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SCANDAL ON THE PLAINS

WILLIAM F. SLOCUM, EDWARD S. PARSONS, AND THE COLORADO COLLEGE CONTROVERSIES

JOE P. DUNN

Why can't you run a college as if it were a copper mine?
—Colorado College trustee in 1916

This is a story about a scandal that took place on the western frontier, a sexual harassment crisis involving one of the giants of late-nineteenth and early twentieth-century education and the disgraceful treatment of the man who pursued the case. The treatment of the two related incidents in the several official histories of the institution constitutes a travesty that one is tempted to call “scandalous.” The physical place of this saga is important because the original events transpired within a burgeoning frontier community and at a young western

institution that was successfully carving out its place in the national academic scene. The issues may be universal ones and the same story might have occurred in any region of the country, but it played out in the particular way it did within the context of the several frontiers of the new West—nascent educational institutions in transition, the attitudes of powerful western entrepreneurs and businessmen toward academics, the place of young women on the college campus, and changing social attitudes in a new political environment. Although unquestionably an element of a larger national narrative, these events are first of all a part of the chronicle of the Great Plains frontier at a particular time in history.

Several players participated in this sad drama, but two were central. William Frederick Slocum, a Congregational minister from Massachusetts, was president of Colorado College from 1888 until 1917. The college, launched as a Congregational Church institution in May 1874, suspended operations in March 1876 and reopened in September 1876,

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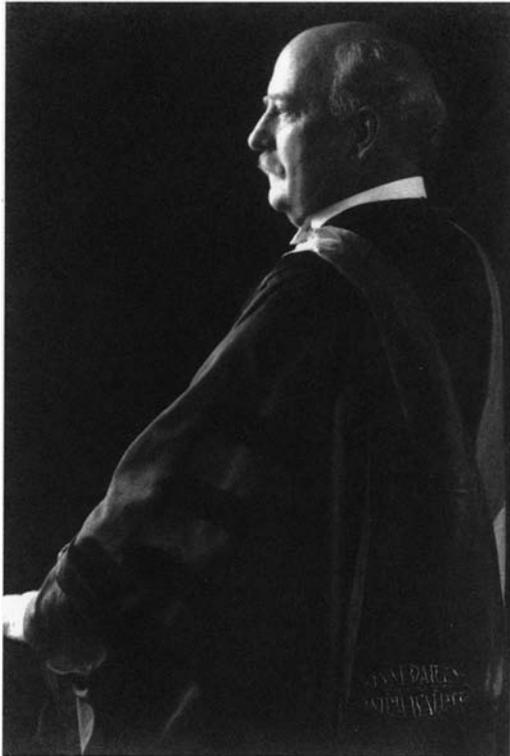


FIG. 1. *William Frederick Slocum*, c. 1915. Courtesy of Special Collections, Tutt Library, Colorado College, Colorado Springs, Colorado.

but its existence remained precarious until Slocum arrived. During his twenty-nine-year tenure, he led the struggling institution to become a prominent, thriving college. In the process, he earned a national reputation. Slocum was a stout man, but his “larger than life” stature emanated from the dimensions of his personality and character. Charismatic, dynamic, vigorous, and intellectual, Slocum reflected what Princeton president Francis L. Patton in 1889 called the need for “manly men,” masculinity over everything, including sentimentality and even intellect. It is no exaggeration to call Slocum a titan of late-nineteenth and early twentieth-century education, a great man of monumental accomplishments, but like other great men, he had flaws. His ego was gargantuan; his acclaim was nearly universal, but many faculty members chafed under his dictatorial rule.

In the manner of business magnates and western mine owners of his day, Slocum ran his enterprise as a personal fiefdom, including raising all the money, recruiting the trustees, hiring the faculty, making all important decisions, promulgating policy, stoking the college furnaces when necessary, preaching in chapel, and speaking for the college locally and nationally. Although his achievements could be extolled for pages, one early action is important at this point. Slocum inherited a group of trustees that included primarily clergy and a few local businessmen. He removed all the clergy and replaced most of the small-town businessmen with men of considerable wealth, several from the East, some of whom never set eyes on the college. These men enjoyed the honor of being listed as trustees in return for providing periodic financial contributions for Slocum’s projects. And the president knew how to court, solicit, and cajole his wealthy patrons.¹

The second figure, Edward S. Parsons, Yale Divinity School graduate and former Congregationalist minister, had been a member of the English faculty since 1892, dean of the arts and sciences, dean of the faculty since 1902, and vice president of the college for many years. A Social Gospelite who had published a book, *The Social Message of Jesus*, Parsons strived to do the right thing at all times. He was highly respected by all his colleagues, one of whom referred to him as “the most Christ-like man I ever met. His faults are self effacement, lack of firmness, and a readiness to be governed by the opinion of others.”² Parsons for many years worked closely and loyally with Slocum, but an event prior to the confrontation detailed in these pages would later help to undermine him.

SEXUAL HARASSMENT CHARGES

In 1911 rumors surfaced about possible financial irregularities of money given for endowment purposes being spent for current operations. Professor Moses C. Gile and Dean Parsons consulted with the college attorney, who believed that the concern was justified and took the

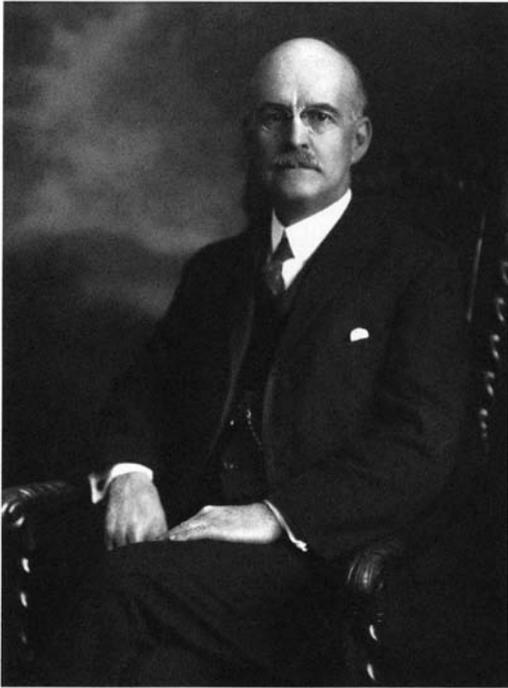


FIG. 2. *Edward S. Parsons, n.d.* Courtesy of Special Collections, Tutt Library, Colorado College, Colorado Springs, Colorado.

matter to a member of the trustee finance committee, who discussed it with President Slocum. Parsons and Gile were displeased. They had consulted the attorney only to ascertain if the issue should be pursued. When it was determined that it should be, the professor and the dean believed that they should have approached the president directly rather than to involve the trustees. In any case an audit concluded that nothing untoward had occurred. However, the faculty's suspicions about Slocum led a faculty member later to relate that Slocum engaged "a former bookkeeper, distantly related to him, to work upon the books all one summer" prior to the audit and that Slocum was "gloriously white-washed." The professor continued that from that time on, the trustees hated Parsons and sought grounds to fire him, but no legitimate justification could be found. The matter went away but was not forgotten, and it would surface again to haunt Parsons.³

Rumors of Slocum's lecherous nature had floated around for years, as early as 1906. Among other things, gossip circulated about the married president's relationship with a young female faculty member, which Parsons characterized as "silliness." However, the issue of Slocum's conduct crystallized in November 1915 with the signed testimony of two women who accused the president of behavior that today would be called sexual harassment. Miss Maude S. Bard, secretary to the president, and Miss Harriet A. Sater, cashier in the treasurer's office, brought the charges through two separate channels. Miss Bard went to Dean Parsons, but she and Miss Sater first spoke to Dr. Mary Noble, a local Colorado Springs physician and Colorado College alumnae. Dr. Noble took the information to the Reverend Arthur Taft, rector of the local Episcopal church, who consulted Clarence Dodge, the publisher of the *Colorado Springs Gazette*. He went to Judge Horace Lunt, who contacted two members of the board of trustees. When he was apprised of Miss Bard's charges, Dean Parsons consulted three esteemed faculty colleagues before approaching the trustees.⁴

Bard's testimony was disturbing. She recounted that when she arrived at the college as a student in 1908, "I was warned by Miss Stevenson, as to what I should expect from the President." Bard, though, made only slight references to any problems experienced when she was a student who apparently worked part-time in the president's office. However, after graduation Bard returned to the college in September 1912 as the president's secretary, and "Mrs. Bushee also warned me, as she, too, had had to protect herself against Mr. Slocum." Bard continued about Slocum's amorous advances:

At first I felt the protestations of love for me were genuine, and that it was incumbent upon me, to try to save him from himself, and to save his self-respect. It gradually dawned upon me, that I was dealing with a man of strong and evil passions and that my only effort must be to protect myself.⁵

Bard related two specific instances: In the spring of 1913, in the president's office,

Mr. Slocum took me by the shoulders, forced me to stand against the east wall of his office, and pressed his whole body against mine, especially emphasizing the pressure at the portion of his body and mine most calculated to arouse and satisfy physical passion. I struggled to free myself, and fled from the office. This particular form of bestiality he never attempted again.

On commencement day, June 9, 1915, Bard fainted in the library of the president's home. She lay down on the couch and a friend stayed with her until her doctor arrived. Mr. and Mrs. Slocum departed for the alumni banquet. However, Mr. Slocum returned later to check on her, and "with back to the other persons in the room he inserted his hand under the clothing covering my chest, and stating that the doctor had told him to watch my heart action, passed his hand again and again over me, as far down as he could reach." Miss Bard responded that she tried to push him away as much as her strength would enable. The next morning, Slocum showed up at her home again to check on her and he told her that she had been a prude the previous day. He again attempted to insert his hand to check her heart action. In the midst of this, she reported that he suddenly laid his hand on her chest and exclaimed, "Oh, I love you so!"

Jean Auld, who witnessed the events at the president's house, expressed that she had been shocked by the president's manner. She explained that while sitting on the couch taking Miss Bard's pulse, Slocum remarked that he was a physician, too, and "I saw him thrust his hand under your clothes to feel your heart. That of course was all that I could see, except your expressions of repugnance." Bard's statement continued that during her years in the president's office other less flagrant actions occurred, and she concluded that from her personal observations "women students in the college are not safe alone, with the President in his office."

The other complainant, Miss Sater, reported that in her seven years at the college, she had endured

insinuating looks and insidious familiarities, in many of the private interviews which I have had with him. . . . I am unable to express the looks which have left me boiling, with the sense of shame and disgrace. The constant need of having his hand on your body, feeling it, are things a woman cannot mistake. A constant desire to always bring the physical side in is always present.

She recounted that Slocum once related a dream that he had had about the two of them having to spend the night at a lone house on the prairie, and she explained, "I am not able to give his expressions of voice, his looks, his attitude of body, as he emphasized, by many repetitions, the loneliness of the night, the isolation." At other times he told her about his dreams in which he had called her to him in the night and held her body against him for the remainder of the night. She continued, "The manner, the tone, leaves nothing to the imagination of a normal woman." In another instance, Sater related that during a conversation in his office, the president inquired if she were engaged. When she replied that she was not, he suddenly turned off the lights, seized her, and stated that "You have got to kiss me." When he tried this again at another time, she was prepared and escaped.

After reading Bard's and Sater's charges, Parsons's colleagues asked him to investigate if other women had stories that corroborated this behavior. Over the next several months, Parsons gathered affidavits from twenty women who experienced incidents or reported hearsay about similar happenings. A former secretary to the president, who maintained a chilly relationship with him, stated that although she personally had never suffered any advances, she had heard many stories about the president's improper behavior. She related that twice "in Mrs. Slocum's absence" she was instructed to telephone a certain young woman to come see



FIG. 3. *Colorado College campus, 1913.* Courtesy of Special Collections, Tutt Library, Colorado College, Colorado Springs, Colorado.

Slocum on important business, and she was told that the young woman stayed the night at the Slocum house. She continued that when the woman was in the office, she was moved into another office “to get me out of the way.”

A former instructor remarked that Slocum “had a most disgusting attitude toward women, who are unsuspecting, young, and thrown into contact with him.” She stated that Slocum dropped in at her room late in the evening “saying many sentimental and silly things. I was young then and felt very guilty, as though I had brought such familiarity on myself.” When she inquired, she learned that her experience “was fairly common.” She concluded that her impression of Slocum “is a very horrid one, and the trapping feeling when he took advantage of his age and position and his friendship for my family, I can assure you I have never forgotten.” A graduate responded that as a student in January 1912, Slocum called her to his office, and “[i]n the midst of the conversation he

suddenly stopped, and leaning down, began to look at me in a way which I cannot describe by any word save bestial.” She reported, “I left the office at once.” Although this was a one-time occurrence, she explained that Miss Sater informed her about her own similar experiences, and the young women concluded that “such a man has no right to occupy a position of power over the lives of young men and young women.”

A member of the current student body complained that “the expression of the man’s eyes, when he looked at me, offended and horrified me.” She admitted that her instances of dealing with Slocum were trivial, but “I felt them so filled with an underlying, intangible something, that distrust soon gave way to disgust and fear, to the extent that study has been almost impossible, and I have laid awake nights with the thing on my mind.” Another student related that a friend of hers who had been subjected to “the most startling caresses”

feared being left alone with Slocum even for a moment. A woman named Florence Leidigh reported that Slocum was “in the closed rooms of a female official of the girl’s hall many evenings until after midnight.” She stated that she could tell many “tales of young girls who had horrifying experience with their president—one in a public train; another in a closed carriage, and yet another while walking across the campus, in an early twilight, and still another one who one year accompanied President and Mrs. Slocum abroad.”

At least one instance was not from a young girl. In an August 31, 1916, written statement, Mrs. Irma K. Persons, the wife of Professor Warren M. Persons, dean of the department of banking and business at Colorado College, shared her own personal incident. Mrs. Persons’s testimony was a late addition to what was a full-blown crisis at this point. In April 1916 Dr. and Mrs. Slocum were guests at a dinner of her husband’s department at the Acacia Hotel. At the close of the dinner, Mrs. Slocum fell and cut her head. Mrs. Persons helped the president’s wife to her feet and took her to a hotel room to attend to her. She reported that Dr. Slocum was very upset and “acted so nervous, that we all felt more sorry for him, than we did for Mrs. Slocum.” The president insisted that Mrs. Persons should accompany him as they took Mrs. Slocum home.

While Mrs. Slocum and her maid were in the bathroom preparing for bed, Mrs. Persons waited in the bedroom. Needing a handkerchief that was in her coat pocket, she asked Dr. Slocum where he had put her coat. He reported that it was in the room across the hall and went to retrieve it; Mrs. Persons followed him into the dark room. As they were picking up the coat, suddenly “he put his arm around me and then the first thing I knew he kissed me, on the mouth, and in the act our eyeglasses became entangled.” When he turned on the lights to find the glasses, she fled the room. Mrs. Persons recalled that “he was all this time calling me endearing terms and telling me what a great help I had been to him, and how good it was of me to have done it.” The doctor arrived,

and after stitching up the cut, he offered Mrs. Persons a ride back to the hotel, but Slocum insisted that he would drive her. Slocum wanted to take Mrs. Persons to her home, but she demanded to return to her husband at the hotel. During the trip in Slocum’s electric car, Mrs. Persons reported that he continued “calling me endearing names, trying to hold my hand and saying dozens of times, that I had been such a help; and several times he put his arms around me.” At the hotel, he persisted about taking her home, but she retreated to her husband.

When the misconduct charges against him became an issue, Slocum’s defenders on the board of trustees dismissed the above remembrances as unverified rumors, gossip, unsubstantiated charges, and misinterpreted perceptions of the president’s actions. The trustees did not wish to hear negative commentary about a man who had saved the college and built it to its eminent stature. Since the accusations were never adjudicated, Slocum remained legally innocent. Certainly much of the evidence was circumstantial and included considerable hearsay testimony. The remarks about how he looked at women would not stand up under any legal scrutiny and in some cases may have been misinterpreted. Slocum apparently often acted impulsively and spontaneously without thought as to how others perceived his actions. However, Bard’s, Sater’s, and Mrs. Persons’s testimonies clearly indicated inappropriate activity. Even if not definitive, the evidence was so pervasive over such a length of time that it is not unreasonable to conclude that President Slocum engaged in a long history of what today would be termed sexual harassment, and at the bare minimum was extremely inappropriate behavior for a minister and the president of a Christian college. Ironically, in Slocum’s weekly chapel commentaries, termed “ethicals,” he pontificated on the necessity of proper moral character and impeccable behavior.

How could such apparent hypocrisy continue for so long with young women passing along stories and warnings for nearly a decade before it surfaced publicly? Indeed, Maude Bard

worked for Slocum for many years despite her knowledge of his behavior, and she later stated that she felt sorry for Slocum because he had been good to her. She even speculated that the president's errant practices might result from his wife's "icy and aloof" personality, and she noted that the Slocums had no children. At age ninety-one, in an interview with the author of a Colorado College history, the former Miss Bard, now Mrs. Warren (she married the director of the College Museum and had two children who attended the college), reported that when the accusations against him became public, she wrote Slocum asking him to tell the truth, but that he never replied.⁶

This type of sexual harassment did not have the same standing as in contemporary society; many young Victorian women were hesitant to discuss these affronts publicly, and Slocum was a very powerful man.⁷ He ruled with an iron hand over the college, faculty were at his mercy, and students were expected to follow his will. Some of the trustees might have thought Slocum indiscreet, but as one trustee implied, other powerful men did these kinds of things. However, a local attorney, Charles W. Haines, a close personal friend and legal adviser for Parsons, wrote to retired Professor James Hutchison Kerr, who was one of the most vehement of Slocum's enemies,

Our "Esteemed Contemporary" is suffering from acute Erotomania—medical men, one at least, here recognize it. How far 'tis a misfortune (weakness, physical) and how far "sin" I cannot be called upon to decide—but I am clear in my mind that 'tis venial compared with chronic lying, hypocrisy and hideous selfishness—itsself conceit.⁸

INTERNAL INVESTIGATION AND ACTIONS

Following the initial written testimonies by Bard and Sater against Slocum in the fall of 1915, Dean Parsons felt that he had no other choice but to proceed with the matter. For years, he and others had hoped that Slocum would retire before a scandal emerged. The president



FIG. 4. *Florian Cajori, n.d.* Courtesy of Special Collections, Tutt Library, Colorado College, Colorado Springs, Colorado.

was now sixty-five years old and showing signs of his age. Colorado College had attracted an excellent faculty of dedicated individuals who increasingly defined themselves in professional terms and looked forward to Slocum's departure. None of these faculty members wanted to see the college embarrassed, and few wished Slocum to be humiliated. They simply wanted him to retire.

Attempting to proceed prudently, Parsons consulted three of the most revered members of the faculty: Professors Edward C. Schneider, a man of complete loyalty to Slocum and the college who enjoyed a strong following among students and alumni; Florian Cajori, one of the college's most able scholars and a man of impeccable moderation and stature; and Mr. Elijah C. Hills, another eminent scholar who hated controversy. The three men discussed what actions to take. Meanwhile, the accusations by



FIG. 5. *William F. Slocum and Philip B. Stewart, 1925.* Courtesy of Special Collections, Tutt Library, Colorado College, Colorado Springs, Colorado.

Bard and Sater had reached a few trustees by the chain begun when the two women talked to Dr. Noble. A series of meetings ensued during the fall between the four faculty members and two trustees, Irving Howbert and Philip B. Stewart. The two trustees also met with Bard and Sater. Everyone agreed that the evidence was valid and the matter could not be ignored. Howbert and Stewart assured the faculty members that the matter was now in the hands of the trustees and that they would handle it. They stated emphatically that Slocum must retire no later than the summer of 1916.⁹

However, nothing happened for months. Not until April 17, 1916, following an anonymous letter to the *Denver Post* about rumors of Slocum's behavior, did the two trustees take any action. At that time Howbert and Stewart met with Slocum, and in the next days Slocum

met with Professors Cajori, Schneider, and Parsons (who were all deans). Parsons related that Slocum asked for his help and stated that only Parsons could save him. Slocum wanted the charges to be withdrawn so that he would have another year to finish his project of raising \$500,000 for the endowment. Parsons spoke with the two women, who refused to withdraw their statements. The faculty members and trustee Stewart did not believe that the statements should be recalled because they were now matters of record about specific claims. An agreement was crafted that Slocum would retain the title of president through the 1916-17 academic year, but he would surrender control of the college to a committee of faculty selected by the faculty and trustees and he would not return to campus. He would spend the year in the East completing the endowment funding before quietly retiring. Everyone wanted to keep the reasons for this situation contained. Parsons spoke with all parties who knew about the matter and extracted agreements to "keep their lips sealed." Howbert and Stewart did not share the dealings with the rest of the board of trustees.¹⁰

In May 1916 Slocum informed the board of trustees that he planned to retire at the end of the following academic year and that he would devote himself entirely to fundraising during that year. In June the trustees established a governing committee to administer the college in Slocum's absence until a successor was appointed as president. The committee consisted of Deans Cajori, Persons, and Parsons and two others selected by Slocum. Professor Guy H. Albright, who would soon become a central figure in the drama, referred to the Slocum appointees as

both henchmen of Slocum's, one a Dean of Women distrusted by many, the other the one old member of the faculty who had lied so frequently that students and faculty were exasperated with him, who was in the habit of bearing tales both true and false to the president and was so petted by the president that he was almost in personal danger from students much of the time.¹¹

The three deans also considered this individual unacceptable. Parsons, in what he characterized as friendly advice, informed the unpopular professor that knowing the faculty's feelings toward him, he would not be helping his relationship with his colleagues by serving on this committee. No one was happy with the committee arrangement. Parsons believed that the executive committee was too large to function efficiently and that ultimate authority was highly ambiguous. Neither were trustees Howbert and Stewart pleased with the structure that the board devised. Stewart promised to achieve a more workable system, and Slocum agreed to do whatever was necessary for the faculty members' satisfaction.¹²

However, during the wrangling over structure during the summer, the board suddenly decided to restore full control of the college to Slocum until his successor was named. Parsons and the other deans, who had worked hard to keep the details of the Slocum indiscretions as contained as possible, now determined that this was no longer reasonable. The full facts about the whole situation had to be brought to a larger group of the faculty and to all the trustees. Few faculty were in town in the middle of the summer, but at a meeting at Parsons's home, eleven full professors (of eighteen total), one assistant professor, and the college librarian convened, heard the full story, and drafted a letter of remonstrance to the trustees. The letter was not well received. The trustees clearly resented any faculty interference with what the board considered its exclusive rights.¹³

On September 1, 1916, Slocum officially announced his retirement at the end of the 1916-17 academic year. The board proclaimed a three-person executive committee from the trustees, consisting of Howbert, Stewart, and Willis Armstrong, the only Colorado College alumnus on the board, to work with a three-person faculty committee, consisting of Cajori (chair), Schneider, and John C. Parish from the history department, to administer the college in the president's absence. Parsons stepped down as vice president so as not to interfere with the new leadership.

Slocum departed for the East in October, and a difficult year ensued among the two committees and the larger board of trustees, with Slocum always actively lurking in the background. With Howbert's blessing, Slocum informed the college treasurer, the secretary of the college, and the dean of women, who were all his close associates, to work independently and to withhold information from the faculty committee. The trustees determined that all mail should go through the hands of the treasurer or secretary rather than directly to the faculty committee and that financial records were closed to the faculty committee. The board continued to consult with Slocum regularly. Despite the unusual division of authority, Cajori, in a left-handed insult to Slocum's autocratic rule, referred to the year as "the most harmonious year, within the faculty, and between the faculty and the students, which the College had ever had."¹⁴ Another constituency entered the picture when the alumni requested a designated alumnus slot on the board. Armstrong, the alumnus, served as an independent board member, not an alumni representative. The trustees did not respond to this request until the next June when they named another alumnus to the board and proclaimed that the board now contained three alumni. The third was a man who in the early days of the institution had attended but did not graduate from the college's Cutler Academy preparatory school.¹⁵

The next controversy emerged over the role that Slocum would play at commencement exercises. The board of trustees wanted commencement to be a celebration of Slocum's tenure. The senior faculty who knew the facts about his departure desired that he go quietly without fanfare. They particularly objected to Slocum's normal practice of giving the baccalaureate sermon. The final compromise was that Slocum would deliver the baccalaureate sermon but the faculty would not be required or expected to attend. Several students, some of whom knew about the accusations and others who simply detested Slocum's high-handedness, indicated that they intended to protest as

well. Faculty members dissuaded the students from causing a scene, and Cajori persuaded the faculty not to “offend the masters [any] further and to bring about peace.”¹⁶ In June 1917 Slocum presided at commencement and received much acclaim for his years of service and achievements. Over faculty objections, he was awarded an honorary degree and named president emeritus for life. Despite a few letters to the editors in the local press that mentioned rumors, the facts about Slocum’s behavior and his departure had been relatively contained. Everyone at the college hoped that the whole affair was behind them and that the institution could move forward in more harmonious times. Unfortunately, this did not happen.

RETALIATION AGAINST DEAN PARSONS

Immediately after commencement, murmurs surfaced that the board intended to punish Parsons, but Cajori dismissed them as idle rumors. On July 6 the board held a special meeting and voted itself full authority to suspend, dismiss, or alter the terms of employment of any college employee for whatever reasons. Later a few trustees admitted that this action was for the sole purpose of removing Dean Parsons. On July 7 the local newspaper indicated that the trustees were planning to dismiss certain faculty members. Immediately, Dean Cajori went to see Howbert to inquire about the board’s plans. Three other trustees joined the meeting, and Howbert informed Cajori that the trustees intended to ask for the resignations of Parsons and professor of mathematics Guy H. Albright, who had served as the secretary for the faculty group that had sent the letter of remonstrance to the trustees.¹⁷

Noting the seriousness of the matter, Cajori inquired about the specific charges against the two faculty members. Albright, he was told, had shared information about the allegations against Slocum with students, but the board would not specify any charges against Parsons; they stated merely that they could no longer work with him. Cajori pressed and finally the trustees cited three accusations: (1) that

Parsons had spread the allegations against Slocum among townspeople, (2) that he had attempted to get the newspapers to publish charges against Slocum, and (3) that Parsons had written letters attempting to get others to spread the word against Slocum. Cajori stated that he believed that the trustees’ assumptions were wrong, and he requested a meeting between faculty and trustees to determine the real facts of the situation. A meeting was called for the next day, but just as it was to begin, the trustees called Parsons and Albright into the president’s office and asked for their resignations. Both stated that they needed time to consider the matter.¹⁸

The convened meeting between the trustees and seventeen faculty members present quickly became acrimonious. The trustees brought up the events of 1911. Anticipating this issue, Parsons read a prepared statement. In the heated remarks that followed, one trustee asserted that at that time six years ago the trustees felt that Parsons should have been asked to resign. It was clear that certain trustees considered the college vice president’s meddling in the economic affairs of the college to have been unacceptable, and his actions at that time colored their perspective on his role in the Slocum matter. However, the trustees would not state any specific charges. When Cajori related the complaints that had been spelled out to him the previous day, the board still refused to comment. They merely reiterated that they did not believe that they could work with Parsons and that they had the right to take whatever actions that they chose. Parsons’s fate was sealed before he entered the room, but an intemperate remark accelerated events. In response to the question why Parsons wished an independent investigation by the newly founded American Association of University Professors (AAUP), he flared, “Because I want the rottenness in the administration of Colorado College shown up.” The trustee chairing the meeting demanded Parsons’s resignation immediately, and Parsons emphatically refused. The next day he sent an apology for having employed the inflammatory term “rottenness.” He received his official dismissal letter the next day.¹⁹

Cajori continued to press for formal written charges and a hearing for the two men. The trustees relented on Albright and offered him a hearing. As the passions subsided, the board did not pursue the case against Albright and the hearing never convened. Professor Albright remained on the faculty for an illustrious career, including serving for many years as secretary of the faculty and director of the summer school. He retired in 1947, thirty years after being asked to resign, as one of the college's longest serving faculty members. However, the trustees were adamant about Parsons. They continued to refuse to speak about the matter other than that they had the right to dismiss anyone whom they believed "to be inimical to the best interests of the institution."

On the day of his formal dismissal, Parsons contacted the AAUP to request that they investigate the situation of Albright and himself: "This is asked not so much for ourselves as for the good of the other members of the faculty and of the institution itself, the future of which is in grave danger." Cajori, who was the chairman of the local AAUP chapter, and three other faculty members wrote supporting letters to the AAUP. The large Pike's Peak and Denver chapters of the Colorado College Alumni Association and several smaller alumni chapters, as well as pastors of Congregational churches in Denver and Colorado Springs, also called for an investigation. Cajori and Professor Edward Schneider wrote to trustees Howbert and Stewart requesting to reopen the case and rectify the wrong that had been committed.²⁰

Another minor player in the drama, the eccentric retired Professor James Hutchison Kerr, who had served as "professor-in-charge" of the college in its first year, a faculty member until 1880, and a trustee and sometime administrator for years after that, added his unique perspective and colorful rhetoric to the fray. In a July 1917 letter to Parsons, Kerr remarked, "The idea, that a teacher must close his eyes to fraud and shame and be a mere tool in the hands of a head-official, or an irresponsible, money-sucking board of trustees, is repulsive to all self respecting teachers." Kerr reiterated

a charge that he been making for years that during his entire presidential tenure Slocum dismissed or ignored the pioneers, including himself, who had made Colorado College in its infancy.²¹ To his daughter Helen Blackmer, Kerr wrote in August, "I and many others have looked upon Slocum, as an autocratic hypocrite, a prince of selfishness, a worshiper of money and a man, who had no use for a man or woman he could not use, in the interest of his own ungodly selfishness."²²

At the same time, Kerr wrote Parsons another letter asking that, as the data gatherer for the future historian of Colorado College, he be sent materials relevant to the charges against Slocum, including the "20 affidavits which show up Slocum's moral character." Kerr paid to have the affidavits and other materials transcribed to be included in his personal papers. He explained that it was necessary to preserve these records to counter the "cunningly devised meanness and falsehood" found in two pamphlets that Slocum had published in his own defense. Kerr asserted that these documents demonstrated that Slocum's "word can no longer be relied upon as to what he will dish out for future generations." Kerr proposed that future generations would need the "unvarnished statements of what has taken place up to date" that he planned to retain.²³ In the meantime, Kerr lashed out against Slocum in a letter of the board of trustees.²⁴

On August 30, 1917, the board announced the appointment of Clyde A. Duniway, former president of Montana University and Wyoming University and the first non-Congregational minister in the role, as president of the college, and upon recommendation of the new president, it rescinded its dismissal of Parsons. However, the board's action was far less than a full concession. Parsons would be reinstated to the faculty but placed on unpaid leave during the 1917-18 academic year with his continuing status to be determined following a hearing in June 1918. Duniway's letter to Parsons concluded with a patronizing remark that he hoped that the former dean would be able to arrange profitable use of his year's leave of absence.

Parsons requested clarification on a number of issues, including if the offer was a sincere, good faith effort at reconciliation. Duniway insisted that the offer was in good faith and that Parsons could be fully restored at the end of the year. However, it was clear that the board intended to retain complete authority to make any decision that it chose, and feelings against Parson on the board remained quite strong.²⁵

Parsons refused the settlement, which he considered disingenuous, and responded, “[T]he only proposition which I could accept would be immediate and unconditional reinstatement with a guarantee that no charges against me would ever be revived.” As he had informed the AAUP, this was more than a personal matter, it was an issue of principle.²⁶ The controversy continued. In September the Denver, Pike’s Peak, and Pueblo alumni associations expressed concern; former college attorney Henry C. Hall, who was now the chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, attempted to negotiate an arbitration process, and the annual conference of Congregational Churches in Colorado condemned the board’s action and called for unconditional reinstatement or at least arbitration. At the church conference assembly, Duniway implied that only fourteen or sixteen of the Colorado College faculty were in sympathy with Dean Parsons. However, Dean Warren Persons of the business department conducted a survey of the forty-nine members of the college faculty, and forty-two signed a statement (or if out of town, gave oral endorsement) objecting to the trustees’ action. Three new faculty were neutral, and four refused to commit themselves. Only one member of the faculty, who was one of the four who officially refused to commit, was nevertheless the only faculty member who openly opposed Parsons.²⁷

On October 18, twenty-two male members of the faculty met with Duniway and accused him of siding completely with the trustees. Duniway replied that he had been told by the trustees that they would handle matters and he was not to get involved. He continued, saying that “[w]hen he came to the point where he

could no longer carry out the will of the Board, he felt it was his duty to resign.”²⁸ The senior class voted thirty-three to five to call for an arbitration process. On October 30 a “student commission” met to inquire about the controversy. They invited members of the board, President Duniway, faculty, and alumni to the meeting, but the trustees announced that they would not attend. Duniway made it clear that he did not consider the matter to be within the purview of the students:

The Board of Trustees do not consider themselves on trial, certainly not before a body of students—that would completely reverse every right and proper principle for the conduct of a college and, by the way, the same thing applies to the faculty in their relations with students. . . . the relationship is one between those who rightfully direct and those who accept such government and direction.²⁹

The underlying issue was clear. Parsons’s unpardonable sin in the board’s eyes was that he had aired the institution’s dirty laundry. Duniway was adamant that the details of the college’s secrets were not to be raised at this meeting either. The moral stature of the former president was not the issue; keeping quiet about him was. Parsons’s defenders emphasized that the dean was not guilty of the charge that he had shared the secrets, but the trustees were infuriated that he had meddled in their prerogatives by even raising the matter internally. Cajori consistently invoked the moral imperative that the trustees act justly, and the four faculty leaders emphasized that it was a faculty obligation to protect students from abuse. An alumnus who had served briefly as a trustee at an Oklahoma Congregational college challenged the students whether they could retain loyalty to an institution that behaved so arbitrarily, “if the members of the Board of Trustees take a personal dislike to you after twenty-five years of service, they can say, ‘hand in your resignation,’ and you go . . . Can a Christian college

do that thing? . . . whether you as students can support that principle.”³⁰

The day after the student meeting, Professor Homer E. Woodbridge, who had left the college the previous spring, upped the ante with a letter to the editor in the popular liberal journal *The Nation* in which he accused the trustees of wishing to run the college as if it were a copper mine and that President Duniway appeared to accept that approach. Over the next three weeks, a snippy exchange transpired in the journal between Woodbridge and Duniway.³¹ On November 16 the board extended an offer for a mediation process; however, the trustees retained the right to accept or reject the mediation results. On the advice of the chairman of the AAUP Committee on Academic Freedom and Academic Tenure, Parsons refused mediation. He asserted that he had been wronged and that he should not be a party in a mediation to find some face-saving solution; the matter was a judicial one of rectifying a wrong. He did support a mediation effort between the faculty, alumni, and trustees to come to a just proposal that would be submitted to him for his consideration to accept or reject. In this battle of semantics and positioning, the mediation option died, and Duniway branded Parsons’s “ultimatum” recalcitrant and stubborn.³²

THE AAUP AND THE “EMINENT COLLEGIANS” INVESTIGATIONS

The death of arbitration in December ended any dealings between the board and Parsons, and the AAUP investigating committee, which began its work in November, moved to the forefront. The investigation was a thorough and lengthy process. Members of the investigating subcommittee visited Colorado College for five days in late November and early December and again for three days in March 1918. They held extensive interviews with President Duniway, many members of the faculty, six trustees (although the board officially refused any cooperation with the investigation), and other persons who could contribute evidence. They compiled lengthy depositions.

The subcommittee focused tightly on the issue of Dean Parsons’s dismissal and did not address the specifics of the accusations against the former president. However, at Slocum’s request, the subcommittee talked with him and some trustees that he designated, as well as holding two meetings with President Donald J. Cowling of Carleton College and three meetings with Professor George L. Hendrickson of Yale University, both of whom served as Slocum’s official representatives.³³

Professor Hendrickson, the chairman of the classics department at Yale and professor in charge of the School of Classical Studies of the American Academy in Rome, was a highly distinguished academic. His ties to Slocum went back to when he was one of the president’s early hires as professor of Latin at Colorado College from 1889 to 1891. Hendrickson reported that “[f]or over two years, in conjunction with a number of men of experience and standing, I have carried on an investigation of certain charges that were made against President William F. Slocum of Colorado College in 1915 and 1916.” In the fall of 1919 Hendrickson circulated his report to a number of nationally prominent academic figures, and a printed flier, including the names of nine prominent educators, dubbed “eminent collegians,” asserted that Slocum had been grievously wronged. Hendrickson purported to have pursued every piece of evidence and through personal conference and correspondence had refuted all charges. He dismissed the hearsay, rumors, and the pejorative interpretations of actions that could have been innocent or at worst, awkward behavior; however, Hendrickson hardly disproved the specific charges of Bard, Sater, or Mrs. Persons, and they never recanted their claims. Indeed Mrs. Warren (Bard) stood by her original testimony seventy years later.³⁴

The AAUP-published report in November-December 1919 found Dean Parsons innocent of any improper actions and sharply chastised the board and Duniway:

The manner of the dismissal of Dean Parsons was arbitrary and unjust. No charges were

stated, and no hearing given. The circumstances at the time did not require haste, and did not excuse the injustice of this procedure in any way. . . . It is morally certain that the chief immediate cause of the action of the trustees in dismissing Dean Parsons was resentment at the part which he had taken in urging and bringing about the resignation of President W. F. Slocum.³⁵

AFTERMATH AND CONSEQUENCES

Parsons's victory was merely a moral one. By the time of the release of the AAUP report, Dean Parsons was long gone from the college, had completed a stint as secretary for the YMCA Personnel Board during 1918, and had become president at Marietta College, where he served until retirement in 1936.³⁶ Slocum, who had retired in Newton, Massachusetts, made no comment. The former president remained dedicated to the institution that he ran for so many years, and he kept in contact with his friends among the trustees. In 1924 he traveled to New York City to secure a \$2,500 contribution from Mr. Guggenheim for an endowment drive, but he noted that many of the personal friends upon whom he had called on for monies during his tenure were now gone.³⁷ Slocum returned to Colorado Springs only two times: in 1924 for the inauguration of Duniway's successor, Professor Charles C. Mierow, whom Slocum had recruited from the faculty at Princeton as one of his last faculty hires, and in 1929, to speak at the dedication of the downtown equestrian stature of his friend and Colorado Springs pioneer, General William Jackson Palmer. Slocum died in 1934.

The costs to Colorado College of the Parsons incident were heavy. The long-serving and dedicated faculty had been deeply disturbed by the arbitrary actions against one of their most respected colleagues. In the fall of 1917, Professor Albright wrote to his friend at Grinnell College that the faculty were leaving, "At least six of the best men on the faculty are planning on leaving this year. It isn't worth fighting about. The trustees have a strangle

hold on us and mean to kill us if the institution falls with us. Students are falling off and are on the point of striking." Albright continued that if his friend knew of any positions in virtually all the disciplines as well as registrar or dean chairs that "we have men who have taught from six to twenty-five years or have the qualifications needed, and have proved their ability and are ready to accept a good offer." About Duniway he remarked, "Judging from what I see of the new man in the president's chair I can say that we have half a dozen men who are better presidential material than that used by our board of trustees."³⁸

Although Albright was not one of them, the faculty did depart. In the 1917-19 timeframe, all four deans, three head professors, seven other full professors, eight assistant professors, and the museum director, almost half of the faculty left the college. Some were natural retirements and a couple went into wartime service; but a talented faculty was scattered across the country and they continued to distinguish themselves at other universities. Several individuals who played high-profile roles in the controversy included Florian Cajori, who moved to a specially created chair of mathematics at the University of California, Homer Woodbridge to the University of Illinois, Edward M. Persons and Atherton Noyes to Harvard, and Albert R. Ellingwood to Northwestern. John C. Parish served as a U.S. army officer during World War I and spent three years at the State University of Iowa before completing his career at UCLA, where he was the editor of *Pacific Historical Review*. Edward C. Schneider served with the U.S. Army Air Service and the Sanitary Corps before a long career as a named chair professor and a noted biology scholar at Wesleyan University in Connecticut.

President Duniway was forced to restore a badly depleted faculty and to develop a more equitable model of governance. However, he never fully recovered from his first days. Faculty viewed him as a lackey of the trustees, and he continued to lose support from students and alumni. When the alumni balked against participating in a fundraising effort under his

leadership, he resigned during the 1923-24 academic year and finished his career as a history professor at Carlton College in Minnesota.³⁹ One commentator expressed that he did not believe that Colorado College fully recovered from the fallout of the Parsons affair until the mid-1950s.⁴⁰

FAILURE OF THE OFFICIAL CHRONICLERS

Official college histories are not given to full candor and disclosure of unpleasant and controversial happenings. The primary audience for such works, often self-published and not subjected to independent scholarly scrutiny, are alumni and friends of the college, a constituency generally seeking an upbeat saga of accomplishment rather than airing the institution's "dirty laundry." And the scope that these narratives cover necessitates that complex events are often reduced to bland generalities. But the parsing of language to explicate the Slocum and Parsons debacle, one of the more significant events with long-term impact in the history of Colorado College, is disappointing; and particularly in the latest official chronicle, the interpretation offered is so incorrect that it is scandalous.

John Fauvel, a visiting British Fulbright Scholar, employed the scandal metaphor in his 1999 online essay entitled "Monicagate on Cache La Poudre St.: The End of the Golden Age of Colorado College" about the official college histories' treatment of the end of the Slocum years. As Fauvel relates, Charlie Brown Hershey's seventy-fifth-anniversary history, *Colorado College, 1874-1949* (1952), written by a long-serving dean and acting president of the college, was a judicious account of the Slocum presidency, but it handled the denouement with a cryptic sentence, "The field of criticism eventually extended to his personal morals. As is usual in instances of this nature, rumor begat rumor and adverse comments were met with denials." The book did treat Parsons's dismissal in some detail, but Hershey skated over the consequences with the causal remark that Duniway moved to replace faculty

"who had, for one reason or another, severed their connection with the college." J. Juan Reid's centenary history, *Colorado College: The First Century, 1874-1974* (1979) offered a more detailed and explicit account of the charges against Slocum and a brief treatment of Parsons dismissal, but he also diminished the fallout by implying that World War I played a large role in the faculty exodus. He remarked that Duniway took great care in filling eighteen faculty vacancies that occurred before and during the war.⁴¹

However, in the most current history of the college, Robert D. Loevy's sesquicentennial volume, *Colorado College: A Place of Learning, 1874-1999* (1999), the interpretation of this signal event is little short of egregious. Loevy, a well-published political scientist, is the author of books on civil rights in the 1960s, Colorado politics, and volumes on the flawed processes of becoming a governor and also that of being a presidential candidate. Ironically, the latter books lament how issues are parsed and manipulated to create the desired effect. Like the two earlier college histories, Loevy is laudatory about Slocum's achievements, but Loevy's treatment of the charges against Slocum and his harsh interpretation of Parsons go far beyond that of his predecessors. On the matter of the 1915 financial issue, Loevy implies that Parsons and Gile raised a correct question about irregularities in financial practices, but he blithely dismisses the significance of the president's practices:

Slocum transferred money from one account to another as needed without paying particular attention to the uses for which particular funds were designated. Some faculty members opposed this financial sleight-of-hand, despite the fact that independent audits showed no irregularities and all of Slocum's financial transactions were approved by the Board of Trustees.⁴²

Loevy portrays the Slocum affair in terms of a cabal of faculty, led by Parsons, demanding greater faculty power. He depreciates the

relevance of the charges by the young women against Slocum and accuses Parsons and his conspirators of “a carefully constructed and very effective rumor-mongering campaign” employing “these unadjudicated and unproven charges to personally discredit President Slocum in the most damaging way possible.” Loevy implies that the campaign was so successful in harming the college in the community that the board had to take action “although persuaded that all such charges rested on rumor and hearsay rather than convincing proof.” Despite the dubiousness of the “investigation,” Loevy accepts at face value that “eminent collegians’ completely exonerated Slocum of the morals charges against him.” In a conclusion so misconstrued that it is almost parody, Loevy pontificates that

Slocum’s struggles at the end of his presidency can be viewed as an old partisan of moralistic and classical education warring with younger members of his faculty committed to a disciplined scientific search for truth. Moralism and a classical emphasis lost their primary position at Colorado College when Slocum departed.⁴³

Fauvel counters that Loevy’s “historical re-interpretation is quite unsupported either by evidence or by the balance of likelihood.” The four senior faculty members who stood against Slocum’s behavior were men of the highest character, schooled in and committed to classical education and moral character development, long-time Slocum loyalists. It was their commitment to the institution and the academic vision that Slocum articulated that had caused these men for years to turn from the unpleasant rumors of the hypocrisy between Slocum’s words and his behavior. Circumstances finally made this impossible. Rather than spread rumors, they demonstrated remarkable restraint in containing the charges even from their most intimate friends at the college as they tried to forge a quiet retirement without embarrassment to Slocum or the institution. The rumors that transpired

came from years of stories among students and staff and at the point of crises from the two young women taking their accusations to individuals beyond the campus. Indeed a talented and experienced faculty was demanding a greater role in governance, but this did not translate that Slocum was innocent of improper behavior, and it does not justify Loevy’s aspersions against honorable servants of the college. About Slocum, Fauvel counseled, one can appreciate the monumental achievements of great men while still recognizing their human fallibilities.⁴⁴

Although he would not be the last of a breed of such presidents that would be in power on some college campuses well into the twentieth century, Slocum had become an educational dinosaur past his prime. Loevy concedes that with the college’s enrollment over 700 students, “such an enlarged and improved institution no longer was appropriate for ‘one-man rule.’ Furthermore, advancing years of age had robbed Slocum of the mental quickness he needed to govern what had become a more complicated and complex institution.”⁴⁵ The progressive era challenged the “copper mine mentality” with professionalism among physicians, attorneys, teachers, college professors, social workers, nurses, public service personnel, and others that called for standards of conduct, expected practices, professional associations, organizational support, and participatory governance within the professions.⁴⁶ Neither the president nor the trustees were psychologically prepared to accept the new realities, but Slocum’s moral indiscretions made him vulnerable and accelerated an inevitable confrontation over proper institutional governance.

Altercations between administration and faculty are not unusual, and in this particular conflict, Colorado College endured a painful process and paid a heavy cost to achieve necessary reform. The stature of the individuals involved, the nature of the issues, the national stage to which the controversy rose, and the consequences for a developing college make this confrontation one of historical interest.

NOTES

1. For lengthy discussions of the many accomplishments of the Slocum presidency, see the various histories of the college: Charlie Brown Hershey, *Colorado College: 1874-1949* (1952); J. Juan Reid, *Colorado College: The First Century, 1874-1974* (1979); and Robert D. Loevy, *Colorado College: A Place of Learning, 1874-1999* (1999), all self-published by Colorado College. To place Slocum in the context of the changing nature of colleges and presidents of his day, see Laurence R. Veysey's seminal work, *The Emergence of the American University* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), and to a lesser extent, John R. Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004). The limitation particularly with Veysey is that his work, and most others that deal with nineteenth- and early twentieth-century colleges, focus on the elite institutions of the Northeast with some reference to the Pacific Coast such as Stanford and the University of California and with passing nods to "western" institutions such as Michigan, Wisconsin, or Illinois. The many institutions like Colorado College are outside the sphere, although Veysey does include one quote in 1891 from "the president of Colorado College" [Slocum, who is not named], p. 66.

2. Guy H. Albright to Paul Peck, October 23, 1917, Albright File, Special Collections, Tutt Library, Colorado College.

3. *Ibid.*

4. Parson's Statement, *Bulletin of the American Association of University Professors, Annual Meeting, "Report on Colorado College,"* vol. 5, November-December 1919, nos. 7-8, pt. 2, 51-130 (henceforth referred to as AAUP report), 101-3.

5. James Hutchison Kerr Papers, MS 0081, Special Collections and Archives, Tutt Library, Colorado College. For two presentations that she made to the Ghost Town Club of Colorado Springs in November 1962, a librarian named Julie Lipsey typed copies of many of Kerr's papers from his handwritten collected volumes, focusing extensively on the Slocum affair. The material and quotes from the women who provided written testimony come from the Lipsey typescripts, deposited at the Special Collections, Penrose Library, Pikes Peak Library District.

6. Julian J. Reid interview notes, November 29, 1972, found in David D. Finley, "The Parsons Case," paper presented to the Colorado Springs Round Table, March 18, 2005, 15. This paper located in the Parsons File, Special Collections, Tutt Library, Colorado College.

7. Despite a more sensitive climate concerning the issue today, sexual harassment continues

to flourish on the contemporary college campus, and experts argue that the same impediments to prosecution, including hesitancy to pursue cases, disproportionate power relationships, the consequences for the victims, and lack of documented evidence to adjudicate, have not changed markedly since Slocum's days.

8. Charles E. Haines to James Hutchison Kerr, August 17, 1917, Kerr Papers.

9. Parsons statement from August 28, 1916, joint meeting of the trustees and faculty, found in Lipsey typescripts, Kerr Papers, and in Finley, "The Parsons Case"; also excerpts of various collaborating depositions in the AAUP report and in Albright letter, note 2 above.

10. Parsons statement, Lipsey typescripts, Kerr Papers, and portions in AAUP report deposition.

11. Albright to Peck, October 23, 1917.

12. Parsons statement, Lipsey typescripts, Kerr Papers, and AAUP report.

13. AAUP report.

14. Depositions by Cajori, Parish, and Schneider, AAUP report, 77-80, quote, 78.

15. Albright to Peck, October 23, 1917.

16. Cajori deposition, AAUP report.

17. Cajori's testimony at October 30, 1917, Student Commission meeting; transcript of this meeting found in Parsons File, Special Collections, Tutt Library, Colorado College, and Cajori deposition, AAUP report.

18. *Ibid.*

19. Cajori deposition, AAUP report, 55-60, quote, 60. Corroborating testimonies by Professors Parsons, Albright, Noyes, Howe, Parish, Albright, and Woodbridge found in various places in the report.

20. See all this correspondence in appendix A and B, AAUP Report, 125-28.

21. Kerr to Parsons, July 16, 1917, Kerr Papers, 12:275. See his letter four years earlier to retired Colorado College president Edward P. Tenney, in which he made the same charges, Kerr to Tenney, July 6, 1913, Kerr Papers, 3:116.

22. Kerr to daughter Helen, August 7, 1917, Kerr Papers, 12:284.

23. Kerr to Parsons, August 8, 1917, Kerr Papers, 12:284-85. Kerr was correct that he was preserving the record for the future since his papers are the only place that I have located the affidavits.

24. Kerr to the Trustees of Colorado College, August 19, 1917 (mistyped as 1916), Kerr Papers, 12:291.

25. AAUP report, 113-15, including Duniway's letter to Parsons, August 31, 1917.

26. AAUP report, 113-22, including excerpts of exchange of letters between Duniway and Parsons; also transcript of October 30 Student Commission meeting, 5.

27. Student Commission meeting transcript, 31-32; also AAUP report, 115-16. No names were mentioned in the survey results, but it is assumed that the lone dissenter was Professor R. H. Motton, the Secretary of the College, whom the other members of the executive committee had wished to have removed.

28. AAUP report, 116-17.

29. Student Commission meeting transcript, 31-32.

30. *Ibid.*, 27.

31. "The Controversy at Colorado College," *The Nation*, November 1, 1917, 481-82, with reply by Duniway, November 20, 1917, and retort by Woodbridge, December 22, 1917.

32. AAUP report, 117-20.

33. The members of the investigating committee, procedures, and those interviewed are found in the AAUP report, 51-53.

34. The flier, found in Parsons File, Special Collections, Tutt Library, included the names of individuals such as Donald J. Cowling; Francis G. and Anne C. E. Allinson of Brown University; Amherst College professor Albert Parker Fitch; John M. Glenn, general director of the Russell Sage Foundation; A. Lawrence Lowell, president of Harvard University; J. H. T. Main, president of Grinnell College, Harvard professor G. H. Palmer, and Yale professor Williston Walker. See also "Investigation Committee Exonerates Former College Head of All Charges," *Colorado Springs Gazette*, April 7, 1920.

35. AAUP report, 122-23.

36. Seemingly reflecting upon his own personal experience in the Colorado College battle, President Parsons in his inauguration address at Marietta College spoke about the college that he envisioned that included, among other things, a faculty with the stability of tenure, freedom to speak out the truth as they saw it, an increasing part in college administration, and opportunities for self-development through paid sabbatical years.

See Arthur G. Beach, *A Pioneer College: The Story of Marietta* (privately printed, 1935), 279.

37. Slocum to Howbert, February 27, 1924, Irving Howbert Papers, Special Collections, Pikes Peak Library District.

38. Albright to Peck, October 23, 1917. The decline of students probably resulted more from males inducted into military service in World War I than with the internal events at the college.

39. Although he had difficulties at Colorado College, Duniway retained a sound national reputation. In a letter to Philip B. Stewart, William Slocum noted that the head of the Carnegie Foundation informed him that Duniway was highly regarded and was one of three or four men considered seriously for the presidency of Cornell University. Slocum to Stewart, July 30, 1921, found in Irving Howbert Papers.

40. Finley, "The Parsons Case," 14-16.

41. John Fauvel, "Monicagate on Cache La Poudre St.: The End of the Golden Age of Colorado College," <http://www.coloradocollege.edu/dept/ma/history/topics/mgate.html> (accessed 04/19/2010). Quotes from Hershey, *Colorado College*, 92, 97, and Reid, *Colorado College: The First Century*, 89.

42. Loevy, *Colorado College: A Place of Learning*, 95.

43. *Ibid.*, 97-102.

44. Fauvel, "Monicagate on Cache La Poudre St.," 3, 8.

45. Loevy, *Colorado College: A Place of Learning*, 97.

46. The literature on the impact of the progressive movement nationally is exhaustive. On academia specifically, see particularly Veysey, *Emergence of the American University*; on progressivism specifically in Colorado, see G. Michael McCarthy, "Colorado's Populist Party and the Progressive Movement," *Journal of the West* 15, no. 1 (1976): 62; and Robert Earl Smith, "Colorado's Progressive Senators and Representatives," *Colorado Magazine* 45, no. 1 (Winter 1968): 27-41.