CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

Name or Subject    Richard T. Ely    File No.

Regarding

Date

SEE

Name or Subject    File No.

Small, A. W.

Early Appointments
My dear Prof. Harper,

I have received your letter of the 11th inst, and I presume you have already received one from Dr. Adams making an appointment with you. We are thinking seriously about this matter. If we should go to Chicago we should expect to give all our energy to building up the institution. We do not want to go unless we are convinced that we can establish departments there which will lead similar departments in other institutions. On the other hand, as I understand it, you do not wish us to go unless we are convinced that we can do this, consequently it is well for all concerned that we should proceed carefully. As you say, there will be no trouble in getting good men, but there will be more or less difficulty in securing precisely the men we want. There will be many good men among those who will apply to you, but among all those whom I have in mind I presume there is not one who would be among the applicants, although I am a little uncertain about one of them. Dr. Albert Shaw is one of the men whom I should desire as a colleague. He is a man who has already done good work, and who has beyond all doubt a brilliant future. But, like other men of his type, he has repeated calls to Universities. He is at this moment considering a very flattering offer from Cornell University, but I have no doubt
that Dr. Adams and I could draw him to Chicago if we could offer sufficient inducements. Another good man is Prof. Amos G. Warner of the University of Nebraska, but he has a great future where he is. Dr. Adams thinks he will yet be sent to the United States Senate. He is still a young man, and would soon gain a foothold in Illinois such as he now has in Nebraska. It would be a fine thing for the Chicago University to have a professor in the United States Senate. Representation of educational institutions in higher legislative bodies is in accord with the best traditions of universities. At the same time you can see that it will take a good deal to draw him away from his present position. So I might go through the list.

I have a high ideal of a department of political and social science. In turning over the prospects of the new Chicago University in my mind one thing has become very clear. It requires a much larger capital to start a great university than it did fifteen years ago. If the Johns Hopkins were starting out today with its original endowment, it could not duplicate the work which it has done. We started at a peculiarly favorable time, when in our field there was very little competition, and so far as money is concerned, three millions then was equal to twice that sum now. It is just as it is in the iron business and many other branches of business. A plant which was once adequate would now be altogether inadequate. I judge from your letter that you have received additional endowment, and this is very encouraging in view of what I have just said.
I cannot quite form a clear picture of what I have just written.

Another paragraph here to fill up the page and to give a clearer form to the

unwritten or, rather, unwritten part of the sentence. I cannot quite form a clear picture of what I have just written.

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I await with interest the results of your interview with Dr. Adams. We have talked much about the subject, and he is going to take time to discuss the whole of it with you thoroughly.

I have recently been asked if I would accept a salary of five thousand dollars in one of the older institutions of the country, but I am inclined to prefer the larger opportunities of Chicago, untrammeled by the weight of tradition, should I decide to make a change at all. I remain

Faithfully yours,

Richard T. Ely
I came with the intention to make my stay a part of the
present efforts. I was also interested in the situation of the
improving conditions. For that reason, I asked for an
opportunity to help the mission and administration of the
mission. I came to work in.

Respectfully yours,

[Signature]
(Personal)

Johns Hopkins University,
Baltimore, Md.

January 5, 1891.

Dear President Harper,

Perhaps you are right in what you say about the Johns Hopkins. In fact, myself I am inclined to think that I shall not find at this institution the opportunity which I desire. I have about decided to make a change, and if you still desire my services, I should much like to discuss the situation with you. Of course you will not understand me to mean by this that I unreservedly offer you my services. On the other hand, I should not understand that a discussion in itself implied any proposition on your part. I have not unnaturally inferred from your letters a desire to discuss the situation, and it seems to me best to be entirely frank about the matter. As it presents itself to me, the question is a simple enough one. I want an opportunity to do the best work of which I am capable. Does the Chicago University offer this opportunity?

It will be necessary to act promptly, as I shall probably within a very short time make a decision. As I write to you frankly I write confidentially, and above all things I should not wish what I write to you to get back to Baltimore. I should also wish that I should not be associated with Dr. Adams in any offer you might make. Last winter we were nearly always spoken of together by you. It seems to me that this was a mistake. If I see you, I think I can tell you some things which it will be to your advantage to know.

Faithfully yours, Richard T. Ely
Dear Professor Harper,

The day after I returned to Baltimore I saw Dr. Adams and induced him to promise to meet you on Tuesday next in Philadelphia. He will be at the Lafayette at five o'clock. On account of engagements which I have here I shall not be able to arrive before six. Perhaps this is just as well, as it will give you an hour with him alone. It seems to me desirable for all parties that nothing should be said at present about this interview, and I think you would better engage a room in which we can meet instead of meeting in one of the parlors.

Dr. Adams will not name any conditions under which he will go to Chicago; you must make him a definite proposition. I am positive about this, and you would do well to decide just how much you can do. I should advise you to offer him six thousand dollars, and to let his duties begin on July 1st next. He would spend the following year in Europe, but would really be engaged all the time in University work, in making plans for the organization, in assisting you in engaging professors and instructors, and in studying the methods of European institutions. This is as truly university work as giving lectures, and ought to be so viewed by the trustees. It seems to me almost as important that the dean of the graduate department should be engaged at once as that the president should be. Of course I do not mean to urge upon you any plan of mine, but I simply present the matter as it looks to me. I am not at all sure that Dr. Adams will accept even this proposition, but it is the one which you would better make to him fairly and squarely if you want him.

This is a thousand dollars more than you intended to give, and if I should go I should also want a thousand dollars more than you mentioned. In other words I do not think I could consider any offer of less than five thousand dollars a year. It seems to me—and in this Dr. Adams agrees with me—that you must raise your prices somewhat in order to get the men who will make the university the success which we desire. There are several men who will be wanted, and who cannot be got and retained for four thousand dollars. Columbia now pays five thousand regularly, and some professors receive $7500. Some of the professors at Johns Hopkins receive five thousand. Harvard pays four thousand, and is able to offer additional pecuniary inducements of one kind and another. A friend of mine, for example, who went to Harvard not long ago, was offered in addition to his regular salary a thousand dollars a year for work connected with the Harvard Annex, making his salary practically a thousand dollars more than the nominal salary. You see
Dear [Name],

I am writing to inform you of my intention to resign from my position as [Position]. After much thought and consideration, I have decided that it is time for me to move on to pursue new opportunities.

I have enjoyed my time at [Company] and have learned a great deal from you and the team. I am grateful for the chance to have worked with you and for the support and guidance you have provided me.

In the coming weeks, I will continue to be available to ensure a smooth transition of responsibilities. Please let me know if there is anything I can do to assist you and the team during this period.

Thank you for your understanding and for the opportunity to work at [Company].

Best regards,

[Your Name]
you must compete with other institutions. If you are willing to pay five thousand dollars a year for men at the head of departments, it will be possible to get the men we desire among the younger, rising men, and keep them. This salary gives you the choice, but with four thousand dollars a year you must take in many cases what you can get and not what you want,—that is to say, you will be obliged to be content with men of the second rank, or men who do not exactly fit into your purposes. Consider after all what a small difference it makes to you whether the highest salary is five thousand dollars or four thousand. For several years at the outside the difference between the salaries which I have in mind and those which you suggest would not exceed ten thousand dollars a year,—say the income on $200,000, and is there any conceivable way in which the money could be better invested? In political economy we have the saying that high priced labor is the cheapest labor. I think that is eminently the case with regard to universities. The best man for a place is worth not twenty per cent more than the second best, but a hundred per cent more. I do not think you could make any better investment than to spend, for example, six thousand dollars a year for Dr. Adams if he could be induced to come. When we started here in Baltimore we wanted an English professor, Prof. Sylvester, and we were obliged to offer him $6,500 a year in gold, although there was a slight premium on gold at that time. I doubt very much, however, whether we ever made a better investment.

Now more about the conditions which it would be necessary for you to offer me. In the first place I must say that I cannot put myself in the attitude of a candidate. I can only name conditions which I would consider seriously, saying that the sooner you make me an offer the more likely I will be to accept it. As stated above, I could not go for less than five thousand dollars a year. It is not at all improbable that if I remain here I shall receive that sum, because some gentlemen of wide influence are at the present time endeavoring to raise a special endowment for my chair, and if I should mention the names of these gentlemen you would agree with me that their success is at least probable. Apart from that, I think as large a salary as I mention is needed for one holding such a position as you suggest for me in the Chicago University. I think there is no chair which would involve such expense. First, as I have told you, my correspondence is very large. I receive important letters from mayors, members of municipal councils, state legislators, and even from congressmen, which must be answered. Surely one of the things which the department of Political Science in the Chicago University wants to do is to make its influence felt on political life and to elevate practical politics. A political
economist ought also to travel a good deal in order to study industrial conditions with his own eyes. In Germany, special appropriations are sometimes made for this purpose. I am also connected with various organizations which entail expense, and the connection would be one which in the interest of the Chicago University I ought to keep up. For example, some very influential members of the Episcopal church are starting a new movement, and I am on the Executive Committee. This makes it necessary for me to go to New York in April to help formulate plans. I mention this by way of illustration to show the expensiveness of the position which I would hold. It would also be necessary for my appointment to date from the first of next July. I think, however, I could save the whole of my salary for the University in purchasing books for the department of History and Political Science. Many of the books, perhaps most of them, which we would want are not books which are regularly sold, but which must be picked up here and there. When such books are ordered it is necessary to pay a large price, but one who is familiar with European book-stores and with the literature can often save fifty per cent, and sometimes even more, by going to Europe, travelling about, and watching opportunities. I would be unwilling to bind myself to give any specified number of hours instruction per week, but would expect that to be left to my discretion. Everybody who knows me knows that all my life I have been inclined to overwork, and there is no danger that I would not do enough. I should expect to give all my strength to the Chicago University. What I should aim at first of all for myself and for those associated with me in the work of political science would be quality rather than quantity. Enough work would be done, surely, but I would insist that in every instance quality should be placed first. It would be my ambition to build up a department which would be recognized by all fair minded men in this country and in Europe as the leading school of political science in the United States. Another condition which occurs to me is a secure tenure of office. I should want a life tenure, for I would expect to devote the rest of my life to the interests of the Chicago University.

I can say for Dr. Adams and for myself that if we surrender to you it will be an entire surrender. Once having accepted a position in the Chicago University, we will be devoted heart and soul to its interests. So far as I am concerned, although my salary would begin on the first of July, I should be ready to co-operate with you at once, and to do everything to assist you between now and then which I could consistently with my duties in Baltimore. I understand that it would rest with me to select those associated with me, with your approval in each case. This, as I take it, means that you
The issue of racial discrimination is a complex one that affects our society in many ways. The struggle for equality and justice is not just about the legal rights of individuals, but also about the broader social and cultural narratives that underpin them.

In the United States, the Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s was a pivotal moment in the fight against racial segregation and discrimination. Leaders such as Martin Luther King Jr. and Malcolm X advocated for nonviolent resistance and direct action to challenge the racist institutions and practices that denied African Americans their constitutional rights.

Today, the fight for racial justice continues, with ongoing efforts to address systemic racism in institutions such as law enforcement, education, and housing. The Black Lives Matter movement has brought attention to police brutality and the need for police reform, as well as the broader issue of economic inequality and disparity.

It is important to recognize the impact of historical events on current societal structures. Understanding the legacy of slavery, segregation, and discrimination is crucial in addressing these issues and working towards a more just and equitable society.

In conclusion, the fight for racial justice is not only about legal equality but also about social and cultural transformation. It requires continued effort and commitment from all members of society to dismantle the systems of oppression and work towards a future where everyone is treated with dignity and respect.
are to have the right of veto. I do not think that any one can be responsible for a department if those working under him in it are selected by some one else. The organization which I had thought of is as follows,—I would manage the department and take certain aspects of general sociology, social ethics, and finance. I would like to get Warner, who is now United States Commissioner of Charities in Washington, to take charge of the work connected with the administration of charities and corrections. Warner is rising rapidly and will soon be recognized as one of the leading men, perhaps the leading man, in that line of work in the United States. He would at once make his influence felt in Chicago and soon gain a commanding position.

I had thought of Dr. Falker of the University of Pennsylvania for statistics; Mr. W. A. Scott, formerly with Dr. Olson in Vermillion, for general political economy, and Mr. Cheney of the University of Pennsylvania for economic history and university extension work, in which he succeeds very well. You will understand that this is only tentative, and I should wish to make further inquiries before recommending this plan to you definitely. It will show you, however, what I have in mind. Money would be required for books and for publications.

This may seem like giving a great deal to my department, but there is no department which would so soon make itself felt as a force in Chicago. I would have a high ambition for the department and expect to make its influence felt in every part of the city and state. By developing the work along careful and conservative lines I think no department would do more to strengthen the university and to bring to it an additional endowment. The series of books which I am preparing with the aid of students, and which I showed to you in Philadelphia, could be published under the name of the Chicago University, and in turning that over to you, you would get hold of a series which is at once going to be known favorably in this country and in Europe.

I have written at this great length in order to make every point clear, and I think there can be nothing in doubt. You understand that neither Dr. Adams nor I promise to go under any conditions, but I have suggested to you certain things which I would advise you to offer if you want us, and the sooner you make us such an offer—I think it is safe to say) the more likely we will be to accept it. I have not meant to urge upon you anything which I have suggested, but I have intended simply to explain the situation as it appears to me. If you desire it, then, Dr. Adams will meet you at five o'clock on Tuesday in a room at the Lafayette Hotel, and I will be there at six. We can both stay until time to take the 7.40 train for Baltimore, but not longer.

I remain

Faithfully yours,

Richard E.
I am writing to express my concern about the recent developments in our community. I believe it is important to have an open and honest discussion on these issues.

As a member of this community, I have observed several concerning trends. The first is the increase in crime rates, particularly in the downtown area. This has led to a decrease in the sense of safety among residents.

The second issue is the erosion of our local businesses. Many of the small shops and restaurants that have been part of our community for years are facing closure due to increased competition and rising costs.

Lastly, there is the growing problem of pollution. The amount of litter and debris in our streets and parks is becoming a major concern. I believe it is time for us to come together to address these challenges.

I urge all community members to consider these issues and to actively participate in finding solutions. Together, we can make a positive change in our community.
President’s Office,
Colby University,
Waterville, Me.

Apr. 1871

Dr. Dear Dr. Harper—

An alleged discreditation from any source by you about Dr. Ely makes me say that he is “indulging in neglect of his classes.” I have read any thing of the sort it must have been a case of hypothesis.

There is no mistake.

Dr. Ely is the head

Economic department at the Hopkins. He has

much more work than any man could do in this

field. My opinion since then been this work

has always been that he was most conciliating

industrious devoted to it.

The alma mater has been made

darn plains students this year, especially; but I

have visited their presence in my judgment in that

they want a professor to feed them with a

from Columbia, or do not know enough to

of the work a man who is doing the most

satisfactory work for graduates; my, or their.
a method, which every student ought to offer for
himself; i.e., going ahead of them in constant
use of the method upon new problems.

If Dr. Elip's views were correct — as some
of them seem apparently not to be this year —
would one that this first work for them is in
him, in which he has a method to reach atten-
tion to the Hopkins — constant study for those
special treatment of economic data in
principle. Dr. Elip is at his best with grad-
uates, not with undergraduates; not
graduate who
cannot work with them, who think he is neglect-
ing them if he does not devote himself to stuffing
them with information which they ought to get
for themselves, ought to be reduced to the ranks of
a lower college.

Sincerely,

[Signature]
THE ELY INVESTIGATION.

Communications of Superintendent Wells to the Investigating Committee.

Madison, Wis., Aug. 20, 1894.

"Mr. H. W. Chynoweth, chairman of the committee to investigate charges against Professor Richard T. Ely. Dear Sir,—I have received a copy of the resolution adopted by your committee at its meeting in Milwaukee August 7th, 1894, which are hereto attached. Permit me to call your attention to the minutes of the board of regents appointing this committee and to the instructions given it by the board:—

"President Bartlett made the following statement: A member of this board having published a communication to the effect that Prof. Ely's teachings, in the university, are socialistic in their character, "Utopian, impracticable and pernicious doctrines," and thereby furnish a seeming moral justification of the attack upon life and property—such as the country has lately witnessed; I deem it my duty, as president of this board, to call your attention to the same, for your consideration, and if no objection is made, will appoint a committee to carefully investigate the charges made; the effect of Dr. Ely's teachings upon the students, and the whole matter connected therewith, and report to our next regular meeting.'

"From this record it will be seen that there was appointed a committee to carefully investigate the charges made in regard to the character of Dr. Ely's teachings, the effect of his teachings upon the students and the whole matter connected therewith.

"I desire further to call your attention to my letter published in the issue of the Nation of July 12th, which contains a single introductory statement and two paragraphs, the first of which relates to certain alleged acts of Prof. Ely and the second to his teachings. The language of President Bartlett, quoting or purporting to quote words or expressions from this letter, is taken wholly from the second paragraph. Evidently the president and the board by its approval considered the alleged conduct of Prof. Ely, however reprehensible in itself or unbecoming a university professor, as of minor consequence so far as it relates to public interests or wrought public injury. It seems equally evident that the character of Prof. Ely's teachings and its influence upon his students is of the first importance and that with which the university authorities are chiefly concerned, I believe this to be a fair interpretation of the action of the board and I am therefore at a loss to account for the action of the committee in deciding not to investigate that portion of my letter which it was directed to investigate, but to confine its attention, so far as I myself am concerned, exclusively to that portion of my letter which the board ignored.

"I desire also to call your attention to the statements of this part of my
letter which you were directed to investigate relating to Prof. Ely's books and to the specific statement of what a careful reading of his books will discover. You will note that I made no statement regarding his lectures delivered at the university or elsewhere. I had never heard Dr. Ely lecture and my statements were confined exclusively to what I thought to be the effect of his writings. You will therefore understand the amazement with which I read the following announcement accompanying your resolution in the public press:

"The members of the committee while here yesterday stated explicitly that the investigation would not deal with what Dr. Ely wrote, said, thought or taught in years gone by, but would be confined to his teachings since his connection with the university. The committee has no power to subpoena witnesses and cannot compel their attendance at the meetings. Dr. Ely's books will not be used in evidence."

"Your resolution does not allow me to present evidence to support the only criticism I made upon his teachings, but it does request Dr. Ely to be present at the investigation and to produce 'all lectures which he has given to his classes or students of the university during his connection therewith.' If it were possible for the professor to do this in any time which the committee is able to devote to the hearing, it would evince a slight return for the $3,500 per year which the university is expending for this instructor's salary. As a matter of fact no professor could accurately reproduce successive series of lectures delivered throughout a period of two years. As neither the committee nor myself heard those lectures and there is no possible means of producing evidence of the accuracy of their reproduction, while there might be a motive for not reproducing them fully if they contained objectionable matter, such an attempted reproduction can afford evidence of no value whatever. It is not difficult, however, for the committee to determine in some measure the character of his instruction.

"By reference to the first paragraph on page 67 of the last catalogue of the university, it will be seen that Ely's Outlines of Economics is a prescribed text-book. It is also recommended by the university to the teachers of the state who come as students to its summer school, and I understand is referred to as authority by some of the lecturers of the university extension courses. This book was written and published since his coming to the university. The preface is dated Madison, Wisconsin, July, 1893, and the book was copyright in the same year. Dr. Ely has delivered courses of lectures upon socialism, a full syllabus of which has been published and widely distributed. These lectures have been expanded into a book and published during the present year under the title 'Socialism and Social Reforms.' The preface is dated University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin, April 25, 1894.

"The librarian of the university, in reply to a recent letter of mine, reports that there are in the university library three copies of Dr. Ely's Introduction to Political Economy, six copies of The Labor Movement in America, two copies of French and German Socialism, three copies of Taxation in American States and Cities, and one copy of Social Aspects of Christianity. The library also has current periodicals which contain his essays and addresses. The librarian also reports that his books and addresses are largely used as works of reference. The librarian of the state historical library reports that the library contains copies of all his writings in book form except his recent work on Socialism, and says, 'His writings both in book form and in periodicals are frequently consulted and used for reference by university students.' It has been authoritatively stated that more than ninety per cent. of the patronage of the state historical library, during the collegiate year, comes from the university. It is there-
fore impossible for your committee to determine what are the teachings of Dr. Ely without a knowledge of the contents of these books.

"The supreme court of Wisconsin has decided that the reading of the Bible in the presence of children is sectarian instruction. Certainly constant study of books must be construed as instruction, or teaching, in the light of this decision. The avowed purpose of a text-book is instruction. Study and recitation from a prescribed text-book, whether written by the instructor or not, is instruction of a most effective kind. When written by the instructor it stands as a basis of his instruction and requires only a limited portion of the time given to a recitation to test the proficiency of the students in the matter prescribed, and allows the teacher time and opportunity for wider discussion of his principles. More than this, a man teaches by what he says and by what he stands for. A student or a class would approach the subject of free trade and protection with a very different attitude according as they should be required to recite to Prof. Summer or ex-President Harrison; similarly the question of bimetallism would be differently viewed according as one expected to recite to Francis A. Walker or Prof. Laughlin.

The trend of Dr. Ely's influence is shown in the fact that the first joint debate, the great intellectual contest of the university, the first year after its coming, was upon Municipal Ownership and Operation of Lighting Works and Street Railways. The second and last joint debate was upon Government Ownership of Railroads.

"It is not unknown to your committee that the department of economics has, during the past two years, conducted a propaganda of these doctrines throughout this state and elsewhere.

"As the libraries accessible to the students are most numerous supplied with copies of his Labor Movement in America, I desire to call attention to some of its teachings. The book was originally written in 1886 and the third edition was published in 1890. On page 10 of the preface he says, 'It cuts me to the heart when laboring men are shot down in the street.' On page 327 he says, 'Our police system needs reforming. What is needed is some kind of a control which shall prevent the continual clubbing of poor people without cause.' The natural inference from these statements is that people are shot down or clubbed because they are laborers and poor, but it will be remembered that this book was written during the year of the great railway strike in the southwest, the strike of the elevated railway in New York, numerous other local strikes, and the Haymarket riot and massacre in Chicago. The probabilities therefore are that the laboring men, or more probably men who never willingly labor in any useful calling, the clubbing and shooting of whom so deeply affects his sympathy, were clubbed or shot because they were clubbing or shooting other laboring men who were willing to work in the places they had left, or that they were disabling engines and destroying property both private and public. Judge Gary took a different view of the treatment merited by some of these innocent working men. During the summer of 1878 large companies of anarchists were arming and drilling in Chicago with the avowed purpose of destroying the city. In the winter following, the legislature passed a law forbidding the organization and training of such companies. On page 327 of this book Dr. Ely says: The law of 1878, in Illinois, which forbade unauthorized companies of armed men, was—it may as well be acknowledged frankly—directed against workingmen. It was class legislation. * * * It is a bad law and a bad precedent.' During this same year Judge Barrett of New York sentenced five boycotters to hard labor at Sing Sing. The scathing demurrand of the action of the judge in socialist and anarchist papers is quoted by Dr. Ely on pages 290 and 300.
laws. He says that this is not his own view and he follows these quotations with the expression of opinion that the boycott is wrong; at any rate, as it has been conducted. Then follows a sentimental plea in behalf of the boycott, concluding with the following expression of his own opinion:

"As to the course which has been taken, I would not be misunderstood, when I express the opinion, that American history records few more disastrous mistakes, and that I fear greatly we shall see sad consequences of it within ten years, sadder still within twenty years, unless more powerful conservative forces are brought into action than are now manifest. I join in no condemnation of a judge whose personal character or official integrity may, for aught I know, be beyond question. I can readily understand that he may have done with pain what he thought his duty in a crisis in American history. I simply say that I think he committed an error of judgment."

"He then states that the action of the judge has united the socialists and greatly intensified their bitterness. He also says that some laborers condemned the boycott, and gives it as his opinion that had they not been interfered with and punished they would of themselves have abandoned boycotting. Then he adds:"

"Now the conservatives find the work of years overthrown. There is a howl among the anarchists from Boston to San Francisco: "Ho, ye fools! Ye men of law and order! What have we always told you? Law is only for the poor! It is the rich man's instrument of oppression!"

"A little farther on Dr. Ely says, 'The judicial decisions in New York do not appeal to the working classes as interpretations of actual law, but as a perversion of law for class purposes.'"

"To this action of the authorities Dr. Ely attributes much of the sympathy among workingmen for the Chicago anarchists then on trial for the massacre at Haymarket. The Ely-Altgeld idea of dealing with strikes and boycotts differs from the Gary-Cleveland view, although it may not appear to the committee that this difference would furnish 'a seeming moral justification of attacks upon life and property such as the country has already become too familiar with."

"Your attention should be called to the quotations given on page 215 regarding the symbolism of the red flag of the anarchists and the following comment thereon by Dr. Ely:"

"'It is thus seen that the red flag in itself is innocent. It may be in the minds of some as devoid of any intent to do wrong as a Sunday-school banner. On the other hand, if used as a flag of actual rebels, it may be terrible indeed. There is no reason why it should alarm people in time of peace. It is with the red flag as it is with the English flag. It would today give no anxiety to see a man unfurl a British flag in New York; possibly one year from today it would cost him his life.'"

"These citations certainly illustrate Dr. Ely's method of instruction. He does not usually teach by direct statement or expression of opinion but first by quotation and then by inference, suggestion and insinuation. He frequently enters a mild protest against some of the doctrines given, but almost invariably scales down that protest so that one can never exactly determine what his opinion is. He seems to take great pains first to poison the mind with quotations from incendiary or revolutionary publications and then applies but mild antidotes to the virus with which he has succeeded in inoculating the system. Many opinions which he does not dare openly to espouse are most effectively taught in this way. Illustrations of this method will be found at the bottom of page 365 where he quotes:

"'Bring right home to him (the wage-worker) the question of his servitude and poverty.' ** * 'Create disgust with, and rebellion against, existing usages, for success lies through general dissatisfaction.' ** * 'The
masses must have something to hate. Direct their hatred to their condition.

"Since he professes to write history or to state the opinions of others without endorsing them it is not easy to determine what his own opinions are. The only effective method of determination is by judging the impression of a book as a whole. It is in this way chiefly that we determine the admission of many books to the list for township libraries. If despite certain defects the total effect of the book leaves a sweet, wholesome impression, the book is admitted. If, notwithstanding many excellencies, the total impression left after reading the book is unwholesome, it is rejected. The effect of Dr. Ely's books should be judged by their influence upon ardent, sanguine, impressionable young men and women. Judged by this standard Dr. Ely's books still seem to me to convey the impression that law and authority are organized oppression; that those who have prospered in life are robbing and oppressing their less fortunate neighbors and that help can come only from a reorganization of society upon a more distinctively socialistic basis. On page 288 he says:

"Finally, the really dangerous forces at work among us are those of disintegration,—the centrifugal not the centripetal. Now, the whole aim and purpose of socialism is a closer union of social factors, and so thoroughly convinced am I that the present need is growth in that direction, so thoroughly persuaded am I that there is no present danger, that we shall advance far enough towards the goal of socialism to intrude on the sphere of the individual, or to commit any irreparable injury, that I could almost say welcome the work of the socialist as a necessary and beneficent bulwark against the anarchy of individualism."

"Taken as a whole, his volume will not teach the young that reverence for law which is the safeguard of the nation, nor will they leave an impression of the immutability and dominance of natural and economic laws. Not only do Dr. Ely's books abound in quotations favorable to lawlessness and dis-

order but they afford a comprehensive bibliography of such writings. The great body of economic doctrine which enshrines the wisdom and experience of the ages and which makes for law and orderly government now here appears upon his pages. He seldom quotes these standard and conservative writers except to select isolated expressions to bolster his peculiar theories. He stands as one of the foremost representatives of a so-called new school of political economists. The essence of that system teaches reliance upon state-help rather than self-help. It proposes to place the instruments of production and distribution (lands, machinery, railroads, etc.) more and more in the hands of the state and to limit individual effort. Its adoption would well-nigh abolish private property. It oft repeats the expressions 'individualism is immoral;' 'Property is theft.' Dr. Ely himself says, page 311: 'It must be recognized that extreme individualism is immoral. Extreme individualism is social anarchy.'

"For myself I do not regard as a matter of indifference which of the two systems is taught in a state university supported by general taxation. They are opposite and antagonistic. I believe the socialistic theory is opposed to the common instincts of humanity and the experience of the race. In adopting it I fear we shall sow the wind and reap the whirlwind. This is not a question of liberty of speech. It is the determination of what doctrine the university will stand for and promulgate. A faulty political economy is the fruitful parent of crime,' Dr. Ely says is one of the wisest of the many wise sayings of Dr. Thomas Arnold. If we send out each year several hundred well trained students imbued with his doctrines their opinions will soon dominate the thought and the legislation of the state. No limit should be placed upon investigation and discussion but the position of the university should not be equivocal when questions of orderly government and personal liberty are at stake.

"One of the dangers of socialism is
that its deluded victims embittered by disappointment will turn to anarchy as their only remedy. Just now the swelling tide of populism has been given a mighty impulse by the weakness and wickedness of congress. All conservative forces must unite to meet the onset or all that is best in our national life may be swept away.

"It is not for me to say what theory is right. It is my duty as a regent to express my opinion when the paths diverge and a course must be chosen. This I have done. I have done so before to individual members of the board, and to the president last winter in writing. The editorial in the semi-weekly Post of March 1st, criticizing Dr. Ely's article in the March number of the North American Review, was discussed in a meeting of the executive committee March 5th and referred to President Adams for report. This he neglected to do, unless, as is quite generally believed, his baccalaureate address in June was devoted to a refutation of the teachings of Dr. Ely.

The annual session of the board closed with Dr. Ely continued in place with no protest against his teachings. A great strike occurred which had its culmination in an insurrection in Chicago in which there was formidable resistance to state and national authority. It came to my knowledge that students of Mr. Ely's writings were in open sympathy with the strikers wishing them success. These facts were not unknown to members of the board, but they were loath to instigate action. Former criticism of acts of the board in local political papers had been somewhat discredited on the alleged ground of democratic hostility to the university. Despairing of accomplishing anything except through publicity, I made use of the columns of a well known and reputable literary and economic journal.

"I have no acquaintance with Dr. Ely nor had I a wish to do him injury. I believed his occupancy of his present position was working and would continue to work irreparable injury. I am still of the same opinion. I believe the acceptance of his teachings will impair confidence in the integrity of our courts and in the substantial justice of our laws and will destroy respect for rightfully constituted authority. I fear their tendency to foster class hatred, to breed discontent and unrest and to beget expectations of greater personal good without individual effort and responsibility, which will issue in violence and bloodshed. I cannot therefore regard them otherwise than as 'Utopian, impracticable and pernicious,' but whatever they are they are now the teachings of the university and thus, under sanction of the board, of the state.

"I have to say in conclusion that your committee has disregarded the instructions of the board and undertaken an investigation not authorized by it. It has also excluded the only evidence that could be furnished in defence of my charges under the instructions given you by the board, while Dr. Ely is summoned to state at random what he may please to offer as his lectures where none can refute. I must therefore refuse to meet your committee until such time as the examination can be conducted according to the instructions of the board, or until such time as I shall be permitted to present legitimate evidence in support of the only charge I have made."

Respectfully,

OLIVER E. WELLS,
State Superintendent.

Madison, Wis., Aug. 23, 1894.
Mr. H. W. Clappoweth,
Chairman of Committee, etc.

Dear Sir:

"Upon request of your committee, but against the advice of friends and counsel, I attended the meeting of the 21st inst and took part in the inquiry then pending before the committee. The demonstrations that occurred and the sentiments of approval and disapproval expressed during the sitting, as well as the limitation the committee was disposed to place upon the scope of the inquiry and the time to be
devoted to it, as well as the admitted lack of power on the part of the committee to prosecute a thorough investigation, constrain me to concur in the advice of friends and counsel that an investigation conducted under such circumstances and with such limitations and lack of power, would not be likely to subserve any useful purpose or to reach any satisfactory conclusion. Acting upon such advice I must respectfully decline to be present at any further meetings of the committee.

"As the committee, however, requested me to submit in writing at the meeting to be held this evening, citations to and quotations from Prof. Ely's books, establishing the statement in my letter of July 5th, 1894, as to what a careful reading of his books will discover, and as I assented to that request, I beg leave to submit the following, which is only a partial statement owing to the limited time afforded me for its preparation.

"I have asserted that Dr. Ely's books are the only material evidence of his teachings. The last catalogue of the state university, page 87, shows that his Outlines of Economics is a prescribed text-book, and the librarians of the university and of the state historical library state that his books and other writings are in both libraries and that several copies of most of his books are in the university library and that they are frequently consulted by the students. It is doubtless known to the committee that much of the instruction is given according to the so-called seminarly method. Topics are assigned for investigation to be followed by written reports and oral discussions. For this purpose all of Dr. Ely's writings are used in connection with other books of reference. Throughout his books Dr. Ely makes frequent reference to his other books and the pupils are expected to look up the references and familiarize themselves with them. The syllabus of his lectures contains references to his books. If, then, his writings constitute no material part of his teachings it can only be because they teach nothing.

"Keenly appreciating the desire of your committee to be spared the necessity of listening to extended quotations from Dr. Ely's books, and mindful of the possibility of the injustice though unintentional, of such quotations, I shall make but few extracts from his latest volume, Socialism and Social Reform, which will be followed by a brief statement of the impression made by a careful reading of the book. I have already said, and still firmly believe, that the fairest judgment of a book can be formed from the impression given by the book as a whole. The first half of this book is devoted to the presentation of the nature and strength of socialism. His definition of socialism is as follows:

"'Socialism is that contemplated system of industrial society which proposes the abolition of private property in the great material instruments of production, and the substitution therefor of collective property; and advocates the collective management of production, together with the distribution of social income by society, and private property in the larger proportion of this social income.'

"The argument in its favor is presented with all the ingenuity and skill at his command. That the case has lost nothing in his hands is shown in the opening paragraph of Part III, entitled, The Weakness of Socialism. The discussion of this topic opens with the statement that:

"'Socialism is as strong as the strongest presentation which can be made of it. This must be clearly borne in mind by all students of the subject, for in the course of statement and restatement socialism will be made stronger than any presentation of it which has ever yet been given.'

"Eight chapters, covering seventy-five pages, are given to his presentation of the Weakness of Socialism. His effort is directed mainly to showing the weakness of the arguments against socialism instead of the weakness of socialism itself. His analysis leaves a distinct impression of his belief in the sentiment expressed in
the title to the second chapter, "Al-
leged, but not valid, Objections to So-
cialism." He finds three objections of
c onsiderable importance. The first two
relate to the difficulty of socializing or
nationalizing, as he would say, man-
 ufactures and foreign commerce. Ag-
 riculture seems to him to present a
well-nigh insurmountable obstacle.
To the discussion of these difficulties
less than six pages of tentative re-
 view are given, the remainder of the
chapter being devoted to the consider-
ation of motives of industrial activi-
 ty in which he proves, to his satis-
 faction, that social esteem is a motive
quite as powerful as competition. The
remainder of the book advocates with
increasing warmth the socialist pro-
 gram. The appendix includes the
 platforms or declarations of prin-
ciples of twelve socialist societies, for-
eign and domestic. The platforms of
social organizations are designed to
be terse and vigorous expressions of
their principles, and they stand with-
out challenge or criticism. The second
appendix of forty-three pages is de-
voted to a bibliography of socialism.
The final and forceful impressions left
upon the mind of the reader must be
radically socialist. If the book
teaches anything it teaches socialism.
"The book is so innocent of clear
 cut thought, and so uniformly barren
of explicit statements that it is diffi-
cult to quote passages that determine
Prof. Ely's opinions or show that he
has succeeded in formulating any. It may
be gathered from even a casual read-
ing that the professor takes it for
granted that the present organization
of society is radically wrong. The
remedy that socialism offers for every
ill that society is heir to is stated
with almost endless iteration, often
with such commendations as, 'This is
a very strong argument, or 'This would
be an effective remedy if socialism will
work.' Nowhere is the student told
that the reason that socialism cannot
work is grounded in the nature of
man. Nowhere is he shown that the
condition of society that would render
government by socialists possible,
would be a condition in which govern-
ment would be needless or its form
indifferent. Surely it is the business
of a teacher of economics to make it
plain to young people that human na-
ture would remain the same under so-
cialistic rule that it is now; that the
greed and selfishness that so often
debranch municipal government would
have the opportunities for mischief
multiplied indefinitely. Nearly four
hundred pages are devoted to exploit-
ing the claim of socialists that the
common ownership of 'all the mate-
rial instruments of production,' and
the management of industrial enter-
prises by the chosen representatives of
the people would cure the evils of
our present system, but no intim-
aton is given that the temptations to
peculation and fraud would thereby
be increased a thousand fold. A spirit
of obedience to law, a respect for
rightfully constituted authority, is the
perquisite of good citizenship. But
the thought of this volume is based
on the assumption that law and au-
 thority are organized oppression.
"An article entitled Natural Monop-
opies and the Workingman, a program
of Social Reform, which was written
by Dr. Ely and appeared in the North
American Review last March, is the
most courageous statement of his opin-
ions which I have seen. In this he
defines natural monopolies as the non-
competitive class of industries, such
as railways, telegraphs, telephones,
canals, irrigation works, harbors, gas-
works, street car lines and the like.'
After showing the abuses that arise
from private or corporate ownership
of such property, he says: 'A change
of policy with respect to business
of this kind is advocated. It is laid
down as a general principle that non-
competitive business should be owned
and managed by the government,
either national, state or local.' He es-
 t imates that the non-competitive busi-
nesses represent more than
one-fourth part of the entire wealth
of our industrial civilization.' Exclud-
ing property owned by the govern-
ment, he therefore estimates that
much less than three-fourths of our
wealth is in private hands. As a spee-
men of his way of meeting business difficulties it is interesting to note how Dr. Ely would have the government pay for such property. He says, 'If it is needed to raise money to carry out the reform it is suggested that the fairest way to do this is by means of a well-defined system of inheritance taxes, for such taxes diffuse the burden of the change among the community in proportion to ability to bear it. He asks then that more than one-third of the private wealth of the country should be confiscated, as it goes through probate courts to widows and orphans, to try a gigantic experiment! To one of the potent arguments against this scheme, which is that it adds enormously to the patronage and power of crafty politicians, he says this reform itself 'must necessarily bring with it civil-service reform.' The wage-earners, so greatly interested in these enterprises, will want for management the most capable men in the country. Is it rational for the general public to desire inferior service? This is an argument that Croker might well use as follows, 'New York City is a great business corporation and all its citizens are shareholders. Such shareholders want for the management the most capable men. Is it rational for them to desire inferior service? No! Therefore the officers elected from Tammany give the public superior service.'

He says, (p. 97) that Karl Marx 'is regarded by many who are not socialists as one of the greatest thinkers of the century,' and adds that 'few others have influenced the development of economic thought as he has.' Further on he says that he must be studied carefully, even to understand the socialism of those who reject his materialism. The revolutionary character of Karl Marx's teachings are too well known to require comment. His incessant attacks upon the institutions of orderly government drove him as a fugitive from one after another of the countries of Europe. If Dr. Ely does not wish to commend his teachings he is bound to show that his arguments are fallacious and his conclusions impracticable. But this is not done. Here, as everywhere in Dr. Ely's books, socialism is presented in its most subtle forms. But nowhere is the student taught that the schemes of socialists set at defiance the wisdom that has been wrought out of the experience of the race.

Prof. Ely is a socialist who teaches largely by inference and induction. He either lacks the courage of his convictions or more probably deludes himself into the belief that he is a friendly judge and not an advocate. For myself I think that if the university is to teach socialism it should employ a frank and open instructor in it. Then the parents who send their children to the university can meet his arguments frankly and openly. Under Prof. Ely's tuition the respect for the orderly institutions which young men and women bring from quiet homes is insidiously undermined.

'It is claimed in defence that Dr. Ely quotes the strongest statements of the socialists for the purpose of refuting them. It is true of these books that the quotations are the most virile, and therefore the most convincing, parts of the books. Had the authors quoted written no more strongly than he in refuting them, he would have had very little to quote. The great reproach of all his writings is that no one can say positively what he thinks or would have his pupils believe. If the study teaches nothing and leads nowhere it should be abandoned.

'It is proper to state that I am unable to establish the correctness of the information upon which I made the statement, in my letter of July 5th to The Nation, that the walking delegate from Kansas City was entertained at Prof. Ely's house and was in constant consultation with him, or that Prof. Ely's connection with the strike in the Democrat Printing company's office was as there stated.

'It is also proper to state that the evidence already taken proves that Dr. Ely twice visited the office of Tracy, Gibbs & Co., while a strike was impending and that on both occasions he urged the proprietors to make their
office a union office; that he again visited the office after the strike occurred and urged them to make it a union office; that at each visit he told the proprietors that the management of the Christian Social Union would probably require him to withdraw his printing if they refused to make it a union office; that Prof. Ely was secretary of the Christian Social Union and a member of its executive committee. It is therefore evident that the officers of that union would not have required him to withdraw the printing unless he requested them to do so. The implied intimidation was therefore his own individual act.

"The evidence proves that a so-called walking delegate from Kansas City was at the same time attempting to intimidate and coerce the firm of Tracy, Gibbs & Co. The inevitable conclusion from these facts is that, whether intentionally or not, Prof. Ely aided and abetted this strike. It was not shown that he counseled the strikers.

"It was further shown that upon the presentation of the proposition that where a choice must be made between a union and a non-union man, substantially as indicated in my letter of July 5th to The Nation, he asserted that the non-union man could remove the objection to himself by joining the union. To the suggestion that he might be a crank and conscientiously opposed to joining the union, Dr. Ely, according to the testimony, made no reply. It is a fair inference that the non-union man should not be employed even under such circumstances.

"It was shown that I had misunderstood the statement of Mr. Tracy and wrongfully attributed the use of the epithet 'crank' to Dr. Ely. It was not proved that Prof. Ely took away any printing because of their refusal to comply with his demands, but it was shown that soon after the strike he ceased to have printing done at the office of Tracy, Gibbs & Co.

"It is proved that Mr. Klunk, the walking delegate related to Mr. Tracy the case of a boycott upon the Kansas City Journal by which that company was compelled, as he stated, to submit to the demands of the strikers after the loss of $68,000; that this was repeated by Mr. Tracy to Dr. Ely and the latter stated that that was one of the unfortunate incidents of strikes, but that the strikers had sometimes to resort to such measures in order to succeed. That evidently is a justification of the boycott."

Respectfully,

OLIVER E. WELLS.
University of Wisconsin.

Madison, Wis., August 17, 1895.

President W. R. Harper,

University of Chicago,

Chicago, Ill.,

Dear President Harper:—I notice in the New York World of August 14th. a statement professing to come from some one "closely associated" with you, to the effect that I never had an opportunity of refusing a chair in the University of Chicago. Rumors have reached me from time to time in the past, that it has been denied by you, or others, that I had ever been offered a chair in the University of Chicago. It has always seemed to me incredible that you could have made any such a statement. You repeatedly offered me the head-professorship of Political Economy in the University of Chicago. You made me different offers in connection with Dr. H. B. Adams, and you also made me an offer alone without any reference to the action of Dr. Adams. I not only have the clearest recollection of our conversations, but I have your correspondence which I took occasion yesterday to lay before a friend. The correspondence is so clear that my friend stated it could not be misunderstood by anyone
capable of understanding the English language. Moreover, while all this is enough in itself, one of your trustees, in conversation with a well-known lady, expressed the hope that although past offers had not drawn me, the University of Chicago would still be able to make me an offer which I could not decline. Still further, you, yourself, referred repeatedly to others, to the offer which you had made me. I go into details in order that you may be led to refresh your memory in case it should be necessary, although this can hardly be possible. I hope you will tell me that the New York World "special" is as much unauthorized as it is incorrect. As this World "Special" may not have come to your notice, I write at once to give you an opportunity of making a correction, as you possibly can see the statement referred to places me in an unpleasant position. The matter in itself may not have a great deal of significance, but I have mentioned the offer to others, and if the "New York World" report and other similar reports should go un-contradicted they might seem to impugn my veracity.

Yours very truly,

Richard T. Ely
...
University of Wisconsin.
Madison, Wis., September 7, 1895.

President W. R. Harper,
University of Chicago,
Chicago, Ill.,

Dear President Harper:—I have received your letter. I intended to reply before this, but have been very busy of late.

I must confess I was quite surprised at the contents of your letter, and I think you must have forgotten much that passed between us, as you repeatedly refer in the correspondence on the subject— which I still have— to the offer you have made me, and in one letter characterize it as being in your judgment "a first class offer."

The morning your letter was received, I happened to be sitting on my porch with a prominent Chicago lawyer, who with his wife were at that time our guests. I was curious to know what they would think of the letters in question, which I laid before them. I found that their impressions coincided exactly with my own.

The matter is really of too little consequence for so many words, except for the fact, that I have been repeatedly asked whether or not I had ever received an offer from
UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

September 1st, 1940

Dear Professor N. M. Hartley,

I am grateful for your letter of August 18th, and I hope you have received my letter of September 1st. In this letter, I wish to express my appreciation of the opportunity I have received to study at the University of Washington.

I would like to thank you for the interest you have shown in my progress. I am pleased to inform you that I have completed my coursework and am now ready for the final examination.

I would also like to express my gratitude for the assistance I received from Professor Hartley in the preparation of my thesis. I am confident that I will be able to complete my work on schedule.

I am looking forward to the opportunity to meet with you in person and to discuss my progress. I am confident that I will be able to make rapid progress in my studies and to complete my work to your satisfaction.

Thank you once again for your support and guidance. I look forward to hearing from you soon.

Sincerely,

William J. Smith
the University of Chicago to which I have unhesitatingly re-
plied that I had, never supposing the matter open to question,
until I saw the article in the New York World. I regarded it
the offer as in many respects a tempting one, but after ma-
ture reflection concluded to decline it. I have never made
public the reasons why I declined your offers. If I should
be forced to write anything in reply to the statement to
which you refer, it might compel me to state some things which
I would prefer to keep to myself.

What you write of Professor Bemis forces me to say
that you are quite mistaken regarding my views of Dr. Bemis's
capacity. I regard him as an able man and capable teacher,
and we are looking forward to much pleasure and profit from
some lectures he is to give here this fall.

Mrs. Ely will not be able to leave home for some
months and consequently we cannot accept your kind invitation.
We beg you and Mrs. Harper to accept our thanks for it.

Yours very truly,

[Signature]

Richard P. Ely
the University of Chicago to which I have unfortunately to
bring you this note explaining the matter over to you. Since
writing the letter as to want reassess a computing one, and after me-
the offer as to want reassess a computing one, and after me-
the offer as to want reassess a computing one, and after me-
the offer as to want reassess a computing one, and after me-

baffle the reasons why I do not have much of a chance in the

which you refer to might consider me to state some things which

I would prefer to keep to myself.

May you write to Professor Yonezawa here to en-

that you are the only one to know to me of what's

especially, I regard him as so one man and my only person,

and we are looking forward to much pleasure and profit from

some articles we're to give here this fall.

The way will not be possible to leave home for some

wontine my consciousness we cannot accept your kind invitation.

We plan your trip to Yonezawa and perhaps you'll visit

Yonezawa first.
June 17th, 1904.

Professor R. T. Ely,
Madison, Wis.

My dear Professor Ely:—

I wish to thank you for your kind letter of June 10th in reference to Kinley. I am afraid we are not able to offer him what he would have to have to secure his transfer. I note with interest your opinion of his service. I cannot tell you how much I enjoyed the visit with Mrs. Ely and yourself. I look back to the days at Madison with very great pleasure.

Yours very truly,
Professor R. T. Ely,
Mathem, W. H.

My dear Professor Ely:

I wish to thank you for your kind letter of June 10th in reference to Kindy. I am afraid we were not able to offer him what he would have to have to become the chemist. I hope with interest your opinion of the service. I cannot tell you how much I enjoyed the visit with Mrs. Ely and yourself. I look back to the game at Heathrow with very great pleasure.

Yours very truly,
June 10, 1904.

Dear President Harper:—

I wish to direct your attention to Professor David Kinley as a possible successor to Hatfield. I believe that you could secure him and I think also that he would accept the position. I certainly should recommend him to do so. I believe that if you look thoroughly into the case you will find that he is the best man in the field. I have known Kinley for some fifteen years and the longer I know him the more highly I value him. He is one of the most loyal men I have ever known. He is the kind of a man who would be faithful to you and fight for you through thick and thin. He also has a good deal of administrative ability as well as intellectual capacity and scholarly qualities. If you get at all of the facts I believe that you will agree with me that a considerable part of the progress of the University of Illinois during the past ten years has been due to Kinley. He could organize your business courses and I think make them a great success. May I venture to suggest that Mr. Eckels knows Kinley very well and could perhaps express an opinion upon this point that would have value?

Kinley has written a book on "Money" which will appear in a few days. It seems to me to be the best work on the subject and this is the opinion of the other advisers of the Macmillan Company. I do not
know who the other advisers are but probably they are the Columbia men.

The mention of this subject suggests that Lauchlin has also worked in this particular field. I do not see, however, why as a successor to Mr. Miller there need be any conflict with Lauchlin.

I want again to express our pleasure in having you with us and the hope that it will not be long before we may see you and Mrs. Harper as guests in our house.

Faithfully yours,

President

University of Chicago,
Chicago, Ill.

[Signature]

[Date]