

The social transformation of American higher education

Angelo, Richard

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Richard Angelo

The Social Transformation of American Higher Education*

Detailed answers to questions about changes in the size and social composition of the student population serviced by colleges and universities in the United States between 1860 and 1930 are not readily available. It is generally recognized that more students, and more different kinds of students, attended institutions of higher learning in this period. But we do not know nearly as much as we might like about which groups contributed to this trend, or what significant variations there were in the pace and social character of this transformation in different curricula in the same institution, or in the same curricula in different schools.¹

On the assumption that even a crude picture is to be preferred to no picture at all, the "social transformation of American higher education" will be examined through the backgrounds of approximately 2,000 alumni of the University of Pennsylvania. This sample was drawn from among alumni of the College as well as the professional schools beginning with the classes of 1873, the first to graduate after the University's move to its third and present home was complete, and for 62 consecutive years thereafter. It also rests, though in less detail, on another group of 1,000 alumni of Temple University which was founded originally as the "Temple College of Philadelphia" in 1888. Approximately 30% of the Temple sample represents the school's first generation of alumni. These students were in attendance between 1892 and 1906 before

* An unusually discerning editorial guidance provided by Konrad Jarausch enabled me to improve substantially on an earlier version of this essay. I would also like to acknowledge the assistance of P. M. G. Harris whose instruction and example were indispensable to me when I first began to investigate the Temple and Penn alumni.

1. For a useful overview see D. Potts' review essay of D. Allmendinger's *Paupers & Scholars*, "Students and the Social History of American Higher Education," *History of Education Quarterly*, 15 (1975), 317-327, as well as J. McLachlan, "The American College in the Nineteenth Century: Toward a Reappraisal," *Teachers College Record*, 80 (1978), 287-306. See also R. Frankfort, *Collegiate Women: Domesticity and Career in Turn-of-the-Century America* (New York, 1977); H. S. Wechsler, *The Qualified Student: A History of Selective College Admission in America* (New York, 1977); and M. G. Synnott, *The Half-Opened Door: Discrimination and Admissions at Harvard, Yale and Princeton, 1900-1970* (Westport, Conn., 1979).

Temple officially became a university in 1907. The remaining 70% of the sample represents Temple's third generation which graduated between 1925 and 1935.²

There are some good reasons to think that Temple and Pennsylvania are apt institutional choices for this purpose, particularly when considered together. First of all, their common location in a major American city recommends them. While it had a population of approximately 500,000 people in 1860, by 1930 Philadelphia had become an "Industrial Metropolis" with "a unique social and spatial organization." "Neither the nineteenth century city grown larger," as Sam Bass Warner has characterized it, "nor today's megalopolis constricted," Philadelphia had become the "third largest city in the nation, and one of ten whose population exceeded one million inhabitants."³

Second, these institutions themselves display a distinctive and contrasting historical character. Penn was born and nourished in Philadelphia when it was still an 18th-century town. One of nine institutions of higher learning in the colonies before the

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2. E. P. Cheyney, *History of the University of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1940). Commencement figures for Temple and Penn were compiled by counting all the names in all curricular categories found in the annual commencement programs. Once these figures were tabulated, the Penn sample was assembled by drawing names from the programs on a fixed percentage basis across all curricula for groups of consecutive years.

1873-1892 (1/10) = 283	1916-1921 (1/25) = 213
1893-1898 (1/15) = 178	1922-1925 (1/40) = 148
1899-1904 (1/20) = 163	1926-1930 (1/40) = 223
1905-1909 (1/20) = 146	1931-1935 (1/40) = 225
1910-1915 (1/25) = 194	

The University of Pennsylvania's archives contain a "biographical folder" for virtually every alumnus as far back as 1757, which served as the first source of biographical information on the 1,773 alumni in the sample. This source was supplemented with matriculation records of individual departments or colleges within the University, yearbooks, class histories, and, at least in the case of the alumni who made their homes in Philadelphia, the city directories.

For the years prior to 1926, Temple's student records are scanty at best, since registration cards bear little more than a name and an address. For the years after that date, however, registration cards carry such information as home address; city address; date and place of birth; when and where naturalized if foreign-born; religious affiliation; father's occupation; and schools attended before coming to Temple. Where the material was the richest, sampling the Temple alumni was handled as it was at Penn:

Degree Recipients:	1926-1930 (1/12) = 236
	1931-1935 (1/20) = 259
Certificates:	1927-1935 (1/10) = 214

In cases where occupational information was missing from the cards of these 709 alumni, city directories were consulted to fill in the gaps. For most of Temple's first generation, on the other hand, information provided by the city directories is all we have to go on. A check was made on all of the 169 individuals who received the 171 degrees Temple conferred between 1892 and 1906, along with a sample of 130 students who matriculated in the institution's Evening Department for a course or two during the 1894-1895 academic year. A full discussion of Temple's first generation, as well as the Penn alumni between 1873 and 1898 can be found in Angelo, *History of Education Quarterly*, 19 (1979), 179-205.

3. S. B. Warner, *The Private City: Philadelphia in Three Periods of its Growth* (Philadelphia, 1968), 50, 161.

Revolution, it necessarily faced urbanization with an aristocrat's sense of tradition and its own preeminence. Both were tested as Pennsylvania began adding new curricular possibilities and modifying long-established ones after 1880 and as it began receiving new students and losing some of its traditional clientele to increasingly more prestigious members of the Ivy League. In contrast, Temple was a late-19th-century newcomer, and because its circumstances were very different, so were its problems. Founded with nothing to preserve at a moment when Penn was beginning to take new pride in its colonial origins, Temple sought a bit presumptuously at the outset to inaugurate a new tradition, or perhaps to make good on principles elided in the old, by offering a remarkably wide variety of instruction on terms that would make it easily available to virtually anyone.⁴ "No special grade of previous study is at present required for admission," the College's first bulletin announced in 1888, "as the purpose of the faculty is to assist any ambitious young man." By the mid-1890s, the catalogue would proclaim with pride that Temple was "the only College in the land" prepared to "take the child just able to talk, and graduate the young man or woman with a degree equal to any college in the country; or send them forth with a full and complete business training, fully equipped for business life."⁵ More inclusive than exclusive on almost any measure when the period began, what Temple needed was respectability and some curricular direction.

Finally, the experiences of Temple and the University of Pennsylvania are useful within the interpretive context of the historiography of American higher education. Penn figures only peripherally in the received literature, and then only in terms of the *College*, the smallest portion of its curricular endeavor through much of the period, while schools like Temple are systematically excluded altogether. Historians are free to study what they choose, of course: the question is whether the literature's deep-seated proclivity to focus on the baccalaureate program—and at the distinguished schools at that—distorts as a whole our understanding of the nature of the transformation of higher learning in the period. Virtually identical shifts in the contours of the curricular experience of both of these institutions suggest that this is precisely what has happened.

The Institutional Pattern:

In *The Emergence of the American University*, Laurence Veysey has distinguished among "at least three major kinds of academic institutions" at the end of the 19th century "on the basis of their undergraduate atmosphere":

(1) The homogeneous eastern college, internally cohesive and sharply isolated from the surrounding American society. Of this pattern were Princeton, Yale, the early-day Columbia, and most of the small New England colleges. (2) The heterogeneous eastern university, containing a great variety of discordant elements among its student population and mirroring, in its top-heavy fashion, the social gamut of the area at large. Pennsylvania, the latter-day Columbia, and, above all, Harvard carried this stamp. (3) The heterogeneous western university, which better reflected

4. "Virtually anyone" since blacks were not welcome at the outset. See W. E. B. DuBois, *The Philadelphia Negro: A Social Study* (New York, 1967 edition), 349-350.

5. Temple College, *Bulletin, 1888-1889*; Temple College, *Catalogue, 1896-1897*.

the surrounding society, as did its eastern counterpart, but, because western society was less diverse, offering fewer internal contrasts in practice.⁶

It is worth emphasizing that Veysey offers these distinctions as a matter of institutional contrasts primarily. Notwithstanding the differences he mentions here between schools that were “sharply isolated” and those that “better reflected the surrounding society,” he uses this institutional spectrum to highlight relative differences in the socio-economic complexion of the undergraduate populations at institutions within the same region or in different regions at a particular point in time, not between the student population and the population at large. When seen in the “broader perspective,” he observes later, “both the ‘homogeneous’ and the ‘heterogeneous’ universities were, after all, relatively homogeneous,” and this was true not only in the East but in the “younger part of the country” as well.⁷

Within the full argumentative context of the book, these late 19th century contrasts are in the service of a larger and simpler historical one: when compared with their counterparts 50 years before, the turn-of-the-century undergraduate population had grown larger and more diverse.⁸ The emergence of the American university is a late-19th-century phenomenon for Veysey, the successor institution of the American college which had been coping as best it could with sagging enrollments and eroding influence since the 1820s. The unprecedented influx of large numbers of undergraduates was the chief token of the public’s acceptance of the American university. Ironically enough, however, like the resolution of the lively intramural quarrels over purpose and control which created the new and newly habitable institution, that extramural acceptance represented a marriage of convenience at best. On Veysey’s account, it was not unanimity that held the university together, but ignorance of a total situation most often tolerant and flexible enough to allow the major participants to keep their own counsel. This was true of the relationships within the faculty ranks between partisans of Utility, Research and Scholarship. It was also true of the relationships between faculty of whatever stripe and the administration on the one side, and between faculty and the undergraduate on the other. By 1910, “in every sense except that of quantitative aggrandizement,” the “structure of the American university had assumed its stable twentieth century form.”⁹

Thanks to subsequent research, we are now beginning to appreciate our failure to reckon with the late-18th-century presence of the “university” itself, as well as the extent to which we have underestimated not only the scale and socio-economic variety of the 19th-century student population, but the vitality and social significance of the 19th-century college.¹⁰ The examples of Temple and the University of Pennsylvania are particularly useful for our understanding of turn-of-the-century developments within the context of this debate. Veysey’s use of the baccalaureate curriculum as a synecdoche for understanding the “university” as a whole is an anachronistic view, which makes sense only as a *result* of the transformation of higher learning. Invoked

6. L. R. Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University* (Chicago, 1965), 283.

7. Veysey, 333, 329, 440. In this paper we, too, shall confine ourselves to internal contrasts—to what John Craig elsewhere in this volume calls “numerators.”

8. Veysey, 271. On size, see 338–339.

9. Veysey, 337–338.

10. Cf. McLachlan, “The American College in the Nineteenth Century.”

tacitly and prematurely, it affects his representation of the nature and the scope of the institutional transformation, as well as his depiction of the dynamics of change in the size and social composition of the student population. What was, therefore, the nature of the larger shift in the character of the institutional container in which students circulated?

Temple did not have an “undergraduate atmosphere” to speak of prior to 1906, since it conferred relatively few degrees of any kind at the outset (Graph 1). Of the 171 degrees Temple did bestow between 1892 and 1906, 45% were in law, medicine, and pharmacy. Of the remainder, nearly one-quarter were Bachelor’s degrees in oratory and elocution, and the rest were almost evenly divided between degrees in theology and the liberal arts.¹¹ Temple’s merger with the Philadelphia Dental College in 1907 brought large numbers of young men to the commencement platform for the D.D.S. in subsequent years. These degrees in dentistry, along with those awarded in pharmacy, medicine and law accounted for the bulk of all degrees awarded by Temple until the early 1920s. Only then did the number of Bachelor’s degrees awarded in liberal arts begin to increase enough, along with those conferred by the new programs in education and commerce, to become a visibly significant part of the instructional story. During the late 1920s and early 1930s, the number of annual baccalaureate degrees superceded the number of professional degrees for the first time. An increasingly anomalous vestige of the past, the number of certificates awarded, began to fall in the early 1920s, and by 1935 had dropped to its lowest point in 20 years. The certificates that remained were now seated within what had become a new internal economy of instructional effort and significance.¹²

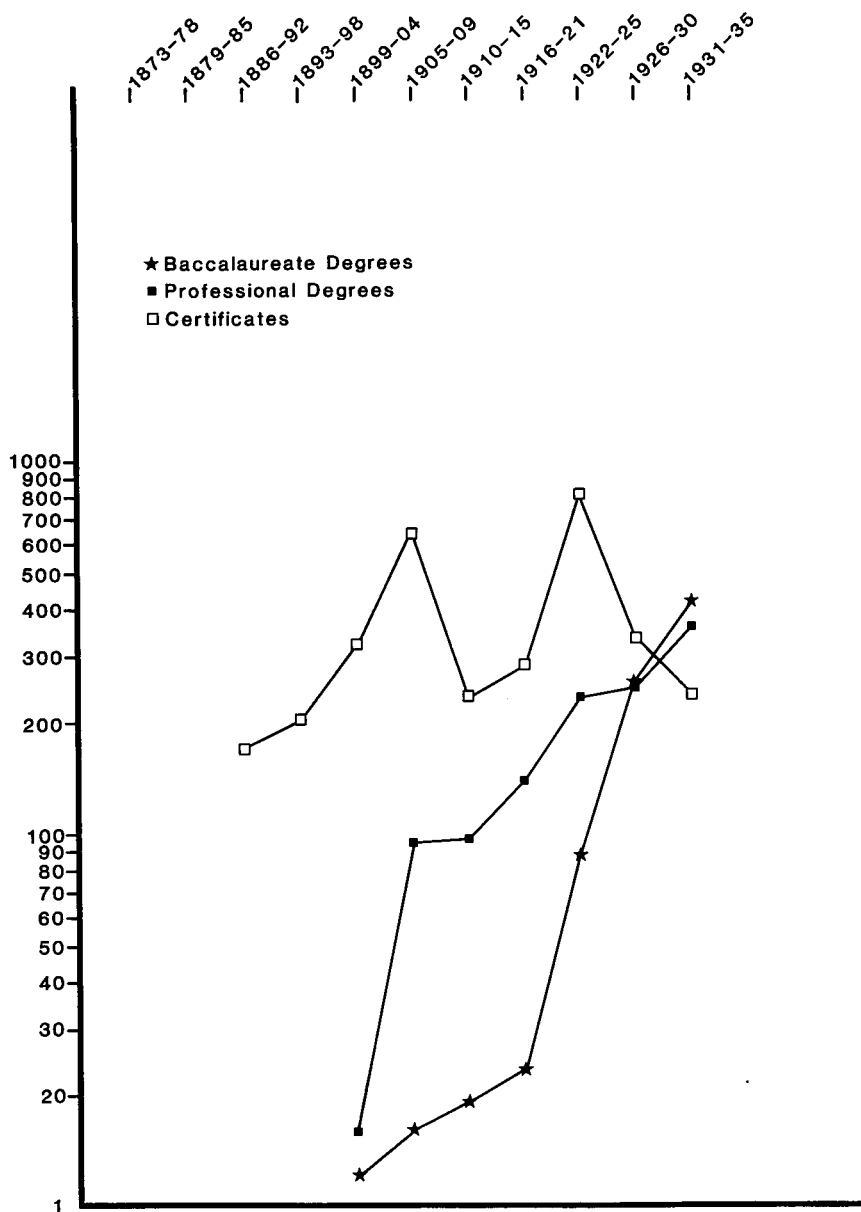
A conception of the East’s “heterogeneous” academic establishments which makes exemplary the “undergraduate atmosphere” at late-19th-century Pennsylvania, Columbia “and, above all, Harvard” has little potential to render the experience of Temple and schools like it intelligible. Such a view erases that experience instead. No doubt Veysey would point out that, like the majority of “the five hundred institutions of higher learning in the United States in 1903,” Temple did not really “deserve the title of ‘college’” at all. During the early years of this century, “it was estimated that only a hundred colleges held to standards that would permit their students to begin immediate study for the Doctorate after receiving the A.B., and only a dozen or so were clearly universities ‘of the first rank.’” Like the junior and community colleges which flourished after World War II, Temple and schools like it at the turn of the century were “so closely related to the public school system that it may be questioned whether they are part of ‘higher education’ in more than a nominal sense.”¹³

11. The intermittent scattering of degrees conferred prior to 1899 could not be represented on the graph as “averages for groups of years” without distortion.

12. The bulk of the certificates conferred between 1927 and 1935 fell into the categories of commerce, nursing or oral hygiene or education. Crudely speaking, the clientele for Temple’s certificates can be divided into two groups. Protestant women from small town Pennsylvania who ranged in age from 19 to 28 and often had not completed high school dominated hygiene and nursing. Jewish and Catholic students from the city who ranged in age from 14 to 40 predominated in commerce.

13. Veysey, 359, and note 237, on 338.

Graph 1: Average Number of Baccalaureate Degrees, Professional Degrees and Certificates Conferred by Groups of Years, Temple University, 1892-1935



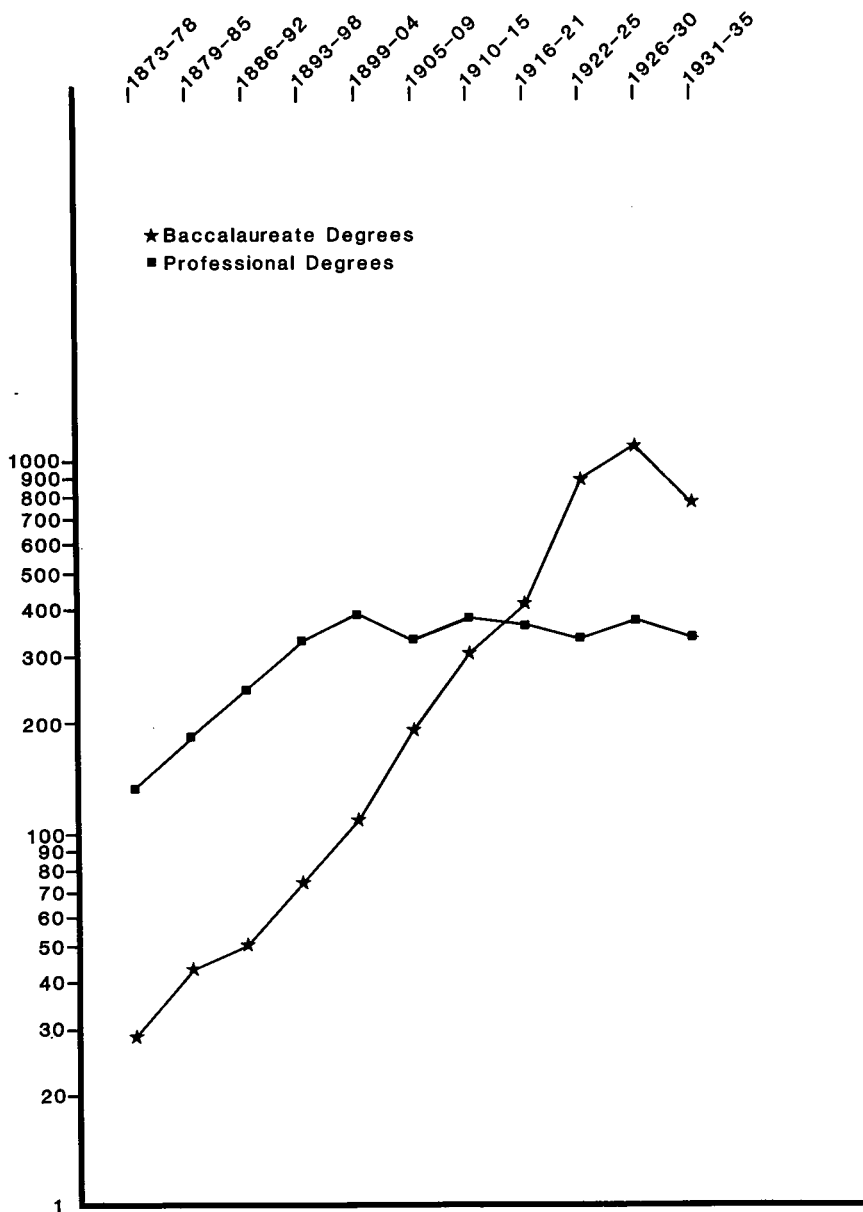
Veysey's typology would be more convincing were it not for the fact that it blots out the experience of the University of Pennsylvania also. In its hard-nosed insistence on quality, combined with a preoccupation with undergraduate and graduate instruction in the liberal arts to the exclusion of all else, this interpretation averts the simple recognition that Pennsylvania deployed its available instructional energies in ways similar to Temple at the end of the 19th century. In the years that followed, moreover, Penn's character as an ensemble of instructional possibilities experienced a realignment parallel to the transformation at Temple, though it came roughly a decade sooner. In terms of sheer numbers, Penn was only peripherally in the undergraduate business prior to 1905 (Graph 2). An increasingly significant share of its expanding curricular efforts was directed toward baccalaureate programs in the liberal arts, engineering, business and education after that date, but it was not until the early 1920s that the total number of degrees awarded in these undergraduate curricula combined exceeded the total in medicine, dentistry, law and veterinary science.

Penn and Temple enrollments not only raise questions about the centrality of the baccalaureate curriculum, but record something more than that. During the first 35 years of this century, medicine, law and dentistry undertook more or less successful initiatives to become post-baccalaureate curricula. It is not the case, therefore, that the late-19th-century "university" boasted two curricular domains (one labeled "professional," the other "undergraduate"), and that one simply grew larger while the other grew smaller up to the 30s. More significantly, those domains themselves were changed internally, as well as in their relationship to one another. At first some, and then a full round of undergraduate experience ceased to be merely desirable or a luxury, but became instead a necessary condition for access to professional (new "graduate") study and practice. In the years following World War I the baccalaureate curriculum *became* central to the formal educational experience of those who attended the university, and it is only under such circumstances that we can plausibly use that *portion* of the institution's total instructional endeavor to make sense of the *whole*. As first one and then another of the refurbished professional curricula dislodged themselves from their longstanding equality with the classical A.B. and took up their new position "above" it, the expanded and updated baccalaureate curricula, like the university itself, became "post-secondary" to a formal degree unparalleled in the 19th century. The attorney or the physician who never studied for a Bachelor's degree was already something of an anomaly as a result, like the dentist or pharmacist who completed only a year or two of high school.

A good deal more needs to be said about these changes, but that would take us well beyond the scope of this essay.¹⁴ The general conclusion to be drawn from the transformation in the university's overall character as an instructional site is straightforward enough, however. Veysey's distinction between "homogeneous" and "heterogeneous" Eastern academic establishments is not at issue here in principle, but the truncated and unduly foreshortened way in which he has filled it in. When held

14. See T. F. Green's *Predicting the Behavior of the Educational System* (Syracuse, 1980), and F. Hirsch, *The Social Limits to Growth* (Cambridge, 1976). For exemplary application of theory see William R. Johnson, *Schooled Lawyers: A Study in the Clash of Professional Values* (New York, 1978) and David Noble, *America By Design: Science, Technology and the Rise of Corporate Capitalism* (New York, 1977).

Graph 2: Average Number of Baccalaureate Degrees and Professional Degrees Conferred by Groups of Years, University of Pennsylvania, 1873-1935



against Princeton at the end of the 19th century, perhaps Pennsylvania did look “heterogeneous.” In terms of its own history, however, Penn was more homogeneous socially at that moment than at any other during the 63-year period under consideration here. What can, therefore, be said of its students?

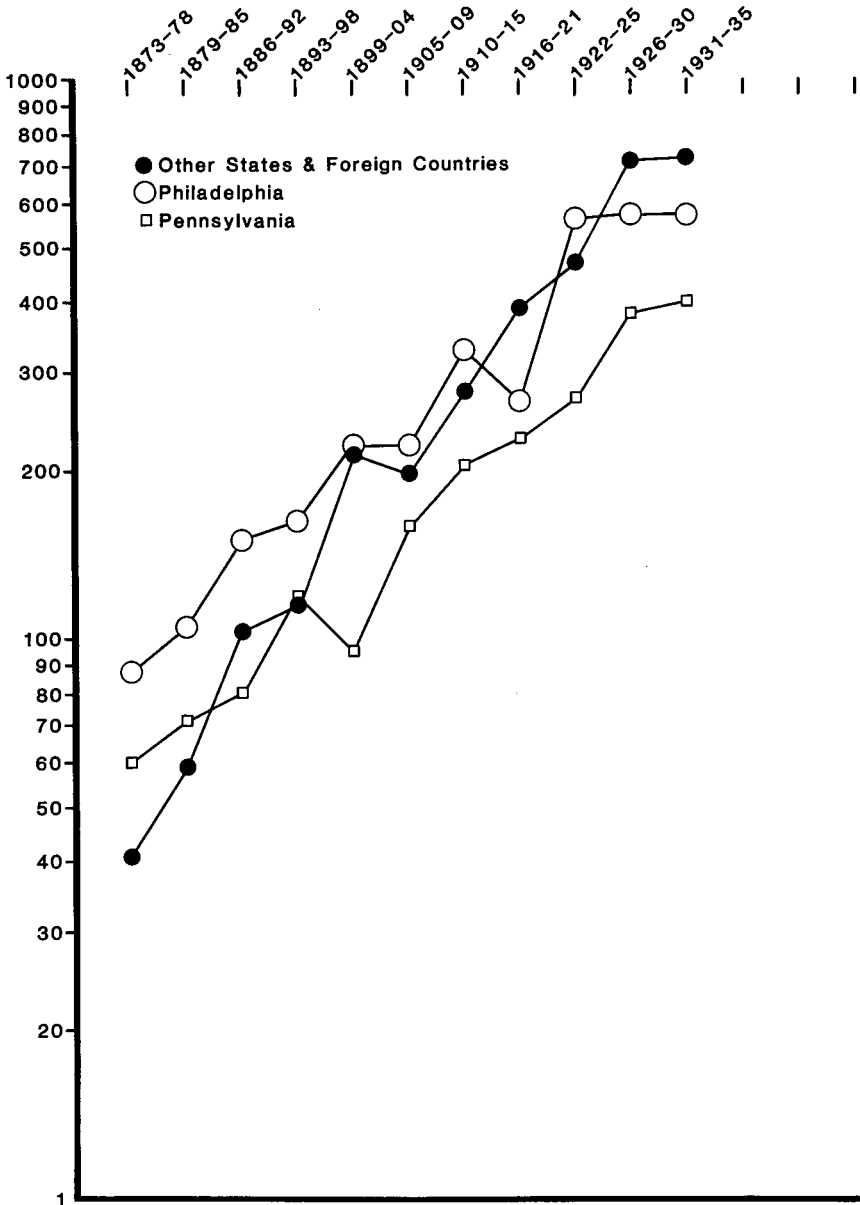
Enrollment Size and Regional Recruitment:

As we might expect, students from Philadelphia together with those who made their home in rural or small-town Pennsylvania accounted for the largest proportion of the University of Pennsylvania’s alumni between 1873 and 1935. Although the numbers of graduates from the city grew a bit faster than those from outlying areas (at about 7.8% per year for Philadelphians, about 5.3% for those from Pennsylvania), both of these contingents were roughly seven times as large in the 1930s as they had been in the 1870s (Graph 3). The most significant transformation of Penn’s student population on this measure, however, occurred with the influx of young men from other states and foreign countries. Their numbers grew the fastest (about 11% per year for the entire period), already equaling or outstripping the smaller but steady increase in the numbers of those from Pennsylvania by the 1880s and 1890s, and finally equaling and surpassing those from Philadelphia between 1899 and 1921. If Philadelphians accounted for almost one-half of the alumni in the 1870s (47%), the sample argues that their proportion had declined to about 33% by the 1920s. Whereas students from Pennsylvania who resided beyond the city limits accounted for 31.5% of the alumni in the 1870s, by the 1930s their proportion looked more like that of students from other states and foreign countries when the period began, dropping off to about 23.5%.

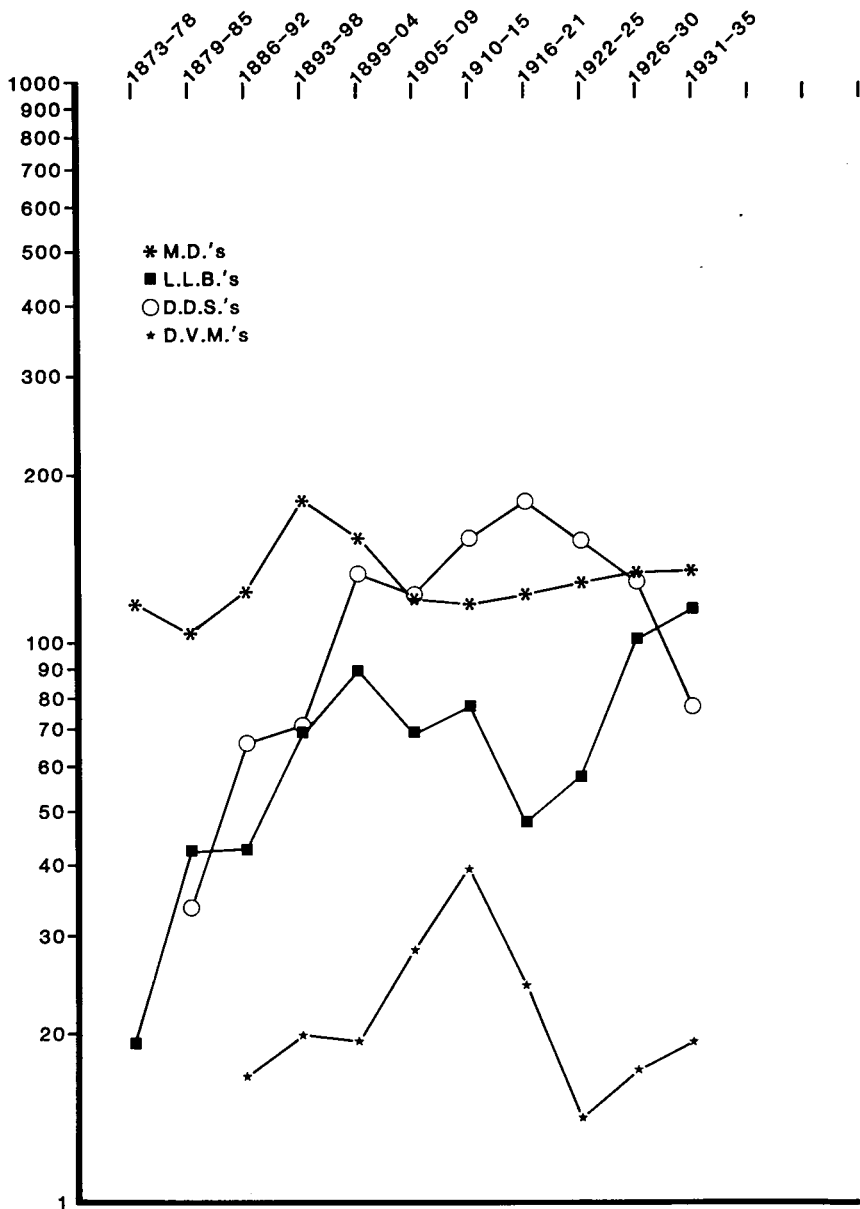
Although Penn steadily grew larger and more cosmopolitan between 1873 and 1935, the picture varied from curriculum to curriculum. It looked different, first of all, in terms of simple patterns of growth. The medical program, for example, was the largest of any of Penn’s instructional endeavors throughout the latter half of the 19th century (Graph 4). With the initial changes in the curricular conditions of access to a newly lengthened medical course that came at the end of the century, the numbers of graduates dropped from the high of 180 or so annually witnessed during the boom years of the 1890s to an average of less than 120 per year between 1905 and 1909.¹⁵ Dentistry took its place as the institution’s largest program after 1905, graduating an average of 179 young men per year at its peak between 1916 and 1921. By the end of the 1920s the numbers of students earning a Bachelor’s degree in economics, education and the liberal arts exceeded for the first time the numbers graduating from the professional schools (Graph 5). As the annual numbers of Dental School graduates

15. “We were the first class to take the four years, as ’95 was the last of the old three year courses, and for this reason our numbers were not as large as some of the classes immediately preceding and following. ’96 was indeed very small, being composed of leftovers, men splitting their third year, and grads from other schools who desired the prestige of the Penn degree.” Brooke Melanchton Anspach, M.D. ’97, *Folder* (U. of P. Archives). Cf. Cheyney, *History*, 271–276. Penn was requiring one year of college for entry into the Medical School in 1908, while at Temple, less than four years of high school was sufficient. Abraham Flexner, *Medical Education in the U.S. and Canada* (Boston, 1910), 293–297.

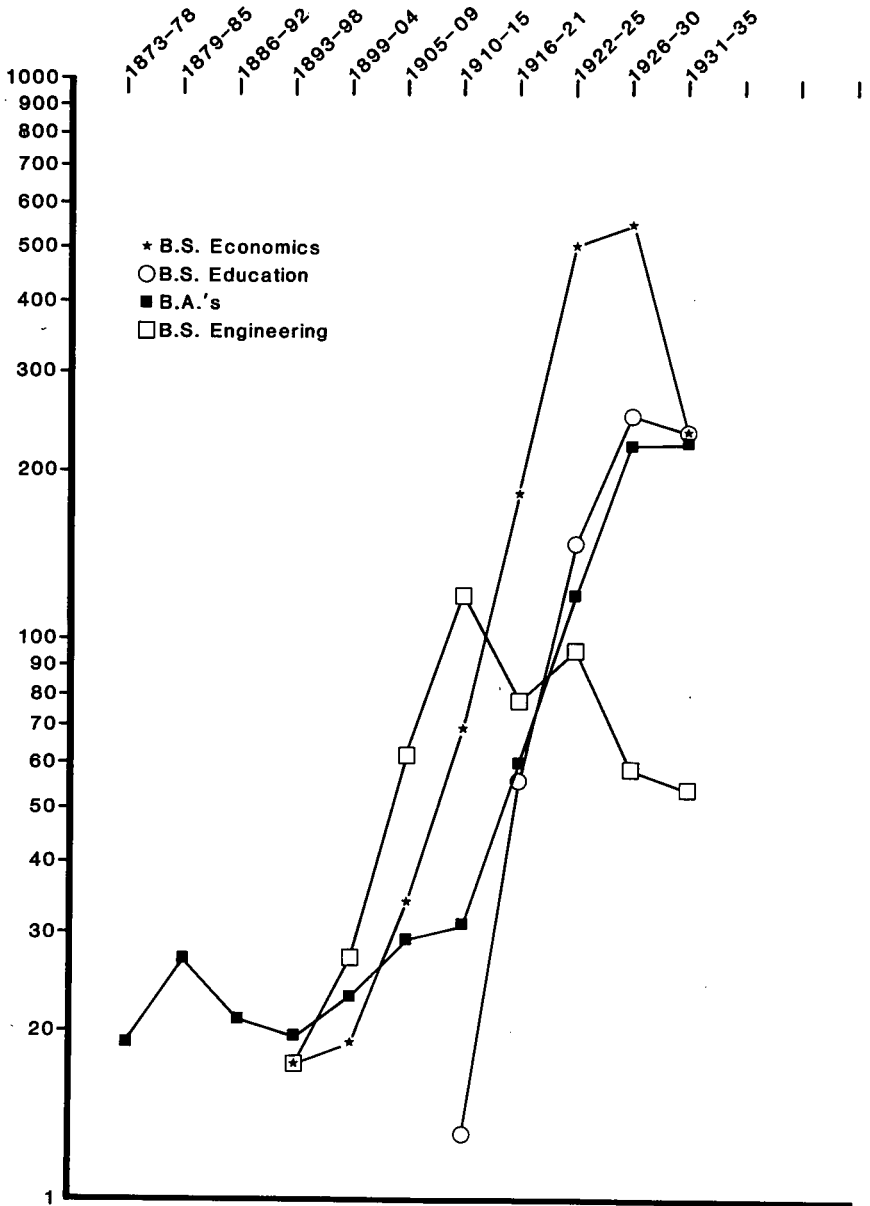
Graph 3: Projected Yearly Averages of Alumni (All Curricula) by Regional Origin, University of Pennsylvania, 1873-1935



Graph 4: Average Numbers and Kinds of Professional Degrees Conferred by Groups of Years, University of Pennsylvania, 1873-1935



Graph 5: Average Numbers and Kinds of Baccalaureate Degrees Conferred by Groups of Years, University of Pennsylvania, 1873-1935



went into decline after World War I and the Medical School commencements continued to hold steady, law alone participated in the boom that boosted the size of the undergraduate programs, allowing it to recover from its slump in the years between 1916 and 1921. By the early 1930s, law was graduating its largest classes (averaging 113 students per year), making it nearly equal in size to medicine, while the classes in dentistry had declined to an average of 78 students per year, smaller than they had been in nearly 40 years.

Just as the timing and magnitude of changes in scale varied from curriculum to curriculum, different curricula also participated to different degrees in the general trend toward recruitment that was more broad-based geographically. The professional curricula were the more cosmopolitan generally, although even here there were some noteworthy variations. With the exception of a cluster of years around the turn of the century, Philadelphians were always the smallest contingent among the alumni of the Medical School, but they were almost uniformly the largest representative group among the graduates of the Law School. Dentistry, on the other hand, was the most *international* in character. Among the baccalaureate programs, the Wharton School's B.S. in Economics was by far the most cosmopolitan, while the College and the Towne Scientific School remained relatively local in character throughout the period. It is not without interest, however, that the 1920s and 1930s saw an increasingly large number of young men from other states come to Penn for the B.A.¹⁶

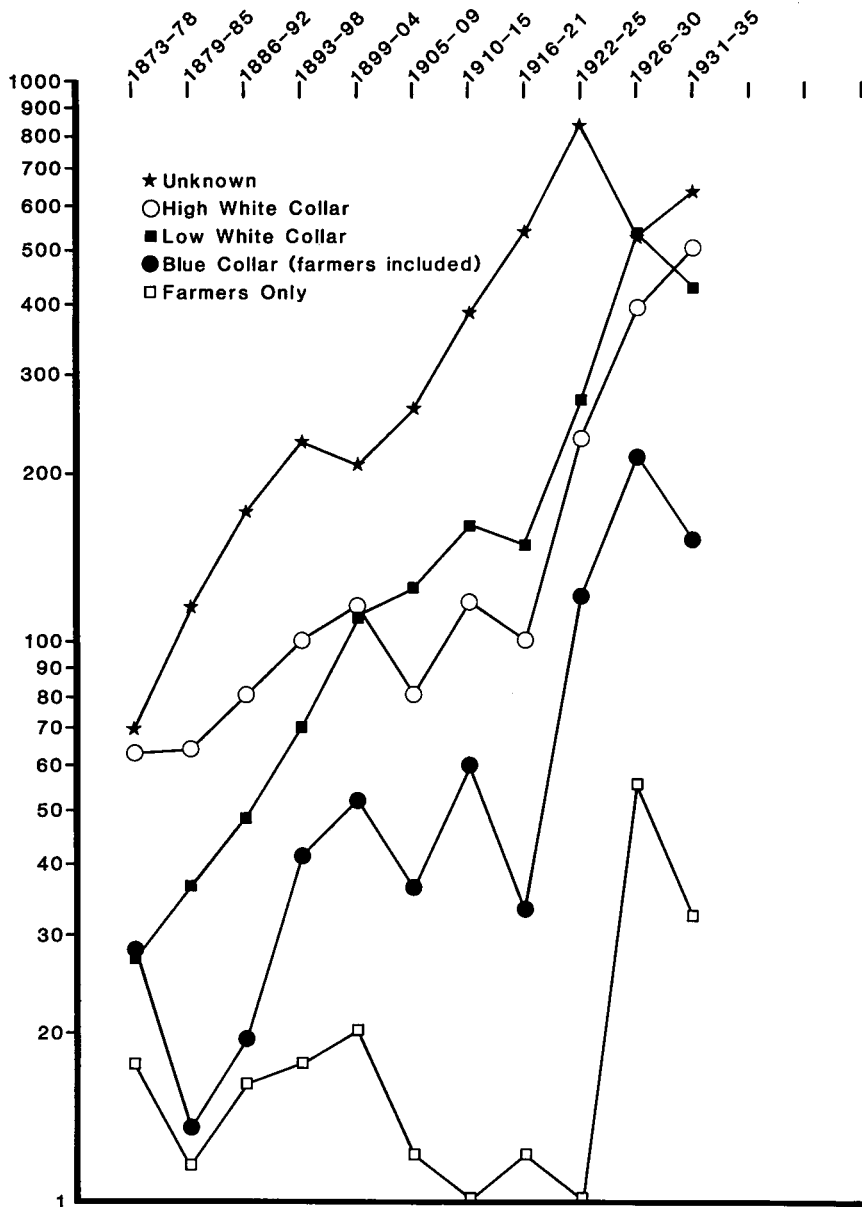
Social Class Origins:

If the University of Pennsylvania generally grew larger and more cosmopolitan between 1873 and 1935, the institution also became more bourgeois (Graph 6). The growth and accompanying transformation in the social class origins of the student population took place in three stages. Leaving aside that disconcerting peak of unknowns for the moment, the first of these periods covers the last 25 years of the 19th century. Students whose fathers were small businessmen, clerks or salesmen, managers and the like ("low white collar") were just about as numerous as the sons of farmers and skilled artisans in the 1870s, each accounting for slightly less than one quarter of the alumni in the sample between 1873 and 1878. The remaining one-half of the alumni in those years were the sons of attorneys, physicians, ministers and entrepreneurs ("high white collar"). In the 1880s and 1890s, however, the number of boys whose fathers were working in low white collar occupations increased absolutely and as a percentage of the whole as the sons of farmers and skilled artisans (and a few semi-skilled and unskilled workers) dropped off precipitously. Although the numbers of blue collar sons recovered by the 1890s, exceeding their numerical representation 20 years before, they only accounted for 19% of the graduates in the last decade of the 19th century.¹⁷

16. On Dentists, *Ibid.*, 270.

17. The occupational classification scheme used here is a modified version of the one found in Stephen Thernstrom, *The Other Bostonians: Poverty and Progress in the American Metropolis, 1880-1970* (Cambridge, 1973), Appendix B. High White Collar here represents the liberal professions (e. g., medicine, law and the clergy), other professions (e. g., engineering, dentis-

Graph 6: Projected Yearly Averages of Alumni (All Curricula) by Fathers' Occupations, University of Pennsylvania, 1873-1935

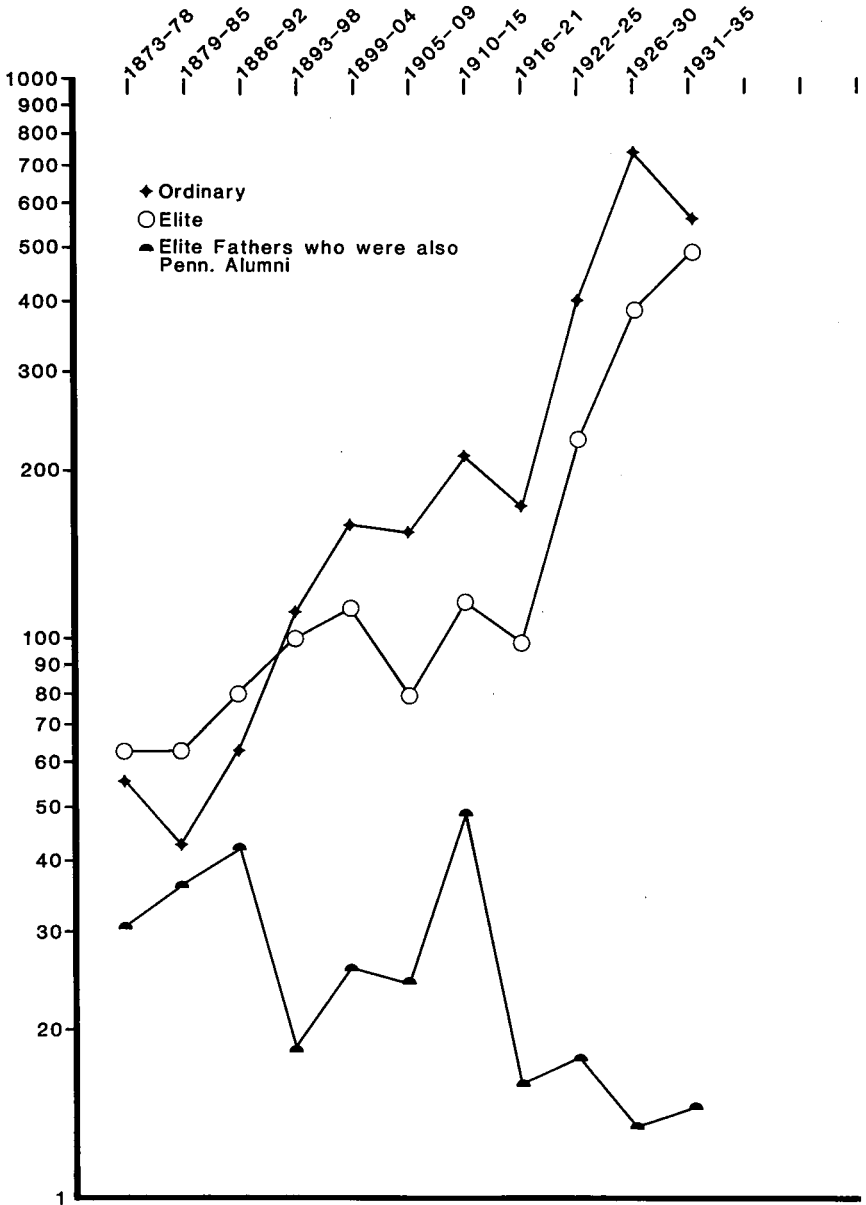


The second period extends through roughly the first 20 years of this century. The numbers of sons from liberal professional families fluctuated in those years around their late-19th-century levels, just like the numbers of those from working class or farming backgrounds. But the numbers of students who could be classified as originating in low white collar households continued to grow, outstripping those from professional or wealthy business families for the first time. The decade of the 1920s, characterized by the dramatic increase in each of these crude occupational categories, marks the beginning of the third period. Even farmers' sons, conspicuous in their absence since the turn of the century, began to return. This period concludes with the early years of the Depression when the number of alumni from professional families alone recovered dramatically. As representatives of the other occupational categories declined, the numbers of alumni from professional families surpassed (if only slightly) the numbers of young men from low white collar households for the first time since the turn of the century.

Additional information underscores these earlier conclusions (Graph 7). If all of the alumni in the sample are divided into two groups—"Elite" (*viz.* the sons of wealthy entrepreneurs, physicians, attorneys and ministers) and "Ordinary" (everyone else)—the three periods displayed in Graph 6 still emerge, although it seems that the influx of ordinary students in this period began already in the 1890s. More interesting and more telling is the lowest line on the graph representing the projected yearly averages of graduates whose fathers were *themselves* University of Pennsylvania alumni and/or appeared in the Philadelphia Social Register. Apparently there was an unusually large number of alumni sons and social register types at Penn at two points in the 63-year period. The first, when Penn probably felt more like an aristocratic preserve than at any other moment in its modern history, came in the late 1880s and 1890s. The second came some 24 years later in the years between 1910 and 1915. Though the projected yearly averages of alumni who were from prosperous white collar households were comparable in the classes graduating between 1899 and 1904, say, and between 1910 and 1915, the latter cohort counted perhaps twice as many social register and alumni families among their number as the former. When the boom came to Penn after the War, the Philadelphia gentry and the sons of the University's alumni apparently did not participate, as their numbers fell to the lowest point in the entire period. This social transformation of Penn's student population which entailed both a steady increase in the number of boys from ordinary households, and an almost equally steady erosion of institutional allegiance among late-19th-century alumni in general and proper Philadelphia in particular, did not go unnoticed. The socially distinguished alumni who remained faithful to Penn fought what proved to be an unsuccessful rear-guard action to preserve the school of the late 1880s as they remembered or imagined it. Under the slogan "Education for Leadership" they lobbied throughout the 1920s to reduce Penn's curricular variety and its social heterogeneity—a campaign which climaxed with the purchase of acreage for a new campus

try) as well as executives and entrepreneurs. The Low White Collar category includes petty proprietors, clerks and salesmen, as well as minor officials and supervisors. The difference between "entrepreneur" and "petty proprietor" posed some difficulties due to limitations in the data. When in doubt, the "lower" petty proprietor category was used.

Graph 7: Projected Yearly Averages of Alumni (All Curricula) from 'Ordinary' and 'Elite' Backgrounds, University of Pennsylvania, 1873-1935



well beyond the city limits in Valley Forge. This land was offered to the Board of Trustees, but the Board rejected the alumni proposal as unfeasible.¹⁸

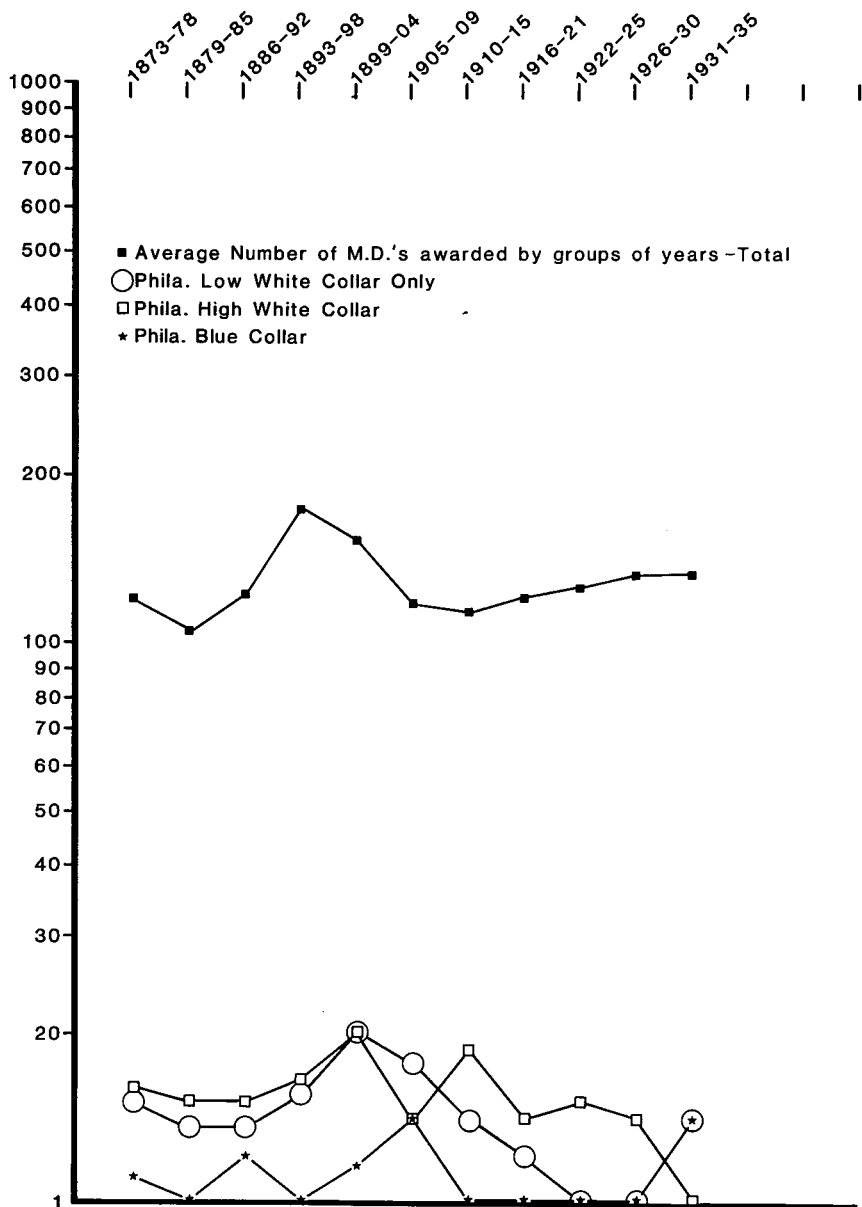
The timing and the magnitude of the transformation in the socioeconomic cast of the alumni also varied from curriculum to curriculum. Because of limitations in the data, this variation can be suggested by noting the changing class composition of the Philadelphia contingent alone. The sample argues, for example, that the smaller Philadelphia representation at the Medical School was more homogeneous and more rarefied socially than its larger Law School counterpart, being drawn more regularly from the city's entrepreneurial and professional families (Graph 8). Running counter to the general university trend toward the increasing and eventual numerical dominance of young men from ordinary households, those among the medical alumni whose fathers could be classified as working at low white collar occupations began to fall off regularly after the turn of the century. The declining numbers of representatives of this group, along with the virtual absence of young men from working class backgrounds, after reaching the peak of their numerical representation between 1905 and 1909, suggests that if indeed there were boys from ordinary families to be found at Penn's Medical School between 1910 and 1930, they were probably not from Philadelphia. Furthermore, and once again marking a departure from the university-wide picture, the number of sons from professional and entrepreneurial families did not increase during the early years of the Depression but fell off to its lowest point in 63 years, while young men from more ordinary backgrounds became more numerous than they had been for a generation or more.

In the 1930s the Law School apparently experienced a similar increase in working class representation, one accompanied by a decline in the number of sons from professional families (Graph 9). But for the most part it was the non-professional middle class whose sons swelled the rolls of the Law School, so much so indeed that here the three stages in the social transformation of the Penn alumni more generally were blurred. Well-represented almost from the very beginning, in terms of yearly averages their numbers increased from 13% (about 59% of the total from the city) in the 1880s and early 1890s to around 40% in the late 1920s (about 71%). All the while the numbers of sons from professional families held steady at less than ten per year, a total established in the 1870s. Unlike the Medical School, which saw virtually no working class students from the city between 1893 and 1930 (with the exception of a flurry of activity around the turn of the century), the Law School apparently continued to see three or four per year in the classes between 1899 and 1915. As in medicine, these working class students disappeared just before World War I. But they returned in the late 1920s, equaling in terms of yearly averages the contingent of sons from Philadelphia's professional families in the Law School and (since it was so much more cosmopolitan in terms of regional recruitment) in the Medical School as well.

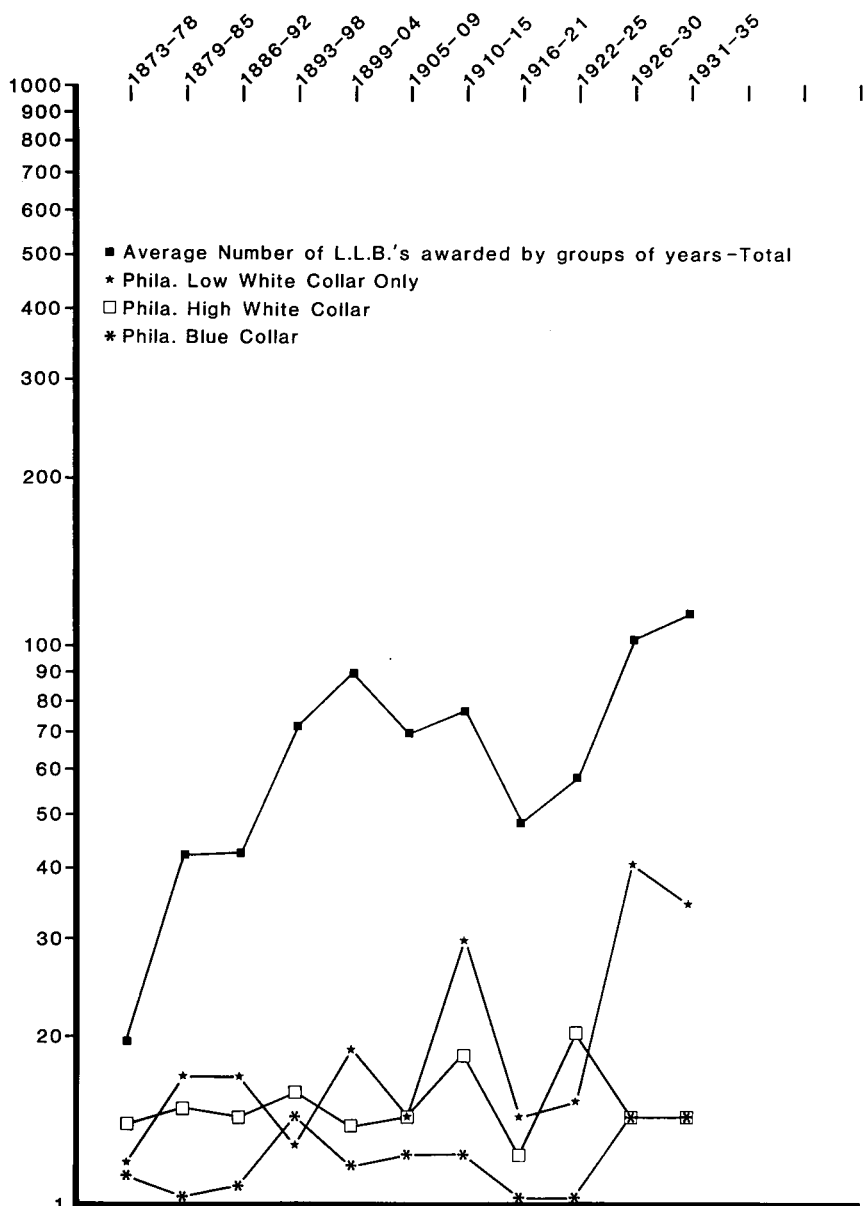
For the social class background of the city alumni who earned undergraduate degrees in the College and the Wharton School, the more general three-stage pattern seems to hold (Graph 10 and 11). In both cases the numbers of young men whose fathers could be classified as working at low white collar occupations fell behind the number of sons from professional families for the first 25 years of the period and

18. Cheyney, 383-397.

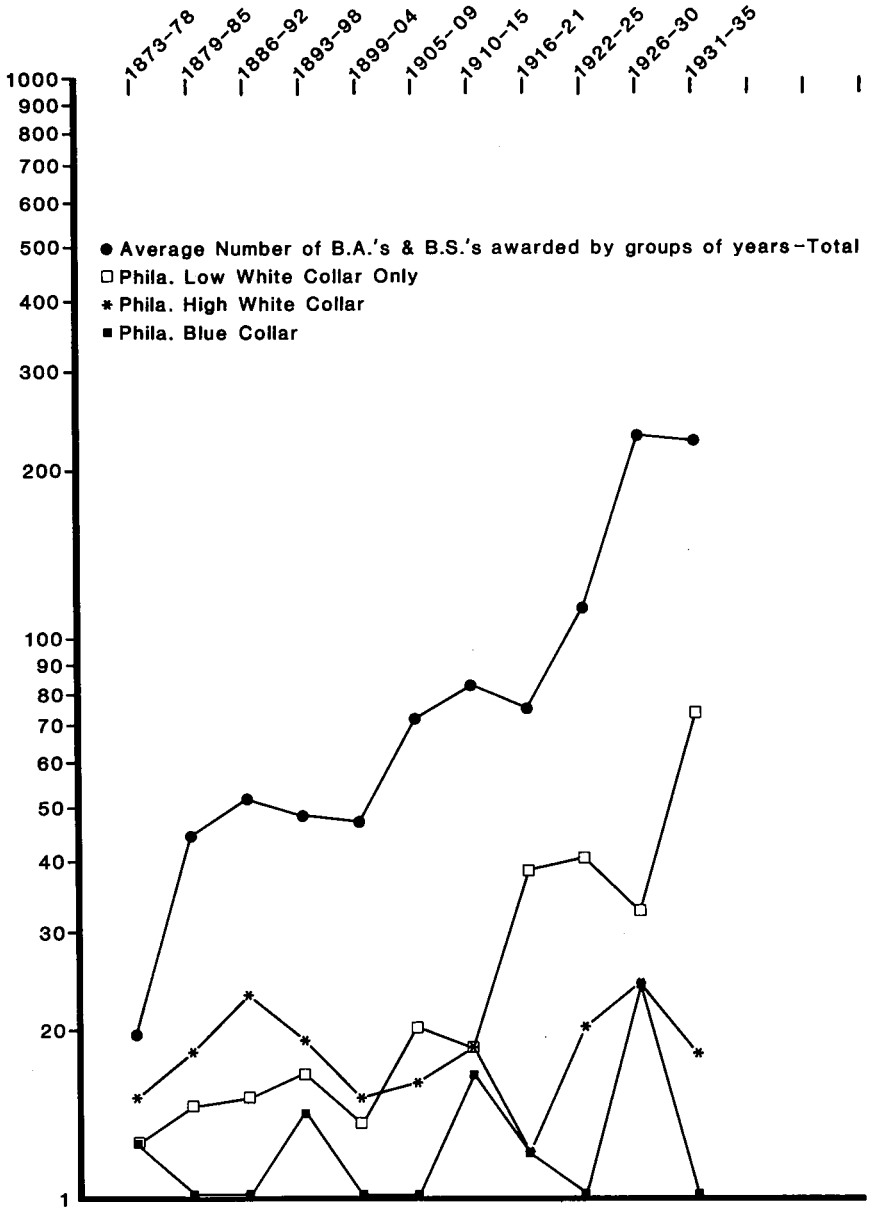
Graph 8: Projected Yearly Averages of Medical School Alumni by Fathers' Occupations, Philadelphians Only, University of Pennsylvania, 1873-1935



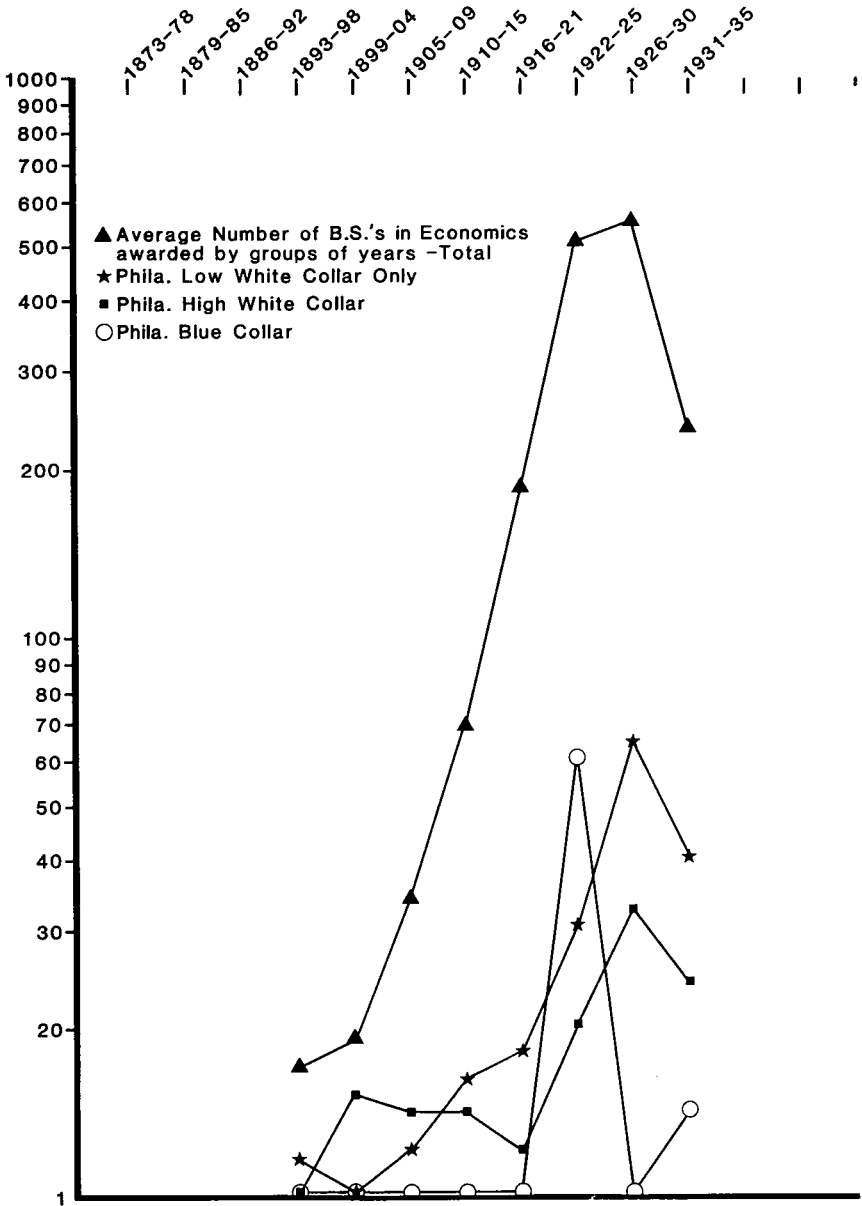
Graph 9: Projected Yearly Averages of Law School Alumni by Fathers' Occupations, Philadelphians Only, University of Pennsylvania, 1873-1935



Graph 10: Projected Yearly Averages of College Alumni (B.A.'s and B.S.'s Only) by Fathers' Occupations, Philadelphians Only, University of Pennsylvania, 1873-1935



Graph 11: Projected Yearly Averages of Wharton Alumni (B.S. in Economics) by Fathers' Occupations, Philadelphians Only, University of Pennsylvania, 1873-1935



then superceded them. After slackening, boys from both groups showed up in increasingly large numbers after the war, although the low white collar contingent apparently remained the largest. The pattern of blue collar representation in these curricula departs from the rest, however. There is presence, decline and reemergence in the College, no steadying as in law, but clusters of high concentration that punctuate the period between 1910 and 1915 and again in the early 1920s, each one larger than the last. Strangest of all, the sample argues that at Wharton, boys from blue collar households were numerous for one moment only in the early 1920s, a time when they exceeded the representation of *both* white collar groups. The Towne Scientific School's Engineering program also stands out as something of an anomaly. Local in character, and the only baccalaureate program in decline during the 1920s, the sample shows an unusually strong presence of boys from skilled artisan backgrounds during the boom years immediately preceding World War I, and once again during the early 1930s. The largest wave of young men from entrepreneurial or professional backgrounds, at least among the Philadelphia contingent, did not come until the early 1920s, almost as if they took the place of the working class boys who were there a decade before.¹⁹

Student Structures During the 1920s and 1930s:

Though suggestive, these diachronic representations of the transformation in the sources of regional recruitment and social origins of the Penn alumni remain limited and uncomfortably abstract. This difficulty can be overcome first by considering the Penn alumni who graduated in the 1920s and 1930s synchronically, noticing not only their fathers' occupations or their home towns, but their scholastic routes to the university, their religious affiliation and their ages. Second, the Penn patterns can be compared with the regularities among Temple's alumni in law, medicine and the rest during the same period.

The tactic to achieve this strategic aim borrows from linguistics.²⁰ Each of the curricular possibilities available at Penn and Temple during the 1920s and 1930s is analogous to a sentence. Each displays, that is, not only some meaningful units—a grammar, if you will—but rules of combination for these units, or a syntax. If we understand the grammatical elements as distinctive and recurring clusters of variables (e. g., “Philadelphia-born—Jewish—Public School—Penn Undergraduate, Wharton—LLB”) and syntax as simple proportions, a reasonably well-delineated sense of what “discordant elements” contributed to the social heterogeneity at Penn as well as Temple should emerge. This procedure should lead to a more concrete appreciation of what the relevant practical limits on concepts like “rarefied,” “distinguished,” “ordinary,” “local” and “cosmopolitan” looked like in this period. Although some curricula display grammatical elements found in no other, and the syntax almost cer-

19. On the social class backgrounds of engineering students more generally, cf. Noble, 36-39.

20. Cf., John G. Blair, “‘What’s American About America?’: A Structuralist Approach,” in *Prospects: An Annual of American Cultural Studies*, Jack Salzman, ed., Vol. 5 (New York, 1980), 1-16.

tainly changes from one curricular instance to another within the same institution or between institutions, there is enough commonality to warrant examining one curriculum in detail. If for no other reason than the fact that the "Philadelphia Lawyer" enjoys almost mythical status in the national imagination, or at least he once did, it is best to begin with the University of Pennsylvania's Law School.

At least four elements were essential to the grammar of social heterogeneity at the Law School between 1922 and 1935. There were Jewish young men, first of all, who for the most part were born and raised in the city of Philadelphia itself and were, like the majority of their classmates, 24 or 25 years of age upon graduation.²¹ The sons of small businessmen of one sort or another (e. g., druggist, men's furnishings, paper mill supplies, accountant, contractor) were by far the most common, outnumbering the combined representation of the sons of tradesmen who depended upon some form of scholarship aid, and the sons of more wealthy executives who did not. Like the overwhelming majority of their fellows, these Jewish students went to public school. Whether their father was a paper-hanger or a retail businessman, they were much more likely to have attended Central, the city's all-male high school for the academically talented, than their Protestant classmates.²² An undergraduate degree from Penn, often from Wharton, completed their scholastic route to the Law School.

The three remaining grammatical elements differentiate within the large group of Protestant young men who accounted for the majority of the Law School's alumni in this period. First, there were those who were socio-economically indistinguishable from the majority of their Jewish classmates. Whether they grew up in Philadelphia or any one of a number of South Jersey communities, they too attended public school and earned undergraduate degrees at Penn before matriculating at the Law School. The Philadelphia gentry who made their homes in Chestnut Hill or one of the fashionable communities along the Main Line comprise the second element. Social Register listing is not essential, but their fathers' professional or corporate executive background is; and even more important, a pattern of preliminary education inaugurated in a private school locally or in New England, and concluded with an A.B. earned at an institution other than Penn like Harvard, Princeton or Haverford. Finally, there were the sons of notables from Pennsylvania's small cities like Reading, Scranton or Erie (populations in excess of 100,000 in 1930), or at least from good-sized towns like Altoona, Allentown (80,000-90,000) or Lancaster (53,000). Whether their father was a judge, a restaurateur or a manufacturer, these students attended public school locally, and arrived on the steps of the Law School with liberal arts degrees in hand from the small private colleges that dot the Quaker State—schools like Gettysburg, Dickinson, Bucknell, Allegheny, Albright, Muhlenburg or Lafayette.

How were these elements distributed? Jewish Philadelphians accounted for roughly one-half of the city's representation at the Law School, and 31% of the

21. I leave aside here the conceptual difficulties of what is and what is not "functional" to a grammar. See also J. Culler in *Structuralist Poetics: Structuralism, Linguistics and the Study of Literature* (Ithaca, 1975), 1-31.

22. Of the 17 Philadelphia alumni in the Law School sample who graduated between 1922 and 1935, 10 were Jewish. Five of these students attended Central before coming to Penn, whereas none of the remaining Philadelphians (6 Protestants, 1 Catholic) had.

classes as a whole. Those ordinary Protestant young men who, like their Jewish classmates, held Penn undergraduate degrees amounted to about 25% of the alumni, only slightly less than the proportional representation of the Provincial Elite (28%). Fashionable Philadelphians were, as we might expect, the smallest group of all, accounting for about 15% of the alumni in this period.

These four elements were basic enough to the institution's lexicon to reappear in other curricula. But among the medical alumni and the undergraduates at Wharton and the College, their syntactical significance changes. Jewish Philadelphians, for example, not only amounted to over one-half of the city's representation in the Law School classes during the 1920s and 1930s; they also accounted for roughly one-half of the much smaller city contingent (23 students per year) in the Medical School. The character of the much larger city contingents among the undergraduates, on the other hand, was tilted conspicuously toward Jewish students in the College, toward Protestants in the Wharton School. Chances were seven out of ten that a city boy found in the College was Jewish. In the Wharton School, by contrast, chances were equally good or better that a young man was *not* Jewish.²³ Each case involves a city contingent larger than the *total* number of L.L.B.'s graduating annually—about 110 students per year from the College, about 180 per year from Wharton.

These enlarged city contingents among the undergraduates were composed of grammatically "ordinary" Jewish students and "ordinary" Protestants, since the sons of Philadelphia's gentry were customarily sent elsewhere for their undergraduate years. The few who fit the "Protestant Establishment" profile well enough, save that unlike so many of their peers they came to Penn after attending private school, accounted for four percent of the College's alumni in this period. At Wharton their presence was all but undetectable.²⁴ On the other hand, fashionable Main Line Philadelphians were indeed to be found at the Medical School, but they accounted for only seven percent of the alumni, not 15% as they did in law. The syntactical role played by the provincial elite from the state's large towns and small cities also substantially altered among the Medical School's alumni. These students virtually *defined* the Pennsylvania contingent in the Law School, but in medicine they accounted for only one-quarter of the total number of students from the Quaker State and about seven percent of the alumni overall.

Obviously some additional grammatical elements were at work in these other curricula. Two particularly stand out among the medical alumni. Pennsylvania's rural Protestants comprise the first group, young men who hailed from communities like Minersville and Ashland whose populations ranged between 5,000 and 10,000, or from villages half that size or smaller like Brownsville, Ringtown, Greenock or Co-raopolis. These students did not make their way to the State University or to a small denominational college upon completion of their public school education locally,

23. Wharton was the only quarter of the University where Catholic students from the city could be found in numbers exceeding Jewish Philadelphians, accounting as they did for at least 18 percent of the city contingent (N = 38) between 1922 and 1935.

24. Of the 70 students in the sample who earned a B.A. at Penn between 1922 and 1935, only three fit the prototypical "Protestant Establishment" background made famous by E. Digby Baltzell and G. William Domhoff. Only one appeared among the 166 sampled Wharton alumni.

but came to Penn for an undergraduate degree before matriculating in the Medical School. At best a negligible presence among the law students, rural Pennsylvanians accounted for the bulk of the state's representation among the medical students and for about 20% of the alumni overall. Second, there were transfer students, distinctive because they had *already* completed two years of medical training (as well as their undergraduate work) at institutions like Dartmouth, Wisconsin, North Carolina, Utah or Wake Forest before coming to Penn. Nearly one-half of the medical alumni were from states other than Pennsylvania, with the Southern and Midwestern regions of the country contributing the largest shares. Transfer students accounted for one-half of those from other states, and for about 25% of the total number graduating annually. These two elements are probably sufficient to distinguish the social character of the medical alumni from their Law School counterparts, but there is one additional detail worth noticing: running across both of these groups, though not essential to either, was a greater range of age than in the Law School, since 30% of these were 27 years old or older upon graduation.²⁵

Two further elements—the Jewish and Protestant students who came to Penn from other states—round out this picture of the social heterogeneity among the undergraduates. Home town origins and religious affiliation aside, there is nothing to differentiate them from their Philadelphia counterparts. It might be reasonably assumed that the outsiders as a group were more well-off than the locals, if only because their families bore the additional expense of room and board, but the data tells us little: public school educations and fathers who did not work with their hands were the order of the day.²⁶ And just as the local clientele who patronized Wharton and the College was sharply divided along a religious axis, so too were those who brought their custom from beyond the borders of the state. The example of New Jersey and New York, the regional source of the largest single concentration of outsiders at Wharton and the bulk of *all* outsiders at the College should illustrate the point. Nearly 60% of the students from this area who graduated from the College between 1926 and 1935 were Jewish. (Given this influx and the character of the city contingent, we can estimate that nearly every other student graduating from the College was Jewish in the years just before the Depression.) By contrast, only 28% of the much larger New York and New Jersey contingent at the Wharton School was Jewish.

In contrast, Temple was far more local in character than the University of Pennsylvania in the 1920s and 1930s. It was also cheaper. Thus Philadelphians accounted for

25. Occupational information on the fathers of only eight of the 15 students from Pennsylvania available suggests a stronger tendency toward both institutional and occupational succession between fathers and sons than we found in the Law School. Five of these young men had physician fathers, four of whom were themselves Penn medical alumni. Cf. E. Christianson, "The Medical Practitioners of Massachusetts, 1630–1800: Patterns of Change and Continuity," *Medicine in Colonial Massachusetts, 1620–1820*, ed. by Th. Cash *et al.* (Charlottesville, 1980), 49–67.

26. "The minimum expenses for a college year is \$1,000.00," the Catalogue announced in 1929–1930, with the average amounting to more like \$1,250.00. Board and lodging in the early 20s in a dormitory or a boarding house cost about \$360.00. By the mid 30s, those costs had risen to about \$520.00.

56% of the degrees conferred overall between 1926 and 1935, and an even greater share of the certificates (60%). The vast majority of the remainder were awarded to those from other localities within the state or to students who made their homes nearby in South Jersey. Since Temple's tuition costs were roughly one-half those charged in West Philadelphia, for economic reasons, as well as less tangible but equally real social ones, Temple numbered more working class, more foreign-born, more women and more blacks among this local clientele.²⁷ Finally, Temple was smaller than Penn, particularly during the closing years of the 1920s. The numbers of Philadelphians alone who graduated annually with a degree from the University of Pennsylvania during the last five years of the decade equaled the total number of degrees awarded at Temple in the same period (about 566 per year). Although Temple doubled in size while Penn's figures increased only negligibly during the early 1930s, the University of Pennsylvania was still annually conferring about twice as many degrees as its neighbor in North Philadelphia.

Despite these differences of scale and ethos, however, the clienteles serviced by Temple and Penn were by no means mutually exclusive. There are cases of different individuals, grammatically indistinguishable from one another in terms of route and fathers' occupations, graduating from both schools in equivalent curricula at the same point in time. But what is more interesting here and certainly less understood is the traffic of students *between* institutions—the ways in which instruction at one regularly led to instruction of another sort later across town for the *same* individuals. What were the rudimentary grammatical elements peculiar to Temple alone and the connections, such as the route that ran *from* Penn *to* Temple?²⁸

Suppose all the Jewish Philadelphians who earned a B.S. in commerce at Temple during the late 1920s and early 1930s had gone to Penn to study economics instead. Although their numbers were small (about 24 students per year between 1926 and 1930; nearly four times that many between 1931 and 1935), the syntax of social heterogeneity at the Wharton School would certainly have altered as a result, but Wharton's grammar would have remained essentially unchanged. The majority of Jewish students to be found at Temple's School of Commerce were the sons of merchants and proprietors; and, like their counterparts at Penn, born and raised in the city. About 40% of these Temple alumni claimed Central High School as their alma mater. For the rest, even if they were among the 13% of their classmates born in Russia, it was more likely to be Simon Gratz, Germantown, or West Philadelphia than Southern, the high school that serviced the city's immigrant district.

As a group, the Jewish males who graduated in education and dentistry were of a different sort, however. Roughly equal in size to the Jewish contingent in commerce alone, nearly 25% of the alumni in these curricula were foreign-born; but foreign-

27. In terms of tuition alone, a degree at Temple cost roughly half as much as one at Penn. The annual cost of instruction in the College at Temple, for example, rose from \$150 in 1925 to \$200 in 1935, while the Medical School's tuition increased from \$200 to \$250 in the same period. At Penn, however, tuition costs in the College rose from \$275 in 1925 to \$400 in 1935, while the Medical School increased its tuition from \$333 to \$500.

28. The exchange relationships of the 20s and 30s between the two institutions developed from what had been, for a few students at least, one of simultaneity at the turn of the century. In Scott Nearing, *Making of a Radical* (New York, 1972), 36.

born or not, in education and dentistry a South Philadelphia background was the rule rather than the exception. As we might expect, the sons of blacksmiths, carpenters, plumbers, janitors and the like were far more conspicuous among the merchants' sons in this group of alumni than in any of the others we have examined thus far.²⁹ Most of the Jewish dental alumni were 23 or 24 years of age upon graduation, a year or so older than the majority of their counterparts in the School of Education, and if their route to the Dental School regularly included instruction at institutions other than South Philadelphia, their records did not show it. About one third of the Jewish males graduating in education during the early years of the Depression were over 25, however, and for these students (working teachers already, no doubt) the standard route to Temple included not only South Philadelphia High School but two years at the city's normal school as well.

Temple's Catholic alumni were equally indicative of an institutional vocabulary different in its grammar and social accent from the one characteristic of the University of Pennsylvania. Although they accounted for only about 13% of the institution's degree recipients overall between 1925 and 1935 (Table 1), Catholics were still more visible by far at Temple than they were at Penn. About half of these students made their homes in small-town Pennsylvania, and perhaps it comes as no surprise to learn that they were educated locally in the public schools. As a rule, however, the same was true of the Catholic students who resided in Philadelphia, despite the city's well developed network of parochial schools. One might expect that father's occupation or curricular destination might help differentiate within the Catholic contingent where home town origin and scholastic route did not, but children of men who toiled at blue collar occupations accounted for about two out of every five of the Catholic alumni, whether they were from Mahoney City, Altoona, or Northeast Philadelphia—whether they were females in the School of Education, or males scattered through Commerce, Pharmacy, Dentistry or the College of Liberal Arts.³⁰

When we turn to Temple's Protestant alumni, we face a large and socially variegated group whose representatives accounted for 40% of the institution's degree recipients overall between 1926 and 1935, and never less than 25% of the graduates in any single curriculum (Table 1). Forty percent of these Protestant students came to Temple for instruction leading to the B.S. in education, while it was the education program itself which absorbed more of Temple's instructional energies than any of its other curricular endeavors during the period (Graph 12). The College of Education offers us the first word, if not the last, on the social character of Temple's Protestant alumni, and that is "female." Those Jewish males from South Philadelphia we spoke of earlier found themselves flanked on the one side by a contingent of women

29. For the decade, 37 percent of the Jewish males from South Philadelphia found in Dentistry and Education combined came from blue collar households.

30. Dentistry stands as an exception to the rule since it alone managed regularly to attract a small number of Catholic Philadelphians who were educated in parochial schools. Medicine was also an exception, but for a different reason. In addition to the six to eight Catholic students per year among the medical alumni who made their homes in Pennsylvania, there was an even larger Catholic contingent from outside the state.

Table 1: Distribution of Sampled Temple Alumni by Program and Declared Religious Affiliation⁺

A. 1926-1930 (1/12)

DEGREE	TOTAL IN SAMPLE		JEWISH		PROTESTANT		CATHOLIC		??
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
B.A.	15	(6.3)	5		3		5		2
B.S. Ed.	72	(30.5)	7		44		9		12*
B.S. Comm.	33	(14.0)	11		13		3		6*
M.D.'s	21	(9.0)	7		7		7		--
LLB's	25	(10.6)	9		11		1		4
Pharmacy	30	(12.7)	17		7		6		0
Dentistry	40	(16.9)	20		11		6		3
TOTAL	236	(100.)	76	(32.2)	96	(40.7)	37	(15.7)	27 (11.4)

*Of the 6 unknowns in Commerce, 5 were very likely Jewish. The same is true of at least 2 of the 12 unknowns in Education. That would put the total number of Jewish students closer to 83 or 35.2 percent.

B. 1931-1935 (1/20)

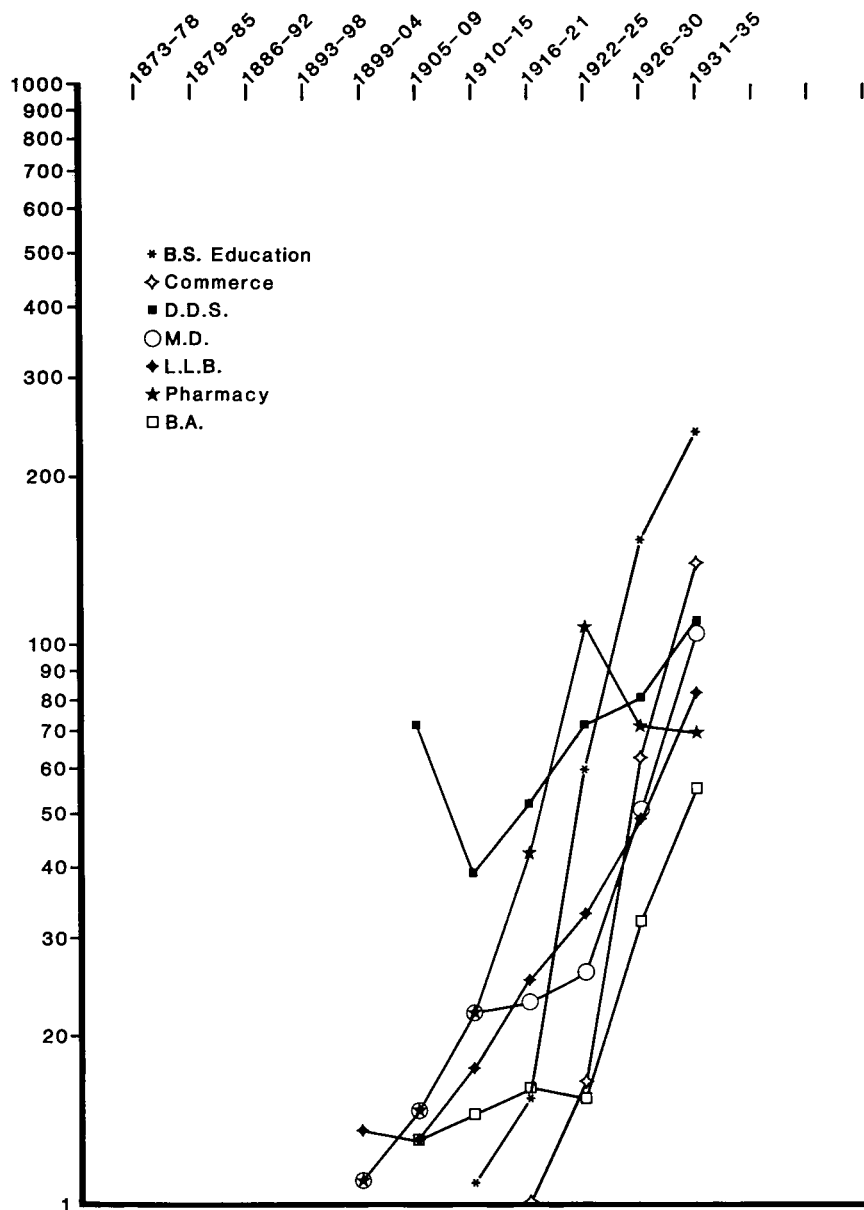
DEGREE	TOTAL IN SAMPLE		JEWISH		PROTESTANT		CATHOLIC		??
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
B.A.	20	(7.7)	12		5		--		3*
B.S. Ed.	88	(33.9)	22		47		9		10*
B.S. Comm.	52	(20.0)	23		22		4		3
M.D.'s	24	(9.2)	7		12		5		--
LLB's	27	(10.4)	12		11		4		--
Pharmacy	19	(7.3)	9		4		6		--
Dentistry	30	(11.5)	15		8		5		2
TOTAL	259	(100.0)	100	(38.6)	109	(42.0)	33	(12.6)	18 (6.8)

*Three of the unknowns in the B.A. program were probably Jewish, as were 4 of the 10 unknowns in Education raising the number of Jewish students to 107 or 41.3 percent.

⁺Graduate Students in Education and the Liberal Arts, as well as students in Chiropody and Theology are omitted.

from Presbyterian families who resided chiefly in West Philadelphia and Germantown, and by an equally large or larger group of Lutheran women from Pennsylvania towns like Lebanon, Latrob and Easton on the other. For the most part, these were not the daughters of professional men, but if they did come from professional families, their fathers were much more likely to be accountants, dentists or engineers than attorneys or physicians. Most described their fathers as proprietors, salesmen, or clerks, but no matter what their fathers' occupations, all of these women attended public school, and once again, if they were over 25, customarily rounded out their

Graph 12: Average Numbers and Kinds of Degrees Conferred by Groups of Years, Temple University, 1899-1935



preliminary education with instruction at a normal school, the State University, and occasionally, at private colleges like Theil, Bethany, or Grove City.³¹

Among the Law School's alumni we find the largest single concentration of students who came to Temple after instruction at the University of Pennsylvania. No less than one quarter of the L.L.B.s awarded annually in the late 1920s (about 60 per year), and nearly one half of the larger classes in the early 1930s (about 108 per year) went to students who had previously attended Penn. Under what circumstances they attended (as regular full-time day students in the College? College Courses for Teachers? the Wharton Extension Program?), or whether they *graduated* we cannot say. Although this route through Penn to Temple Law was more common among Jewish Philadelphians than any other single group, it was certainly not confined to them exclusively. We can estimate that 62% of the Jewish Philadelphians who graduated between 1926 and 1935 included instruction at the University of Pennsylvania in their preliminary education, but so did nearly half of the Protestant Philadelphians and about one quarter of those who came from other localities within the state. Finally, lest we forget Temple's very different center of social gravity in this period, it is worth noting that while the majority of the L.L.B.s at Penn were 24 or 25 years of age upon graduation, about 60% of Temple's Law School alumni were 27 years of age or older when they received their degrees.³²

John Rawls reminded us some years ago, within the context of philosophical give and take over rival moral theories, that "we need to be tolerant of simplifications if they reveal and approximate the general outlines of our judgments." He pointed out: "Objections by way of counterexamples are to be made with care since they may tell us only what we know already, namely that our theory is wrong somewhere. The important thing is to find out how often and how far it is wrong."³³ Certainly Laurence Veysey's *Emergence of the American University* cannot properly be said to advance a "theory" of the transformation of the higher learning. But apart from this and other differences between historical and philosophical dispute, the University of Pennsylvania and Temple do indeed stand as useful counterexamples to the kind of coherence and emphasis represented in Veysey's work. Moreover, we would do well to take Rawls' general injunction to heart here. This means not only being circumspect in drawing conclusions from the experience of these two institutions, but also trying to point those conclusions in a particular direction. Toward that end, we can summarize our efforts under two main headings.

31. In terms of yearly averages, the Protestant women from the city contributed about 26 students per year to the classes graduating in the late 20s, but during the early 30s their numbers nearly trebled. Approximately 30 percent of these women were over 25 when they received their degrees.

32. Chances are good that these Law alumni (who pursued their studies during the evening) did not complete work for their undergraduate degrees since no college work was required to enroll in the Temple Law School as late as 1927-1928 academic year. Penn began asking for a college degree to study the Law under its auspices as early as 1915, but it was not until 1922 that it could report 100 percent of its entering class had satisfied that criterion. See A. Z. Reed, *Training for the Public Profession of Law* (Boston, 1921), 439, as well as his *Present-Day Law Schools in the United States and Canada* (Boston, 1928), 490-492.

33. John Rawls, *A Theory of Justice* (Cambridge, 1971), 52.

1. The Undergraduate Curriculum in 1890 and 1930

There are at least two anachronistic simplifications with which *The Emergence of the American University* has purchased its persuasiveness; the first of these centers on the structural matter raised in the opening section of this essay. Should the baccalaureate portion of the American university's total instructional endeavor be used, as Veysey does, to stand for the whole at the end of the 19th century? It should not, because the Bachelor's curriculum *became* central to the formal educational experience of everyone who sought university instruction only in the years following World War I. The baccalaureate's new-found pre-eminence as gateway to the university was the result of the recasting of the institution's formal character as an ensemble of instructional possibilities. At least in part, this recasting depended upon sealing off the old 19th century routes to professional curricula which had allowed students to circumvent not only the Bachelor's degree but the high school diploma as well.

This initial structural point must be qualified. If the use of the Bachelor's degree to stand for the whole of the late 19th century university misleads because it presupposes one of the results of the transformation of the higher learning that occurred after World War I, we need to be wary of the Bachelor's analytic usefulness for the period thereafter in our efforts to come to terms with the social variety of the American student population. By the 1920s, even within a single institution, the social composition of one curriculum is no reliable guide to the social composition of those adjacent to it or above it. We would not have anticipated the predominantly Jewish character of the College if we had examined Wharton alone, nor the social valences peculiar to the alumni from the Law School and the Medical School if we had simply confined our attention to Penn's undergraduates. The fact that these difficulties are compounded when we examine more than one institution simply underscores the point.

2. The Distinguished Institutions and the Rest

The second simplification at the heart of *The Emergence* parallels the first: just as Veysey relies on the undergraduates to represent university instruction in its entirety, he also uses distinguished institutions like Harvard, Yale, Princeton and Cornell to stand for the array of American collegiate and university establishments at the end of the 19th century. If the example of Temple and Penn under our first heading invites us to question our conceptualization of the relationships between one kind of instruction and another, here their example counsels us to pose questions about the relationships between one institution and another. Let us think of these relationships collectively as a market of educational services which Veysey characterized as part of "the price of structure," comprised exclusively of "contenders for high institutional honors."

During the nineties in a very real sense the American academic establishment lost its freedom. To succeed in building a major university, one now had to conform to the standard structural pattern in all basic respects—no matter how one might trumpet one's few peculiar embellishments. A competitive market for money, students, faculty, and prestige dictated the avoidance of pronounced eccentricities. Henceforth initiative had to display itself within the lines laid down by the given system.

When Veysey points to the relevant lineaments of this system, it is the extrinsic feature of university organization which impresses him the most. "Consider the inconceivability of an American university without a board of trustees," he writes, without "department chairmen, athletic stadium, transcripts of student grades, formal registration procedures, or a department of geology."³⁴

That cross-hatched variety of scholastic routes we found among the Penn and Temple alumni challenges us first of all to conceive of market relations across a wider spectrum of institutions, for the market included not only the Penns but the Temples; not only colleges and universities, but secondary schools as well. Their experience also prompts us to conceive of market relations intrinsically and more dynamically. That is, we need to understand the permissible modes of curricular exchange in their variety, horizontal as well as vertical, and who in the population negotiated them. But we also need to understand how the incentives and the costs of these negotiations changed over time for individuals as well as for society as a whole. The United States did not face a "drop-out" problem prior to World War II, for example. Why not? If completing grade twelve was still an opportunity for most young Americans in 1930, why had it become an ultimatum by 1960? Wouldn't the *attainment* of a degree itself be more valuable in the 1920s than *how* one attained it? Is that still true today when an unprecedented proportion of the age cohort goes on to some form of post-secondary education? We shall never understand this market until we begin to pose questions about it. Until such time, we shall continue to follow changing participation rates as the eye might follow sliding rocks and never feel the avalanche.³⁵

34. Veysey, 340.

35. These questions are discussed in detail in Green, *Predicting the Behavior of the Educational System*, 90-113. The concluding metaphor is borrowed from W. H. Gass, "The Imagination of an Insurrection," *Fiction and the Figures of Life* (Boston, 1971), 263.