000 to the university upon his death in 1944—a sum approached by no one else on the board.¹⁰⁸

Enrollments peaked in 1937, but the university still faced a deficit, and, just before Christmas 1937, Kingdon warned the faculty about possible staff reductions. His defense against charges of poor timing: faculty could seek other jobs at the scholarly conferences held during the holidays. The faculty absorbed

salary cuts that year, demanding tenure in return. The trustees denied that request, but assured the faculty of a year of stability beginning in October 1938.

Faced with a mortgage on the brewery, a disgruntled faculty, and accreditor demands for an endowment, Kingdon and the trustees embarked on an ill-fated million-dollar endowment drive in 1938. The campaign theme: educational opportunity to overcome poverty. Other urban universities admitting large numbers of minority students emphasized assimilation to eliminate ethnicity and radicalism.¹⁰⁹ But lack of education, said University of Newark officials, was the true threat to democracy. “There can be no educational buck-passing with students like these,” stated *A Closed Door Swings Open in Northern Jersey*, the campaign’s key publication. “They are North Jersey’s own responsibility.”¹¹⁰

*Some of them will rise to the top, education or no. They will fight their way up, as others have done, to be successful financiers, labor leaders, captains of industry, and politicians. But the mental horizons of many will be limited; and perhaps that fact supplies the key to some of our current social conflicts. If a man has the benefit of disciplined training in a variety of subjects; if he knows other fields than those of roller bearings or pipe lines or blast furnaces; if his areas of interest and enthusiasm are wide, he not only lives a fuller life but approaches problems with a broader perspective and greater tolerance.*¹¹¹

Beginning in the 1920s, officials at colleges with elite aspirations asked if too many students attended college; in contrast, University of Newark officials argued for money to support increased enrollments. The campaign added an ominous message: “If proper educational opportunities are not provided, improper ones will be.” Other agencies, the campaign warned, would “absorb the energies of idle, and even of ambitious young people, and to give them plenty of training.” The choice was clear: turn Newark’s youth into “social assets” or “social liabilities?” We need one; we can ill afford the other. But until we make some effort to exploit the mental resources of this population center, we have here a sleeping giant, one capable of great harm or of great good.¹¹²

The capital campaign was not confined to Newark. Believing alumni donors resided in Newark's growing suburbs, university officials appealed to all northern New Jersey. The campaign brochure noted that 43 percent of the university's 1,730 students came from the city itself; the remainder (less 1.5 percent) came from 12 of the 13 northern New Jersey counties outside the city (including Essex County). Earlier in the century, Newark failed to annex most contiguous suburbs, a key reason for the city's long-term economic decline, according to many historians. Kingdon correctly diagnosed the potential impact of suburbanization on Newark and its social institutions. "The more people with money move into residential areas outside the city," he wrote, "the less money will be available from highly assessed properties and for privately maintained social agencies."¹¹³ For Kingdon, education was the preferred alternative to welfare or crime control.

The capital campaign was set to go public in mid-April 1938, but less than three weeks earlier, the university found itself on the defensive when local Catholics, led by Father Matthew J. Toohey of St. James Church, attacked the university as communistic.¹¹⁴ "Appeals are made to promote education and culture in our universities and colleges whose staffs are filled with radicals," stated Father Toohey. "There is no need to search the record afar; in Newark University the faculty and administration is honeycombed with radicals of the most extreme type," he charged.¹¹⁵ Catholics had long expressed concern about the enrollment of Catholic students in non-Catholic colleges. The Newman Clubs at the University of Newark and other contemporary colleges and universities were concessions to reality—by most counts, only half of Catholic college students in America attended Catholic colleges.¹¹⁶ But the political views of Kingdon and

some of his faculty members made the University of Newark unacceptable to some Catholic priests and laymen, especially when Seton Hall College offered a local alternative.¹¹⁷

Kingdon was no shrinking violet; “The University of Newark is exactly as radical as the constitution of the United States, which guarantees freedom of speech to all its citizens,” he replied. The university’s students include all shades of opinion, coming as they do from all sections of the population, he added. “but there is no organized presentation of any particular point of view in the teaching at the university.”¹¹⁸ While president, Kingdon took on much of the local power structure at one time or another. “If the educator does not enter public life,” he said in 1937, the community “will be restricted to the limited resources of the business man, the politician and the demagogue.”¹¹⁹ His rejoinders to Father Toohey made him few friends among the area’s Catholics; his vocal denunciations of Nazis—in Germany and in Newark—did not sit well with many German-Americans.¹²⁰ And his enmity towards Frank Hague—powerful political boss of Jersey City and a devout Catholic—cost him political support in both Hudson and Essex Counties.¹²¹

Kingdon’s support of Socialist Party candidate Norman Thomas for president in the 1930s earned the university Hague’s enmity.¹²² Said Hague: “We hear about constitutional rights, free speech and free press. But every time I hear these words, I say to myself ‘that man is a Red, that man is a Communist.’” “The Hague political organization survived by ‘dispensing bread, circuses, and punishment’—relief, outings, and police,” Thomas replied. “Mayor Hague would not put it in that way; he recognizes the necessity for his huge police force, but he states the reason on moral grounds: ‘Jersey City,’ he said in a radio

speech, 'is the most moralest city in America.'"¹²³ Father Toohey's defense of Hague clearly drew the battle lines. "The battle of the century is being fought in Jersey City," he charged, "to determine whether the brand of Americanism that we know is to prevail or whether the brand of Americanism that is endeavored to be proclaimed by Morris Ernst and Roger Baldwin and his ilk will prevail."¹²⁴

Father Toohey was referring to another aspect of the University of Newark's alignment with anti-Hague forces. Spalding Frazier, by then dean of the University of Newark Law School and the pre-merger dean of Mercer Beasley, joined attorneys for the CIO and American Civil Liberties Union to oppose the forcible removal of CIO organizers from Jersey City.¹²⁵ The CIO organizing effort was one of the few serious challenges to Hague's 28-year reign. Some Newark businessmen noted these pro-union activities.

The opposition of these powerful segments of northern New Jersey jeopardized the capital campaign, but a self-inflicted wound made matters much worse. In 1937, Roger Straus, Jewish co-chair of the National Conference of Jews and Christians, funded the establishment of a human relations center at the university.¹²⁶ The center, noted one document, "aims to correlate academic studies with the actual problems of living, attempting to apply the findings of the sciences bearing on human behavior to community problems, with the aim of developing a 'science of living together.'"¹²⁷ Anonymously co-funded by philanthropist Louis Bamberger, and considered the university's most important community initiative after the closure of Lazarsfeld's research institute in 1937, the university's trustees accepted the gift with little discussion.

But Kingdon's proposed appointment of Jerome Davis to head the center provoked considerable controversy. Davis had taught at Dartmouth (1921-24)

and at Yale Divinity School from 1924 until his contract was not renewed in 1937.¹²⁸ Davis claimed he was not dropped for financial reasons, as Yale officials contended, but for his economic views as expressed in *Capitalism and its Culture*.¹²⁹ His case became a cause célèbre among advocates of academic freedom. A committee of the American Association of University Professors condemned Yale for terminating his contract after 13 years of service—more than enough time to make a tenure decision—while the National Education Association found “no valid reason” for his termination.¹³⁰ Davis later called for colleges to be run by experts, “not vested interests that seem determined to suppress open discussion.” Education, he insisted, is held back by the dominant ideology of the nation and in America the dominant ideology is concerned with profits.”¹³¹ Alerted by vice president George Black to the growing trustee opposition to Davis for his controversial statements and alleged left-wing connections, Kingdon backed Davis to the end.¹³²

The university neither appointed Davis nor opened the Institute, and Kingdon’s relations with Newark’s trustees deteriorated after the failure of the fund-raising drive and the Davis controversy. Early in the 1939-1940 academic year, Newark’s trustees suddenly announced that they had granted Kingdon a one-year leave of absence. He formally resigned the following spring, again on short notice, to head the Emergency Rescue Committee after the fall of France to the Nazis. He deleted a line in a draft announcement of his leave blaming the Newark trustees for failure to support the Davis appointment. Instead, he attributed the appointment’s failure to inadequate finances, not an illegitimate issue since Louis Bamberger’s anonymous stock contribution had declined in value.

Paul Lazarsfeld called Kingdon's fate at Newark "tragic," saying that he was caught between his political commitments and his university duties.¹³³ A few weeks after announcing Kingdon's leave, the trustees approved a resolution by the school of business faculty calling for establishment of a committee to examine ways "to further improve the position of the University in the community, to achieve continued development of its program, and to improve its internal and external relationships."¹³⁴

Franklin Conklin briefly became the acting president in September 1939, but vice-president George Black soon assumed that position; both came to the university from the Newark Institute. Black's top priority: stabilizing the academic programs and the university's finances to prepare for accreditation. Kingdon had offered only lukewarm support for accreditation. Are we, he asked, "primarily interested in meeting the academic requirements of established recognizing agencies, or are we primarily interested in developing an institution uniquely set to the work of taking the particular type of student with whom we have to deal and leading him out to a fuller experience which will register both in a richer personal life and a more constructive social one?" Kingdon's answer: "There can be but one decision and that to take the second road while progressing as far as possible simultaneously along the first."

Black reversed these priorities. His first step, as acting president: accreditation. Initially rejected because of an inadequate library and lab space for physics, the College of Arts and Sciences gained Middle States accreditation in 1940. Professional school accreditation depended on the Middle States decision, and law school accreditation came next. Conforming to accreditation standards while remaining unaccredited made the law school vulnerable to significant enrollment

declines in the late 1930s. The unaccredited John Marshall Law School in Jersey City, the antecedent of Seton Hall's law school, provided intense competition because its curriculum took less time to complete than Newark's.¹³⁵ Once approved, the university frequently claimed to have the state's only accredited law school. The American Association of Collegiate Schools of Business completed the triple play by accrediting the Newark's business school.

Accreditation, officials hoped, would make the university more attractive to students who might otherwise opt for accredited colleges in other states (New Jersey remained a student exporter). Accreditation ended the faculty exchange program with NYU; accredited colleges had to stand on their own. It also increased the university's attractiveness if a merger partner again emerged.

But first came another hurdle. Enrollments declined as World War II reduced the size of the student body and the faculty. Newark could not participate in the V-12 program; lacking dorms, it shared the fate of other urban commuter colleges that suffered financially throughout the war. "Then the war came," Newark's students somberly recorded in their yearbook. "Students became soldiers and a large portion of the male scholars disappeared—soon our halls echoed their emptiness—the few who were left—engaged in war industries, studying between school and work—still managing to keep school morale on an even keel—dances, sorority, fraternity and club activities; lectures lab experiments, tuition fees and exams—but still, some feeling of loneliness—those familiar faces and well known voices absent—news of some of them from the battlefields across the seas—occasional furlough reunions of former students. Sometimes the report, 'killed in action' brought lumps to our throats. School seemed endless."¹³⁶

4. The Final Merger

Some may urge that such “public service” universities as the University of Newark ought to be run by the government and supported out of tax funds. But a government institution must be run within the letter of the law. Instruction, with every other phase, is continually under the eye of politicians. The institution, in the majority cases, can neither experiment nor pioneer. The teaching and other activities of a privately supported university are technically and free from any kind of governmental or political control. It can work out its own destiny in the manner dictated as best by judgment or experience. (1938)¹³⁷

Enrollments at Newark’s College of Arts and Sciences rebounded after World War II, increasing from 260 to 496 in 1945-46; the pre-war peak was 471 in 1937. The number of students at the School of Business Administration soared from 269 to 719. By 1946-47, the first year after the merger of Rutgers and Newark, 81 percent of Newark’s students were veterans.¹³⁸ But the unstable enrollments of the war years, the shrinkage of the operating budget by half in the late 1930s, a glaring and growing need for capital improvements, a chronic inability to staff science courses, substantial teaching overloads, and the 1944-1945 designation of Rutgers as the State University of New Jersey led Newark’s trustees to contemplate the future of their institution.

In 1945, a merger with Rutgers appeared more attractive to Newark’s administrators and trustees than it had in 1933. Becoming a state university with increased public representation on its board—it achieved full state funding in 1956—strengthened Rutgers’s claim on the state coffers for long-needed capital projects.¹³⁹ Absent a merger, Rutgers might have become a formidable competitor for day students in Newark. State sponsorship, Newark’s officials understood, could reduce Rutgers tuition for the middle and working class students that made up the bulk of its students; remaining independent meant inevitable and substantial tuition increases. The University of Newark was not alone: economic

reality led administrators and trustees at other private urban colleges to contemplate going public in coming years.

A merger with the University of Newark, Rutgers officials understood, would give their university greater leverage with the governor and the New Jersey legislature. The votes and influence of the Essex County legislative delegation, in particular, would help to increase per-capita and capital appropriations.¹⁴⁰ A Newark program would also reduce an expected influx of veterans; more commuters to Newark meant lower capital outlays for dormitories in New Brunswick. Finally, a merger would also end the potential rivalry of a strong, independent University of Newark that might increase its enrollments via the G.I. Bill.

The Rutgers presence in Newark already included University College (1935), which grew out of the Rutgers extension service in Newark and offered degrees in liberal arts and business, School of Education programs, and the New Jersey College of Pharmacy. Each of these divisions contemplated its own further expansion—liberal arts programs in the teachers colleges and basic sciences, and humanities and social science courses in the College of Pharmacy.

As Rutgers faced post-war expansion, a trustee's committee examining proposals for new divisions of arts and sciences and business urged the board to "be constantly alert to the possibility of acquiring the present University of Newark." Robert Clothier dusted off the plans held in abeyance for a dozen years. Calling relations with Newark trustees and administration "splendid," Clothier also noted overlapping and conflicting services. Integrating the institutions, he argued, would eliminate duplication, while strengthening public higher education in Newark.¹⁴¹ Noting the quality of the Newark faculty, its

balanced budget, and its recent success in paying off the mortgage on the Rector Street property, Clothier pressed ahead. Rutgers trustees contemplated merging the three University of Newark divisions and its current Newark work into “The Newark Colleges of Rutgers University, the State University of New Jersey”—an arrangement permitting consolidation of all Newark-based work in arts and sciences and in business administration, and merging the evening sessions.

Fred Harris, a trustee of both universities, arranged a meeting between Clothier (Princeton, 1908) and Franklin Conklin Jr. (Princeton, 1907), who saw the institution through from the merger through the 1950s. Fruitful initial discussions led to implementation talks focusing on administrative relations, faculty salaries and benefits, and capital expansion. Governance of the new entity would resemble the asymmetric arrangement between the Los Angeles branch of the University of California (now UCLA) and the senior institution in Berkeley. New Brunswick officials would ratify key (and often not-so-key) decisions made in Newark. Assembly Bill 381 incorporated the University of Newark into Rutgers. The merger was hailed as a major step toward raising New Jersey’s “unenviable position of forty-eighth among the states in its provision for public higher education.”¹⁴²

This was not a merger of equals; Rutgers, with the stronger hand invited only two Newark trustees, including Conklin, onto its board after the merger. Just as UCLA officials complained of control from afar, former trustees of the University of Newark complained that their advice was not solicited after the merger. Rutgers officials made two appointments to ensure a smooth transition: George Black became vice president for the Newark Colleges; Herbert P. Woodward, dean of Newark’s College of Arts and Sciences (and a Currier era member of the

Dana faculty) retained this position after the Rutgers merger. Black stayed on for a year after the merger.

Woodward had noted “the College’s virtual autonomy” at the first faculty meeting of the faculty of the Newark Colleges of Arts and Sciences, adding, “We can create; we can build; and we can plan...”¹⁴³ But control quickly shifted from the banks of the Passaic to the banks of the Raritan. Improved material benefits assuaged the University of Newark faculty: Rutgers brought their salaries to a par with their New Brunswick colleagues, and extended eligibility to participate in the State Employees’ Retirement System. Accreditation in 1939 had given the institution academic independence from New York University, but continued financial instability led its trustees to surrender that independence to New Brunswick.

5. Coda

Enrollments at Newark increased from 2,233 in 1945-46 to 2,794 in 1946-47; Enrollments at the Men’s Colleges in New Brunswick doubled from 1,600 to 3,200 while enrollments at University College increased from 1,560 to 4,500 and University Extension enrollments increased from 2,321 to 4,200.¹⁴⁴ Large increases in applications permitted selectivity in admissions, but Rutgers, via the GI Bill and the incorporation of the University of Newark, was becoming a public institution in fact as well as legal status.¹⁴⁵ The university acquired two buildings facing Washington Park, and expanded the teaching staff and the number of departments. Rutgers, said a diplomatic Clothier, “is proud to have had a part in helping to do these things. But it recognizes, too, that in helping to do them it has been but building on the firm foundation laid by those who established the University of Newark in the first place.”

In the future, Clothier announced, urban education, University of Newark style, will remain a “vital and desirable” service to the people. Acknowledging that Newark and northern New Jersey was the state’s most important urban center, Clothier pledged the most “earnest endeavors” of Rutgers University—“working in cooperation with, and with the advice and guidance of representatives of the citizens of Newark and environs”—to “the further development of the Newark College as the agency by which the State University discharges that responsibility—development in physical plant, in student enrollment, in educational service, in the adding of men and women of distinction to our faculty.”¹⁴⁶

The history of the University of Newark raises a key question for us today. The university provided collegiate and professional education to diverse student populations for nearly half a century. John Cotton Dana, Bernice Winsor, Richard Currier, Frank Kingdon, and George Black premised their work on a single historic principle of American higher education: community service. “There have always been many individuals ready to see higher education as an individual privilege,” stated a 1934 Dana College faculty report, “but those responsible for it have consistently regarded it as a force for common good.” Social welfare, the faculty report continued, depends on educating an enlightened citizenry “conscious of social responsibility, acquainted with the nature of social problems, and prepared to deal with social relations according to well-considered social values.” The process begins by liberating the individual “from mental and physical and economic insecurity, from psychic terrors, from social prejudices, from verbal formulas, from philosophic fears, from biases, and from all the other

forces which deprive men of freedom." Societies influenced by such individuals provide for future cultural growth that will be "richer and finer because solid and real, not a product of revolt or concealment, but a product of wholesome growth in wholesome soil."

We live in an age increasingly dominated by the belief that higher education is largely a private investment that produces private rewards. In this environment, will our urban colleges and universities maintain the ability to improve the social life of the community through, as the Dana College faculty would say, "endeavors with such individuals as it can reach, in order that they, in turn, may build a better community as a field for...future labors"?¹⁴⁷

¹ "New University in Newark Urged," *New York Times*, June 14, 1934, 17.

² Campbell Gibson, "Population of the 100 Largest Cities and Other Urban Places in the United States: 1790 To 1990," U.S. Bureau of the Census, Population Division Working Paper No. 27 (June 1998), <http://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0027.html>.

³ See Kenneth Jackson, "Gentlemen's Agreement," in Bruce Katz, ed., *Reflections on Regionalism* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 2000), 197-198.

⁴ "Every branch aims to be a complete teaching museum," wrote Bernice Winser, Dana's successor and a future Dana College trustee. "and is as far as possible fitted to the character of the neighborhood and to the degree of education and the occupation of its residents" ("Branch Museums," Bernice Winser letter to the editor, *New York Times*, May 18, 1931).

⁵ Currier originally contemplated an affiliation with Upsala College, a Swedish-Lutheran college located in Kenilworth.

⁶ Richard D. Currier, "Meaning of the Gifts to Education," letter to the editor, *New York Times* (December 15, 1901), 7.

⁷ Currier's long-time partner, Charles M. Mason would become the school's dean.

⁸ The Law School would move in 1946 to 37 Washington St., a former Ballantine residence. The building at 40 Rector Street currently houses Science High School, a magnet school.

⁹ Herbert P. Woodward, "Forty Rector Street, Newark, New Jersey," *Rutgers Alumni Monthly* (May, 1965), 3.

¹⁰ The state permitted 18 months of legal education to substitute for half of the three-year clerkship requirement for admission to the bar. A longer course would have therefore discouraged potential students. In 1913, the state permitted law courses to count for up to 27- or a 36-month clerkship, and NJLS moved to a three-year curriculum. See Hugh F. Bennett, "An Abstract of a History of the University of Newark, 1908-1946" (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1956), 34-35, 42. 46-47, 51.

¹¹ A voluntary pre-legal program staffed by Columbia and Rutgers faculty failed in 1922.

¹² It would also offer a combined B.A.-LL.B. degree after three years at Dana and an additional year exclusively in the law school.

¹³ Arthur J. Klein, *Survey of Rutgers University* (New Brunswick, N.J.: United States Bureau of Education, Department of the Interior, 1927), 202-203. Rutgers University separated economics from its history and political science department in 1922. The economics department initially offered theoretical, as opposed to vocational courses, though the balance began to change in the late 1920s.

¹⁴ Significant numbers of students entered other contemporary law schools from undergraduate business schools, including the Wharton School and the business school at Temple College, both in Philadelphia.

¹⁵ Institute trustees, according to Robert C. Jaeger, headed each of the Institute's five original departments. Rabbi Solomon foster lectured on Hebrew literature in the Institute's "Popular Lectures" department (Robert C. Jaeger, "A History of the Newark Institute of Arts and Sciences" (unpublished manuscript, copy in Rutgers University Archives, 1940).

¹⁶ This agreement lasted until 1939. NYU had a similar arrangement with Hofstra College, which it established in 1935. The academic agreement between the two institutions expired on June 30, 1939. "The trustees and faculty of Hofstra are determined, said Dr. J.T.P. Calkins, chairman of

Hofstra's trustees, "to make Hofstra one of the outstanding educational institutions of higher learning in the East. It will be a conservative institution, catering especially to the needs, the wants and the ambitions of the young people of Long Island. It will be primarily a Long Island institution on, by and for Long Island." Hofstra had its own board of trustees from the outset ("Hofstra College, Long Island Unit of N.Y.U., Becomes Independent Institution on July 1," *New York Times* April 23, 1939, 3:1).

¹⁷ "Large Unit of Rutgers Here Is Proposed," *Newark Evening News* (January 11, 1933). In 1916, the Institute announced the first local collegiate level instruction for women—one year of arts and science courses offered by NYU professors. "College Education for Jersey Women; New York University Will Provide First Course in the State's History," *New York Times* (September 17, 1916), 17. Richard Currier disputed a assertion in the article that NJLS did not admit women. "Our courses have been open to women ever since the school was organized and we now have a considerable number of women graduates successfully practicing at the New Jersey bar." Richard D. Currier, "New Jersey Colleges for Women," letter to the editor, *New York Times* (September 23, 1916), 6.

¹⁸ Rutgers University, the logical candidate for sponsorship, did not provide the competition though Arthur Klein's survey advocated establishment of a school of law. "The problem of making the dominant tone of the practice of law in the State that of an honored profession rather than that of a money-making vocation presents difficulties...Cultural training in an atmosphere of scholarly interest must accompany training in the strictly legal subjects if the bar is to maintain in its membership a considerable body of leaders of intellectual and professional refinement" (Arthur J. Klein, *Survey of Rutgers University*, 217, 218).

¹⁹ Roy A. Bowers and David L. Cowen, *The Rutgers University College of Pharmacy: A Centennial History* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1991). The ethnicity of the student body reflected the city's population—Jewish and Italian-American students replaced German-Americans by World War I. These groups, often denied access to medical schools after the war, remained the dominant elements in the school's population.

²⁰ The school moved to Union, New Jersey in 1958, and became Kean College of New Jersey in 1974 and Kean University in 1997. See Donald R. Raichle, *From A Normal Beginning: The Origins of Kean College of New Jersey* (Rutherford, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1980).

²¹ Arthur J. Klein, *Survey of Rutgers University*, 30, quotation from 21.

²² "Complete Report of the Committee on Scope Including Reports of Sub-committees on the Need and on the Demand for Extension of the Course," n.d., p. 14, RG N2/N0/2 Group II, Box 2, Newark College of Arts and Sciences, University of Newark, Office Records, 1934-1946, "Faculty Committee Reports 1928-32" folder.

²³ (There were two Essex Junior Colleges in the 1930s. The first was located in the New Jersey Teachers College (NY Times says charter filed in 1925; there was a second...info unclear. A projected two-year college did not open in 1937 according to McGowan, but probably opened later).

²⁴ Seventy percent of New Jersey students seeking arts and sciences programs left the state in 1923-24 (Arthur J. Klein, *Survey of Rutgers University*, 126).

²⁵ "A territory which comprises less than 10 percent of the area of New Jersey contains 90 percent of the population. Newark is the Center of this territory. Newark, with a population of approximately half a million, is the only city of this size in the United States unprovided with facilities for a full liberal college training. A larger percentage of New Jersey students in liberal arts leave the State for their college education than any other student group except those doing graduate work and those who in curricula for which there is no provision at all in New Jersey: namely, medicine, dentistry, and commerce [This is based on figures prior to the establishment of Seth Boyden School of Business, noted Dean Bates.] In other words 69.4 percent of New Jersey students pursuing a liberal arts course leave the State, whereas the figure for the United States is only 22.8 percent." U.S. Bureau of Education, *Survey of Rutgers University* (Washington D.C.: The Bureau, 1927), reprinted in John E. Bebout, "Dana College, New Jersey," *New Jersey Life* (August, 1931), 15.

²⁶ Richard D. Currier, "First Dana College Educational Meeting," February 5, 1931, RG N2/K0/02, Newark College of Arts and Sciences: Dana College: Records 1930-1938, "Dana College—Board of Trustees Minutes, 1930-1931."

²⁷ Robert C. Jaeger, "A History of the Newark Institute of Arts and Sciences," section 3, p. 3.

²⁸ "The President presented the proposed plan for acquiring control of Dana College, New Jersey Law School, and the Seth Boyden School of business in Newark by the election of a sufficient number of Trustees of Rutgers College to the Board of Trustees of Dana College to constitute a majority of the latter Board, the plan having been considered by the Executive Committee. He presented arguments for and against the plan. Later, Mr. Ashmead, who has given thorough study to the matter, explained it at length. He answered questions concerning it and several of the Trustees expressed their views. A vote of thanks was extended to Mr. Ashmead for his able and painstaking investigations. It was also voted that Mr. Ashmead and the following committee be authorized to continue their investigations and that a statement of the details of the matter be sent to members of the Board for their consideration looking toward action at the next meeting: Messrs Brett, Mettler, Sanford, Sutphen, and Tompkins" (RG 03/A0/03 Rutgers University, Board of Trustees, Minutes and Enclosures, 1933, Box 21, folder 1, "Board of Trustees Rough Minutes: Enclosures 1933 Jan-").

²⁹ Charles M. Mason, Currier's deceased business partner and a Rutgers trustee and alumnus, had favored a merger with his alma mater.

³⁰ By 1933, NJLS had 3,100 graduates, including one governor, one judge of the Court of Errors and Appeals, one secretary of state, two circuit court judges, four common pleas judges, 17 district court judges, 14 assistant attorney generals, 16 assistant prosecutors, one secretary of the Port of New York Authority, 40 corporation counsels, 26 board of education members, 11 college professors, give bar association presidents, and two bank presidents ("President's Report," May 14, 1934, p. 7, RG N2/N0/1, Newark College of Arts and Sciences: University of Newark, Office Records, 1934-1946, Group 1: "Trustees: Executive Committee, 1934-September, 1938).

³¹ "May Bar Dana In Merger Plan," *Newark Evening News* (February 3, 1933).

³² Ruth Marcus Patt, *The Jewish Experience at Rutgers* (East Brunswick, N.J.: Jewish Historical Society of Central New Jersey, 1987). Currier delayed negotiations with Columbia, which had acquired St. Stevens College (renamed Bard College) in Annadale-on-Hudson at about the same time.

³³ Vreeland Tompkins to Robert C. Clothier, September 17, 1932, RG 04/A14, Office of The President (Robert C. Clothier), Series II, Subject files 1933-1952, box 49, folder 3: "Newark Project, 1932-1933." The trustees had a concrete example just across the Hudson River. Seth Low Junior College, a unit of Columbia that opened in 1928 in downtown Brooklyn, had a largely Jewish enrollment that included many students who prepared for admission to the city's medical and law schools. Lacking this Columbia-sponsored college—Brooklyn, like Newark, had no public college or university—these students might have wished to attend the Colossus on the Hudson.

³⁴ "Mr. Ashmead made a statement concerning the possibility of the acquisition of the property in Newark now used by the New Jersey Law School, Dana College, and Seth Boyden Business School, which might be used by Rutgers University for extension work and other activities in Newark and vicinity. It was voted to refer this matter to the Executive Committee for further consideration." ("Minutes of the Special Meeting of the Trustees of Rutgers College, December 15, 1931," copy in RG 03/A0/03, Rutgers University, Board of Trustees, Minutes and Enclosures, October 1931-1932, Box 20, folder 1, "Board of Trustees, Rough Minutes and Enclosures: 1931, Oct.-Dec.").

³⁵ Walter Marvin, chair, et al., "Report of Special Committee Appointed by the President May 24th, 1932 to Make Recommendations Regarding the Reorganization of Instruction Given by the University in Newark, N.J.," RG 04/A14, Office of The President (Robert C. Clothier), Series II, Subject files 1933-1952, box 49, folder 3: "Newark Project, 1932-1933."

³⁶ "Students Protest Rutgers Merger," *Newark Evening News* (January 12, 1933).

³⁷ "Rutgers vs. Dana, a la Gilbert and Sullivan," fragmentary, March, 1934, in Hugh F. Bennett, "An Abstract of a History of the University of Newark, 1908-1946," 226-229.

³⁸ "Currier Spikes Dana Sale Talk," *Newark Evening News*, February 2, 1933.

³⁹ "Group to Meet to Keep College Control in City," *Newark Evening News*, January 31, 1933.

⁴⁰ "Rutgers Committee Studies Merger," *Newark Evening News*, January 14, 1933.

⁴¹ Clothier to D. Frederick Burnett, February 7, 1933, RG 04/A14, "Office of the President (Robert C. Clothier) Series II, Subject files, 1933-1952, Box 9, folder 4: "Burnett, Frederick (attorney) re: Newark Schools Merger, 1933.

⁴² "Currier Spikes Dana Sale Talk," *Newark Evening News*, February 2, 1933.

⁴³ This move would free the New Jersey Law School Corporation to rename itself the Litchfield School of Law, a contemplated law school for women in Morristown that would be independent of the enlarged Dana College. Currier would be president of Litchfield while remaining the salaried president of Dana College for an additional five years. But Litchfield did not open, and Currier eventually became president of Stoneleigh College, in Rye, New Hampshire.

⁴⁴ Richard Currier, "President's Report," May 14, 1934, p. 5; RGN2/K0/02, Box 1: "Newark College of Arts and Sciences: Dana College: Records 1930-1938," "Dana College: President Reports 1934" file.

⁴⁵ Outsiders would criticize the composition of the boards of trustees of Dana College and of the University of Newark for having too many lawyers and too few businessmen. But this was an understandable outcome, given the large numbers of NJLS alumni. Neither Seth Boyden, which opened at the onset of the Depression, nor the business program at the Newark Institute had yet produced many wealthy alumni.

⁴⁶ Bernice Winser secured Kingdon's appointment. She succeeded John Cotton Dana as Newark city librarian and was a trustee of Dana College and the Newark Institute of Arts and Sciences. See Frank Kingdon, *The Librarian: Beatrice Winser* (Newark, N.J.: n.p., 1940).

⁴⁷ "The Present Status of the College of Arts and Sciences," n.d., R.G. N2/N0/1, "Newark College of Arts and Sciences, The University of Newark, Office Records, 1934-1946," Group I, box 1: "Trustees-Committee Meetings, 1938-1941."

⁴⁸ Frank Kingdon, *Jacob's Ladder: The Days of My Youth* (New York: L.B. Fisher, 1943), 278-279. See also Frank Kingdon, "Admitted as a Citizen," *Common Ground 2* (Summer, 1942), 10-14.

⁴⁹ Kingdon, *Jacob's Ladder: The Days of My Youth*, 307.

⁵⁰ The University of Newark, *A Closed Door Swings Open in North Jersey* (Newark, N.J.: The University of Newark, c. 1938), 5-6.

⁵¹ L. H. Buckingham, to Professor Herbert. P. Woodward, April 27, 1934, p. 4, RG N2/N0/2, "Newark College of Arts and Sciences: University of Newark, Office Records, 1934-1946," Group 2, Box 2: "Faculty Committee Reports and Plans, 1933-34."

⁵² Draft: Minutes of the Committee on Instruction and Equipment of the University of Newark," October 20, 1938, p. 4, Newark College of Arts and Sciences, University of Newark, Office Records, 1934-1946, Group I, Box 2, "Trustees-Instruction and Equipment Committee, 1938."

⁵³ In 1934, Dana College moved from admitting graduates of accredited high schools presenting 15 units of work irrespective of subject to requiring both prescribed and group units, while permitting students to present the remaining units in any subject. It also voted to restrict admission to the top three-fourths of the graduating class, though it provided for exceptions, including performance on the College Board's Scholastic Aptitude Test.

⁵⁴ Kingdon told the University Council in 1937 that relationships with NYU remained cordial. "The question was raised 'whether when we are accredited the New York University set-up will be separate'. Dr. Kingdon reported that our relationship with New York University was a happy one. Their attitude at the present time is one of turning over the administration almost entirely to the University of Newark. This puts us in the position of merely paying New York University a certain fee for advice. The answer to the question, however, categorically is 'yes.'" RG N2/N0/1, Newark College of Arts and Sciences, University of Newark, Office Records, 1934-1946, Group 1, Box 2, "University Council, 1936-1938" folder.

⁵⁵ University of Newark Development Committee, *A Closed Door Swings Open in North Jersey* (Newark, N.J.: University of Newark, 1938), 28, 29.

⁵⁶ "Student Activities," Dana College Chronicle 1 (1) (November, 1930), 4.

⁵⁷ Ken Jackson comment. "Jean Anyon has recently shown that contrary to popular belief, public education in Newark was of poor quality long before African Americans came to power in the 1970s. Instead, most of the schools in Newark were declining by the mid-1930s, even as those in

nearby New York City were famed for excellence.” Jean Anyon, *Ghetto Schooling: A Political Economy of Urban Educational Reform* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1997).

⁵⁸ Paul F. Lazarsfeld et al, *Coming of Age in Essex County [New Jersey]: An Analysis of 10,000 Interviews with Persons 16-24 Years of Age* (Newark, N.J.: Essex County Superintendent of Schools and University of Newark Research Center, 1937), 38, 39, 42, 67, and 72 (source of quotation). Idem, *Social Trends in Essex County*, Bulletins 1-3 (Newark, N.J.: Essex County Superintendent of Schools, Newark, N.J. and Research Center at the University of Newark, 1938).

⁵⁹ Lazarsfeld et al., *Coming of Age in Essex County*, 104, 107. “College” included normal schools and junior colleges.

⁶⁰ “Treasurer’s Comments on Dana College, 1935-1936 Fiscal Year,” n. d., p. 5, RG N2/N0/1, Box 2, Newark College of Arts and Sciences, University of Newark, Office Records, 1934-1946, Group I: “Trustees-Executive Committee, 1934-1938” folder.

⁶¹ Paul Lazarsfeld and Edward A. Suchman, “A Report on the Freshmen Students of the University of Newark for the Year 1937-1938,” p. 6, RG N2/N0/1, box 13, Newark College of Arts and Science: University of Newark: Office Records 1934-46, Group 1, “Research Center 1936-38.” Lazarsfeld classified the remaining 3.1 percent of students as “other.”

⁶² Paul Lazarsfeld and Edward A. Suchman, “A Report on the Freshmen Students,” p. 5.

⁶³ George L. A. Reilly, “Thomas J. Walsh and Seton Hall College, 1928-1952,” *New Jersey History* 98 (1-2), 37-48.

⁶⁴ The percentage of Catholic students has increased (in spite of the oft-mentioned competition of Seton Hall’s offerings),” wrote Carolyn L. McGowan, Newark’s director of student relations. “Then again the percentage of Jewish students has decreased (unless, by chance, more of that group have the tenacity to stay on and secure their degrees).” As for Jews in the School of Business Administration—43 percent of freshmen, 47 percent overall—McGowan wrote: “when one considers religious affiliation, it would appear that the percentage of Catholics is increasing, while the percentage of Jewish students is lowest in the freshman class” (Carolyn L. McGowan, “Analysis of Student Enrollment,” November, 1937, 6, 7, RG N2/N0/03, Box 3, Newark College

of Arts and Sciences: University of Newark: Records 1923-1959, "University of Newark-Student Relations Report 1936-1937" file).

⁶⁵ Paul Lazarsfeld and Edward A. Suchman, "A Report on the Freshmen Students," 5.

⁶⁶ Paul Lazarsfeld and Edward A. Suchman, "A Report on the Freshmen Students," 6.

⁶⁷ Marion Thompson Wright, *The Education of Negroes in New Jersey* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1941).

⁶⁸ "Extending Democracy's Frontiers: A Confidential Statement of the Present Services of the University of Newark to Northern New Jersey, and of the University's Plans for the Future," 22, n.d., c. 1938, RG N2/N0/01, Box 33: Newark College of Arts and Sciences-University of Newark-Office Records, 1933-1946, "Key Statement-Copy" file. This document provided much of the text for *A Closed Door*.

⁶⁹ Seymour B. Sarason, *The Making of an American Psychologist: An Autobiography* (San Francisco, Calif.: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1988), 80-81.

⁷⁰ Beau Brummell [pseud.], "Come and Get It," *Dana College Chronicle* (September 15, 1934), 2.

⁷¹ Sarason, like many other students, fell behind on his loan payments. University authorities expressed concern that the default rate reduced operating capital. See RG N2/N0/03 Newark College of Arts and Sciences, University of Newark, Records, 1923-1959, Box 1, Folder: "University of Newark, Student Loan Delinquencies."

⁷² "Analysis of Student Enrollment, 1937," in RG N2/N0/03, box 3, Newark College of Arts and Sciences: University of Newark: Records 1923-1959, "University of Newark-Student Relations Report 1936-1937" file.

⁷³ Paul Lazarsfeld and Edward A. Suchman, "A Report on the Freshmen Students," 27.

⁷⁴ But 52 percent of Newark's freshmen attending during the day were Dana College students; while 67 percent of night students enrolled in the College of Business.

⁷⁵ "Last summer four members of a Greek fraternity visited our school and talked to the deans and to me. They were interested in making it possible for an outstanding young man or woman of Greek descent to obtain a college education through a scholarship award. They had visited the various colleges in this vicinity and had chosen ours as a school with which they would like to

cooperate. In the 1938-39 school catalogs therefore there will appear the following announcement: "The Fifth district of the National Order of the American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association, an Hellenic fraternal organization, will award an annual scholarship of not less than two hundred fifty dollars (\$250.00) to a young man or woman of Greek descent who can successfully fulfill the qualifications set forth as to family affiliations, scholastic attainment, character and need." Ruth M. Mahnken to Kingdon, November 29, 1937, RG N2/N0/03, box 2, Newark College of Arts and Sciences: University of Newark: Records 1923-1959, "Scholarships: Prizes" file. In 1936-37, the university awarded \$891.50 in scholarships (\$625.00 in arts and \$266.50 in business) and \$6,755.00 in loans (\$4,050.50 in the College, \$1,769 in business, and \$985.50 in law).

⁷⁶ So large, that many New Jersey public schools taught Italian.

⁷⁷ Black to Harry D. Gideonse, Student Service of America, April 14, 1943, RG N2/N0/03, box 2, Newark College of Arts and Sciences: University of Newark: Records 1923-1959, "Scholarships: Prizes" file.

⁷⁸ Paul Lazarsfeld and Edward A. Suchman, "A Report on the Freshmen Students," 8.

⁷⁹ No surveyed student gave "campus" as a reason for applying. The college had no information on students who applied to Newark but went elsewhere. Paul Lazarsfeld and Edward A. Suchman, "A Report on the Freshmen Students," 12.

⁸⁰ Paul Lazarsfeld and Edward A. Suchman, "A Report on the Freshmen Students," 7.

⁸¹ Paul Lazarsfeld and Edward A. Suchman, "A Report on the Freshmen Students," 2-3.

⁸² The topic occupied many annual meetings of the Association of Urban Universities.

⁸³ "Extending Democracy's Frontiers," 17.

⁸⁴ "First Dana College Educational Meeting," February 15, 1931, Newark College of Arts and Sciences: Dana College: Records 1930-1938, RG N2/K0/02 Box 1, "Dana College Board of trustees Minutes, 1930-1931" file.

⁸⁵ Richard D. Currier to Herbert C. Hunsaker, February 1, 1934, RG N2/K0/02 Newark College of Arts and Sciences: Dana College Records, 1930-1938, Box 1, "Dana College: Educational Plans Committee, Minutes, February-May, 1934" folder.

⁸⁶ Currier to the Members of the Faculty of Dana College, October 14, 1932, Newark College of Arts and Sciences: Dana College: Records 1930-1938 RG N2/K0/02 Box I, "Dana College: Board of Trustees Minutes, 1932, 1933" file. Currier cited *The College and Society* by Oberlin College President E.O. Wilkins.

⁸⁷ "Resolutions of the Dana College Faculty," January 15, 1936, p. 2, RG N2/N0/2, Newark College of Arts and Sciences, University of Newark, Office Records 1934-1946, Group 2, Box 2, "Faculty Committee Reports and Plans 1935-40" folder.

⁸⁸ See Edwin M. Durand to Clothier, October 27, 1947, RG 04/A14, Office of the President (Robert C. Clothier), Series IV, Faculty Files (1925-1952), Box 87, folder 17, "Durand, Edwin M., Dean of Students, The Newark Colleges, 1945-1950.

⁸⁹ "Sophomores," *The Encore: Class of 1938* (Newark, N.J.: Senior Class of the University of Newark, 1938), 36.

⁹⁰ Frank Kingdon did not see Newark's many leftist students as *problems*, and even supported some strikes by Dana College students Expelled from City College at 18, Morris Milgram enrolled in Dana College. "President Frank Kingdon said it was an honor to be expelled from City," Milgram recalled (Lawrence Van Gelder, "Morris Milgram, 81, Who Built Interracial Housing," *New York Times* June 26, 1997).

⁹¹ Some students wished to call the yearbook *The Phoenix*. "The University of Newark," these students wrote, "will forever be the University which arose, like the fabulous sacred bird, in youthful freshness and renewed vigor out of its own parts." "Editorial," *1937 Encore* (Newark, N.J.: Associated Students of the University of Newark, 1937), 108.

⁹² *First Flight* 1-2 (1939-1940) (Newark, N.J.: The Easterwood Press, 1939-40).

⁹³ Including the Social Science Club, the Glee Club, the Public Discussion Council, the Cardozo Society, "Organizations That Are in the Process of Being Revived," *The Encore: University of Newark, 1946* (Newark, N.J., n.p., 1946), 47.

⁹⁴ "History of the class of '39," *The Encore: Class of '39* (Newark, N.J.: Students of the University of Newark, 1939), 14-15.

⁹⁵ Carolyn L. McGowan, "Report of the Director of Student Relations for the Year 1937-1938," December, 1938, 1, 18, RG N2/N0/03, box 3, Newark College of Arts and Sciences: University of Newark: Records 1923-1959, "University of Newark-Student Relations Report 1936-1937" file. The quotation is from Harold C. Hand, ed., *Campus Activities* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1938), 9.

⁹⁶ McGowan's solution: substituting a university-administered fee for a student-administered fee McGowan to Black, September 28, 1938, RG N2/N0/2 Newark College of Arts and Sciences-University of Newark-Office Records 1934-1946, Group II, "Student Affairs-University of Newark" file.

⁹⁷ William B. Helmreich, *The Enduring Community: The Jews of Newark and Metrowest* (New Brunswick, N.J. and London: Transaction Publishers, 1999), 115.

⁹⁸ "Extending Democracy's Frontiers," 19-20.

⁹⁹ John Price Jones Corporation, "Survey, Analysis, and Plan of Fund Raising for the University of Newark," RG N2/N0/1, Newark College of Arts and Sciences: University of Newark: Office Records, 1934-46," Group I, box 9, "John Price Jones Corporation" folder, 30.

¹⁰⁰ John Price Jones Corporation, "Survey, Analysis, and Plan of Fund Raising for the University of Newark," RG N2/N0/1, Newark College of Arts and Sciences: University of Newark: Office Records, 1934-46," Group I, box 9, "John Price Jones Corporation" folder, 36-39.

¹⁰¹ See Allen H. Barton "Paul Lazarsfeld as Institutional Inventor," *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 13(2001): 245-269.

¹⁰² "The Research Center of the University of Newark attempts to be an inter-departmental section of the Social Science Division of the University. It organizes field studies which aim to develop new methods of research, to give research training to students, to help the city of Newark to a better understanding of its social and economic problems, to give students the opportunity for gainful employment, to accumulate funds for the perpetuation and enlargement of the Center's activities, to publish finished research, to act as a consulting service for other agencies in the city, and in this way to make the University, as a whole, better known locally and nationally." "The University of Newark Research Center: Summary of the main facts of the operations during 1936," n.d., c. May, 1937, RG N2/N0/2, Newark Colleges of Arts and Sciences,

The University of Newark, Office Records, 1934-1946, Group II, Box 3: "Research Center, Dr. Lazarsfeld, University of Newark" folder.

¹⁰³ The Marienthal study found that unemployment more often resulted in apathy than in revolutionary fervor.

¹⁰⁴ "The University of Newark Research Center: Summary of the main facts of the operations during 1936," n.d., c. May, 1937, RG N2/N0/2, Newark Colleges of Arts and Sciences, The University of Newark, Office Records, 1934-1946, Group II, Box 3: "Research Center, Dr. Lazarsfeld, University of Newark" folder. James Michener administered the same program at Colorado State Teachers College.

¹⁰⁵ Kingdon served on the project board.

¹⁰⁶ University of Newark Development Committee, *A Closed Door*, 23. NYU reported 90 percent tuition dependence a few years earlier.

¹⁰⁷ Many used the word "unwieldy" to describe the board. In 1938, it was still an amalgam of trustees from former constituent divisions. It took several years to adjust the membership to the needs of the amalgamated institution. The board included a local rabbi, an uncommon occurrence in this era.

¹⁰⁸ A local brewery contributed \$25,000 to underwrite the costs of the 1938 capital campaign.

¹⁰⁹ Robinson of CCNY, John Bowman of the University of Pittsburgh, E. Moore of UCLA, and David Henry of Detroit's Wayne College, for example, frequently invoked this theme.

¹¹⁰ University of Newark Development Committee, *A Closed Door*, 12.

¹¹¹ University of Newark Development Committee, *A Closed Door*, 12-13. And to reinforce the message "If proper educational opportunities are not provided, improper ones will be. There are other types of agencies than universities hereabouts, willing to absorb the energies of idle, even of ambitious young people, and to give them plenty of training. We have, then, a choice. We can turn our youth into social assets. Or we can allow things to drift and produce mediocrities and social liabilities. We need one type of citizen; we can ill afford the other" (*Ibid.*, 17).

¹¹² "Extending Democracy's Frontiers," 14-15.

¹¹³ Frank Kingdon, "Newark a Hundred Years Hence," *Newaker* 1 (June 15, 1936), 72-73, as quoted in Jackson et al., *Gentlemen's Agreement*

¹¹⁴ Frank Harris, a member of the university's development committee, earlier suggested that the campaign literature pre-empt the belief "among business and professional men in Newark...that we are a 'Red' institution..." by including "a guarded statement designed to explode this growing apprehension in the community." (Harris to Conklin, February 11, 1938), RG N2/N0/01. Newark College of Arts and Sciences: University of Newark, Office Records 1933-1946, Box 33, "Key Statement: Publicity" folder.

¹¹⁵ "Priest Declares University here 'Radical' Hotbed," *Newark Sunday Call* (March 27, 1938).

¹¹⁶ Catholics made up about 20 percent of the Dana College student body. By 1948, over a quarter of students at the Newark Colleges of Rutgers University, including almost 40 percent in the Law School, were Catholics. The Newark Colleges of Rutgers University, "Summary of Students' Religious Preferences," March 9, 1948. RG N2/N0/2, box 4: "Newark College of Arts and Sciences, University of Newark, Office Records, 1934-46," "Student Affairs-University of Newark" file.

¹¹⁷ Frank Harris, a Catholic trustee, notarized a statement summarizing a conversation he had with Father Toohey, the day after Toohey's public statement. Toohey asked Harris if there were any Communists at Newark. "Do you mean students or faculty?" asked Harris. Students, answered Toohey, "Of course I don't deny it," said Harris "Can you find a college in the country that does not have a Communist student?" Father Toohey answered, ""That's not what I am interested in. As long as there is one Communist in the University, everything that I said is true and I am going to continue to fight against it. The whole Catholic Church is behind this, from Archbishop Walsh down the line. This is only the beginning." After give and take over student newspaper columns and the reasons for recent faculty dismissals, Father Toohey ended the conversation. Harris recalled Toohey saying, "there was very little sense for him to talk with me any longer, and that I was not a very good Catholic. He ended the interview by saying, 'You can leave and don't send any Jews down to see me.'" "Record of Conversation Between Frank Harris and Father Toohey," Monday, March 28, at 12 O'clock Noon, " RG N2/N0/01, Newark College

of Arts and Sciences: University of Newark, office Records, 1934-1946, Group 1, box 5, "Academic Freedom" folder.

¹¹⁸ "'U' Open-Minded, Avers Kingdon," *Newark Evening News* (March 29, 1938).

¹¹⁹ "Sees School a Bar to 'Demagogues,'" *New York Times* (Oct 18, 1936), N6.

¹²⁰ Warren Grover, *Nazis in Newark* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers, 2003).

¹²¹ Educator Clashes With Legion's Head; Newark University President Disagrees With Doherty at Session of Teachers," *New York Times* (June 30, 1938).

¹²² "Pastors Support Thomas; Jersey Methodist Episcopal Group to Aid Socialist Candidate," *The New York Times* (October 23, 1932), 26.

¹²³ David Dayton McKean, *The Boss: The Hague Machine in Action* (Boston, Mass.: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1940), 202. (<http://www.cityofjerseycity.org/hague/boss/theboss12.shtml>).

¹²⁴ "Hague Hailed as Foe of Reds at Service," *New York Times* (November 15, 1937), 23, and "Finds Hague Fight 'Battle of Century,'" *New York Times* (June 17, 1938), 13.

¹²⁵ "La Follette Gets Data On Hague Ban; Ernst Predicts Senate Group Will Investigate Barring of C. I. O. in Jersey City," *New York Times*, Dec 7, 1937. New Jersey courts found in favor of the CIO in 1939. "Jersey City Is Mum On Court's Decision; No Comment, Corporation Counsel Says—Hague Not Available," *New York Times* (January 27, 1939). The US Supreme Court upheld the right to assemble in *Hague, Mayor, et al. v. Committee For Industrial Organization et al.* 307 U.S. 496, decided June 5, 1939.

¹²⁶ Later renamed the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

¹²⁷ "Extending Democracy's Frontiers," 27-28.

¹²⁸ He was then president of the American Federation of Teachers (1936-1939), chair of the National Religion and Labor Conference, and president of the Eastern Sociological Conference.

¹²⁹ New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1935.

¹³⁰ "Yale Condemned for Ousting Davis," *New York Times* (May 23, 1937), 21; Eunice Barnard, "N. E. A. Hits Yale for Ousting Davis," *New York Times* (July 1, 1937), 25. NEA considered AFT a rival organization and some observers speculated that the resolution on Davis would elicit dissent because of his association with the union.

¹³¹ "Urges Academic Freedom," *New York Times* (October 25, 1937) 12. Davis would sue Curtis Publishing in 1943 claiming defamation in an article written in the September 2, 1939 edition of the *Saturday Evening Post* by Benjamin Stolberg. In the article, Stolberg called Davis a "Communist and a Stalinist." The *Post* settled the suit in 1945 (Walter H. Waggoner, "Jerome Davis, Educator, 87, Dies; Active in World Peace Movement; Headed Teachers Federation," *New York Times*, October 24, 1979).

¹³² The initiative may have had a long-term effect. NCCJ leader Everett Clinchy, convinced of the viability of the idea of human relations centers, attempted to establish similar centers after World War II. None of these centers received a permanent endowment or was absorbed on the regular budgets of the host institutions. See Everett R. Clinchy, *Intergroup Relations Centers* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Co., 1949).

¹³³ Paul F. Lazarsfeld, "An Episode in the History of Social Research: A Memoir," in Donald Fleming and Bernard Bailyn, eds., *The Intellectual Migration: Europe and America, 1930-1960* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1969), 270-337, especially 288.

¹³⁴ George Black to Edward Fuhlbruegge, October 25, 1939, Newark College of Arts and Sciences, University of Newark, Office Records, 1934-1946, Group 2, Box 2, "Faculty Committee Reports and Plans, 1935-40" folder.

¹³⁵ Spalding Frazier advocated restricting law school admission to holders of bachelor's degree and withholding recognition from law schools that accepted part-time students ("Law Dean Attacks Part-Time Schools," *New York Times* [February 20, 1938], 35).

¹³⁶ "Organizations That Are in the Process of Being Revived," *The Encore: University of Newark, 1946* (Newark, N.J., n.p., 1946), 48.

¹³⁷ University of Newark Development Committee, *A Closed Door*, 21.

¹³⁸ "Annual report, Newark College of Arts and Sciences, Rutgers University," May 21, 1947, RG N2/N0/2, Newark College of Arts and Sciences, University of Newark, Office Records, 1934-1946, Group 2, Box 3, "The Newark-Rutgers Merger" file.

¹³⁹ A chemistry building headed the Rutgers priority list; in early 1946, Governor Edge recommended a \$965,000 for this building in his budget message "Minutes of the Meeting of the

board of Trustees of Rutgers University, January 18, 19, 1946, p. 9, RG 03/A0/03, RG 03/A0/03, Rutgers University Board of Trustees, "Minutes and Enclosures, March 1945-July, 1946," Box 35, folder 4: "Board of Trustees: Rough Minutes and Enclosures, 1946, January."

¹⁴⁰ "President's Statement," October 11, 1945, RG 03/A0/03, Rutgers University Board of Trustees, "Minutes and Enclosures, March 1945-July, 1946," Box 35, folder 3: "Board of Trustees: Rough Minutes and Enclosures, 1945, August-October."

¹⁴¹ "President's Statement," October 11, 1945, RG 03/A0/03, Rutgers University Board of Trustees, "Minutes and Enclosures, March 1945-July, 1946," Box 35, folder 3: "Board of Trustees: Rough Minutes and Enclosures, 1945, August-October."

¹⁴² "Mr. Derby stressed the fact that requests for additional funds come about not because Rutgers was made into the State University, but because higher education is a public obligation, must be paid for, is paid for in other states, and is a state investment." Rutgers University, "Minutes of the Meeting of the Board of Trustees, April 12, 1946," page 4, in RG 03/A0/03, Rutgers University, Board of Trustees, Minutes and Enclosures Mar. 1945-Jul, 1946, Box 35, folder 4, "Board of Trustees: Rough Minutes and Enclosures: 1946, Feb.-April."

¹⁴³ "The Newark Colleges: Rutgers University, Faculty of the College of Arts and Sciences, Minutes of the First Meeting," October 17, 1946, RG N2/N0/2, Newark College of Arts and Sciences, University of Newark, Office Records, 1934-1946, Group 2, box 3, "The Newark/Rutgers Merger" folder.

¹⁴⁴ The religious preferences of students at Rutgers-Newark in 1948 remained about the same as the pre-war distribution. About 40 percent identified as Jews (42 percent Arts and Sciences; 51 percent Business; 25 percent Law), 25 percent as Protestants (25 percent Arts and Sciences; 22 percent Business; 30 percent Law), and 27 percent as Catholic (24 percent Arts and Sciences; 23 percent Business; 38 percent Law). "Summary of Students' Religious Preferences," RG N2/N0/2, Box 4, Newark College of Arts and Sciences: University of Newark: Office Records 1934-1946; "Student Affairs-University of Newark."

¹⁴⁵ "Opening of College," n. d., c. October, 1946, in RG 03/A0/03, Rutgers University, Board of Trustees, Minutes and Enclosures Mar. 1945-Jul, 1946, Box 36, folder 1, "Board of Trustees: Rough

Minutes and Enclosures, 1946, Aug.-Dec." Incorporation permitted the Newark colleges to accept veterans: 971 in Arts and Sciences, 715 in Business Administration, and 311 in Law (Non-vet enrollments were 375, 90, and 80, respectively—a total increase of 561 over 1945 (Rutgers University, Enrollment Statistics as of November 1, 1946 [compared with November 1, 1945], *Ibid.*).

¹⁴⁶ RG 04/A14, Office of the President (Robert C. Clothier), Series IV, Faculty Files (1925-1952), Box 121, folder 18: "Radio Broadcast-WAAT-Salute to Newark College, July 1, 1947).

¹⁴⁷ Committee on Educational Objectives, "Tentative and Preliminary Report," March 9, 1934, RG N2/K0/02 Newark College of Arts and Sciences: Dana College Records, 1930-1938, Box 1, "Dana College: Educational Plans Committee, Minutes, February-May, 1934" folder.