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ABSTRACT

This paper discusses philanthropic endeavors of George Peabody, a man with only 4 years of schooling, and his efforts to rebuild an education system in the south and southwest portions of the United States following the Civil War. The paper describes the difficulties faced by the $2 million Peabody Education Fund (PEF) when it was attacked by abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison because the money went to help develop education in the South. Northern acceptance of PEF came with President Andrew Johnson's visit to George Peabody and his recognition of the fund as a national gift meant to heal the divided nation. The paper describes the first administrator of the fund, Barnas Sears; integration in the schools, educational policy; and teacher training. George Peabody College for Teachers is described as it developed from a normal school in Nasnville, Tennessee. Various school presidents are discussed as are attempts to link the school to Vanderbilt University, the eventual merger with Vanderbilt, and the school in recent years. Peabody Institute of Baltimore is described from a library, lecture hall and fund, in Danvers (later renamed Peabody), Massachusetts to the early cultural center opened October 25, 1866 in Baltimore, Maryland. The lecture series, building, and personalities that made it an important establishment are described. Peabody was the first conservatory of music founded in the United States, but the fourth to offer instruction. Peabody's influence on Johns Hopkins' decision to establish his philanthropic gift of a university and teaching hospital is discussed. Peabody's contributions to science are described. (DK)

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George Peabody, Education Philanthropist. George Peabody, Massachusetts-born merchant and securities broker, whose banking firm in London was the root of the House of J.P. Morgan, is also important for the following educational philanthropies:

- A $2 million Peabody Education Fund (PEF) to promote public schools and teacher training in 12 Civil War-devastated southern states. (George Peabody College for Teachers of Vanderbilt University is the PEF legatee.)
- Three museums of science: Ethnology and Archaeology at Harvard, Natural Science at Yale, and Maritime History in Salem, MA
- The Baltimore Peabody Institute Library and Peabody Conservatory of Music, both now par: of the Johns Hopkins University.
- Six institute libraries whose lecture halls served adult education in Massachusetts, DC, and Vermont.
- Low-cost model housing in London for working people, unique for its time, where some 19,000 people still live. But first, Peabody's career.

Commercial Career. Born poor in then Danvers, now Peabody, MA (18 miles from Boston), he had four short years of schooling. Apprenticed in a general store, he then worked in his older brother's drapery shop in Newburyport, MA. He later went with an uncle to open a store in Georgetown, DC. Still in his teens, serving briefly in the War of 1812, he met fellow soldier and experienced merchant Elisha Riggs. A partnership in mercantile trade with the Riggs family began his commercial rise in Georgetown, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York. Ten buying trips to Europe followed, and over 30 years' residence in London as merchant-broker-banker, 1837-69.

Merchant and Securities Broker. Maryland commissioned him to sell its $8 million bond issue in Europe for canals, railroads, and other internal improvements. Because of the Panic of 1837, Maryland and other states could not pay interest on their bonds. Convinced that the states would honor their obligations, Peabody bought many of these bonds cheaply and later profited. In 1843 his new firm, George Peabody and Co., dealt in American securities financing western railroads, the Mexican War loan, and the Atlantic Cable Co. Young J. P. Morgan, son of Peabody's partner J. S. Morgan (partner after 1854), began his career as the New York representative of George Peabody and Co., which was thus the root of the J. P. Morgan banking firm.

Early Fame. Some fame came when he lent American exhibitors funds to display American products at the 1851 London Crystal Palace Great Exhibition, the first world's fair. More fame came from his annual July Fourth dinners in London, also from 1851. He brought together English and American guests at a time when Britons generally disdained Americans.

Early Philanthropy. Unable to attend his home town of Danvers' hundredth anniversary in 1852, he sent a check and a sentiment: "Education--a debt due from present to future

generations." Thus began the first of his six Peabody institute libraries with lecture halls and lecture funds (plus, in Baltimore, an art gallery and music conservatory) and other educational gifts mentioned above. A letter to a nephew whose schooling at Yale College Peabody paid for hints at his philanthropic motive:

> Deprived as I was of the opportunity of obtaining anything more than the most common education, I am well qualified to estimate its value by the disadvantages I labor under in the society which my business and situation in life frequently throws me, and willingly would I now give twenty times the expense attending a good education could I now possess it, but it is now too late for me....I can only do to those who come under my care, as I could have wished circumstances had permitted others to have done by me.

Peabody Education Fund (PEF)

Background. For 47 years (1867-1914) trustees and agents of the $2 million Peabody Education Fund worked to advance public schools and teacher training in the former Confederate states. It is interesting to see from the historical record and present perspective founder George Peabody's intent, how the Fund was spent, how it served separate White, Black, and racially mixed schools; how it advanced teacher education through teacher institutes, state normal schools, and educational journals; why the PEF chose to support the normal school in Nashville as a model for the South; why it was important to the South and to the nation; its influence and educational legacy to the present.

The PEF served the eleven defeated southern states: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. A twelfth state, West Virginia, was added because of its Appalachian isolation and poverty. These states repealed their ordinances of secession (West Virginia came into the Union at statehood in 1863) and tried to reclaim their seats in the national Congress. They were initially refused admission by radical Republicans who won the November 1866 elections and were determined to punish the South. Northern sentiment was bent on punishment. Southern resentment naturally followed. On regaining control of their state governments, southern leaders enacted state jim crow laws to counter federal laws granting the former slaves emancipation and equality. Anger and animosity prevailed. Sectional rivalry was intense.

Post-Civil War Education Decline. The South was near ruin. Its property fell to half its pre-war value. The few pre-Civil War public school systems and private schools were sorely curtailed. Illiteracy among the 5.5 million southern Whites increased during the war and was estimated between 20 percent and 30 percent. Nearly all of the 3.5 million former slaves were illiterate.

George Peabody's February 7, 1867, letter founding the Peabody Fund was largely seen as an important symbol of reconciliation. "I give to you gentlemen," his letter stated, one million dollars for education in the southern and southwestern states. This amount was doubled to $2 million in July 1869. An additional $1.5 million given in Mississippi bonds and $384,000 in Florida bonds was repudiated by those states.

Southern Acceptance. Southerners accepted the Fund as a generous and practical way to heal civil war wounds. Robert E. Lee and southern leaders warmly greeted George Peabody at

an informal, unplanned meeting in White Sulphur Springs, WV, in August 1869. Peabody's founding letter envisioned a bright future for the reunited country: "I see our country, united and prosperous, emerging from the clouds which still surround her, taking a higher rank among the nations, and becoming richer and more powerful than ever before." Harmony to replace vindictiveness was shown in his sentence: "It is the duty and privilege of the more favored and wealthy portions of our nation's countrymen to assist those who are less fortunate."

PEF Planners. Four men were responsible for the origin and early direction of the PEF. George Peabody's $2 million endowed it. Massachusetts statesman Robert Charles Winthrop was the philanthropic advisor who suggested and secured the early trustees. The stature and geographic balance of the trustees gave the fund its national character and popular acceptance. Winthrop, who chaired the Board of Trustees for 27 years, helped select the third individual, Barnas Sears, as the Fund's first administrator, called agent. Sears, a public school champion, succeeded Horace Mann as Massachusetts State Board of Education secretary. Sears' administration of the PEF set many precedents followed by later philanthropic foundations; one precedent was that a grant be contingent on local matching funds and state tax support to perpetuate public schools and state normal schools.

Weed's Explanation of PEF Origin. Thurlow Weed, fourth planner, explained the PEF's origin. He was a New York State politician, editor of the Albany (NY) *Evening Journal*, and a Peabody advisor. Peabody had consulted Weed about his intended gifts when Weed was in London in 1851, again in London in 1861 (when Weed was President Lincoln's emissary to keep Britain and France from aiding the Confederacy), and in 1866 during Peabody's 1866-67 visit to the United States. When asked to direct Peabody's educational plans, Weed named Robert C. Winthrop as a more suitable director. To defend George Peabody against charges of treasonable aid to the South during and after the Civil War, Weed told what he knew of the PEF's origin.

Garrison's Charge of Treason. Abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison and others, before and after George Peabody's death, believed (erroneously) that Peabody had treasonably aided the South before and during the Civil War. Garrison's first scathing article in New York City's *Independent*, August 16, 1869, charged that Peabody's gift creating the Peabody Institute of Baltimore (1857) was made when Maryland was "rotten" with treason. In 1869 (paraphrasing Garrison's condemnation), an old and ill Peabody, true to his southern sympathies, went to recuperate not to a northern spa but to a southern one, White Sulphur Spring, WV (still thought of by Northerners as Virginia), the favorite resort of the elite of "rebeldom," who welcomed him with congratulatory resolutions, to which he responded by speaking of his own cordial esteem and regard for the high honor, integrity, and heroism of the southern people.

George Peabody's $2 million Education Fund, Garrison complained, did not aid needy Negro children, but went to White children; the conservative trustees and agent Barnas Sears chose to comply with rather than to fight school segregation laws in the southern states.

Garrison's second attack, three months after Peabody's death on November 4, 1869, was titled "Honored Beyond His Deserts," in the *Independent*, February 10, 1870. Garrison mocked the pomp and circumstance attending George Peabody's death in London, lying in state at

Westminster Abbey, transport of remains across the Atlantic on Britain's newest warship, H.M.S. *Monarch*, escorted by U.S. naval vessels to an impressive reception at Portland harbor, ME, and burial amid solemn ceremony in Salem, MA. Peabody's motive in his philanthropy, Garrison wrote, as it was in returning to England to die, was to gain public attention, "to quickly make him[self] famous." Peabody was a pro-slaver, Garrison charged, citing as proof the fact that he (George Peabody) had signed an appeal denouncing Massachusetts' "Personal Liberty Bill." That bill prohibited southern slave hunters from removing from Massachusetts slaves who had fled their southern masters. In this, Garrison mistakenly confused educational philanthropist George Peabody (1795-1869) for a remote Boston relative of the same name, George Peabody (1804-92) of Salem, MA, Eastern Railroad president who had favored the Fugitive Slave Law.

Garrison saw the South as the enemy long after the Civil War. He raged at George Peabody because the PEF was intended to revive the South. To correct Garrison's injudicious rage and misconceptions, Thurlow Weed told what he knew of the PEF's origin.

The money Peabody gave for the southern education fund was intended, Weed explained, until well after the Civil War, for New York City's poor. But the war and its effects changed Peabody's mind. New York City had prospered and had long supported public schools, while the poverty-stricken South had few public schools. When northern friends approved of his intended education fund to aid southern education, Peabody went to Weed, who helped name some trustees and suggested Winthrop, who in turn named others and developed the overall plan.

PEF's Northern Acceptance. President Andrew Johnson's visit to an old and ailing George Peabody at Washington, DC's Willard Hotel, February 9, 1867, was an act of respect recognizing the PEF as a national gift meant to heal the divided nation. When the U.S. Congress on March 16, 1867, voted unanimous thanks to George Peabody, "for his great and peculiar beneficence" and ordered "a Gold Medal struck (for him) in the name of the people of the United States," it was also to show national thanks for the PEF.

First Administrator Barnas Sears. Publicity about the Peabody Fund before its trustees had set policy brought many requests for money, some of them strange indeed. Pondering what the PEF's policy should be, Robert Winthrop sounded out Barnas Sears, president of Brown University, whom he met by chance in Boston just before the March 19, 1867, PEF trustees' meeting. Winthrop asked Sears how he thought the trustees should carry out their work. In Sears' answer, Winthrop later wrote, he found the PEF's first director.

Winthrop had chaired the legislative committee which drafted the bill creating Massachusetts' first state board of education (1837), had persuaded Horace Mann to become its first secretary, and knew how ably Sears had succeeded Mann in that position. Winthrop also admired Sears' subsequent career as Newton Theological Seminary president and, at their meeting, Brown University president

Sears advised Winthrop and the trustees to appoint an executive agent to visit schools, consult with southern leaders, aid deserving public schools where they existed, or establish them; and to use limited Peabody funds for schools which local authorities would support and the state would perpetuate through taxes. Sears suggested the same support for state normal schools, with scholarships for those who would teach for two years. Winthrop asked Sears to record these

ideas in a letter. After Sears' letter of March 14, 1867, was discussed by the trustees, they asked him to be the PEF's first general agent.

Southern Preference for Private Schools. Southerners viewed education as a family responsibility, conducted in a private school charging tuition cost. Public schools were less than second best. Only North Carolina and Louisiana of the eleven former Confederate states had attempted pre-Civil War comprehensive public schools and these had nearly collapsed. Virginia, Georgia, and South Carolina provided free schools for pauper children. Free schools were looked down upon by upper and middle class people, who preferred private academies for their children. Impoverished families, from pride, kept their children at home rather than bear the public stigma of being poor.

Sears Sets Policy. Moving his family to Staunton, VA, from where he made extensive southern trips, Sears soon visited nearly 100 larger towns and cities. He saw that southerners of all classes were reluctant to pay taxes for public schools. Other hurdles were state laws that segregated White and Black schools. There were also some state-mandated racially mixed schools. Knowing that the millions in need would soon deplete Peabody funds, Sears' first annual report (January 21, 1868) stated that the PEF would aid only public schools and state normal schools in economically advanced towns and cities where large numbers of students could be gathered, where local authorities would vote taxes to perpetuate them as public schools, and where such PEF-aided schools became models for other communities. When Sears found state and local officials devoted to tax supported public schools, he gave them Fund-aid guidelines and appointed them sub-agents with discretionary power to spend Peabody funds as needed in keeping with local concerns.

Sears devised a scale of Peabody Fund aid for schools meeting at least nine or ten months a year, having at least one teacher per 50 pupils, with the community matching Peabody funds by two and often three times the amount of Peabody aid. Schools so aided had to be under public control, thus paving the way for state supervision. The intent was to increase community involvement and interest that led to permanent tax support. Aid increased as enrollments rose: $300 a year for a school enrolling up to 100 pupils, $450 for 100-150 pupils, $600 for 150-200 pupils, $800 for 200-250 pupils, and $1,000 for 300 or more pupils. Sears thus used the Fund's limited resources as a lever for wielding more than local influence and as a step toward permanent state tax support.

Atlanta, GA, is an example of how Sears countered anti-public school sentiment. He learned on his first visit in 1867 that Atlanta had 60 private schools and no public schools. Sears offered $2,000 if the city would establish public schools. Nothing happened. Repeating his offer two years later, it was accepted. Atlanta adopted a public school plan in 1870. Two years later (1872), Atlanta's public schools enrolled 2,731 children; private schools enrolled only 75 children. The Atlanta experience showed that Peabody funds were small compared to total public school cost but important as a stimulus, model, and moral force.

Different White-Black School Policy. Few schools met Sears' requirements for aid during the first four years (1867-71). Over the next few years (1871-74), many White communities were able but Black communities remained largely unable to meet those conditions.

After 1874 Sears was able to approve funds for half or fewer of the many applicants. On his early trips, Sears found Black schools better provided for than were White schools. This anomaly resulted from the large initial aid for Black schools during 1865-74 by the federal Freedmen's Bureau, northern missionaries, and northern teachers--all aiding Black but not White schools. Sears found southern Whites bitterly resentful of northern outsiders' intrusion.

Sears recommended to Winthrop in 1869 that Black schools should get only two-thirds the amount for White schools. His justification (rightly or wrongly) was that Black schools cost less to maintain and had been exclusively helped by federal aid and northern missionaries during 1865-74. "Some will find fault with our making any distinction between the two races," he warned Winthrop. The trustees approved this policy. From 1870-71 onward, although Peabody funds aided many Black schools, their rate of aid was two-thirds the rate for White schools.

Criticism and Defense. Critics then and since have faulted Sears for the two-thirds Black schools discriminatory rate and also for opposing racially mixed schools. Sears' biographer Earle H. West's explanation is that Sears, concerned to carry out the Peabody Fund's mission to aid public schools and teacher training, strictly avoided social strife and meddling in politics. "Let the people themselves settle the question" of separate schools, Sears said. He would aid racially mixed schools, he said, when mandated by state law and when both races attended. But where Whites refused to send their children to state-mandated racially mixed schools, then the Peabody Fund trustees felt they had to aid White children who would otherwise grow up in ignorance.

Integrated Schools. South Carolina for a time and Louisiana for a longer time under radical Reconstruction governments had racially mixed schools. In 1868 the Peabody trustees took the position that since Louisiana's racially mixed public schools served almost entirely Black pupils and few White pupils, Peabody funds would go to White schools, even though they were private. Thus caught up in racial politics in Louisiana, the Peabody Fund was praised by pro-Whites but criticized as racist by pro-Black radicals. Sears' reply to this criticism was that the Peabody Fund wished to educate the entire community. If mixed schools resulted in Black-only schools, he said, then the Peabody Fund would have to aid the more school-needy White children. He added, "We should give the preference to colored children were they in like circumstances."

Sears was also criticized for testifying before a Congressional committee in January 1874 against a clause in the Civil Rights Act (passed in March 1875) requiring racially mixed public schools. His experience in southern communities, he said, convinced him that southern leaders would abandon public schools rather than accept federally enforced racially mixed public schools. Black and White children would then suffer alike, he said, and the vast educational efforts of the Peabody Fund and other educational foundations in the South would be for nothing. Congress removed the racially mixed public school requirement clause before passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1875. Sears and the Peabody Fund won southern respect but also some northern criticism.

Was Sears Racist? Earle H. West's explanation is that, faced with the reality of schools racially separated by state law and the fact that southerners would not send their children to

racially mixed schools, Sears felt he had to go along with school segregation. To achieve longer range public school improvements and until southerners accepted racial equality in schools, Sears saw segregated schools as the legal constraint under which the PEF had to function. To have stood against southern state school segregation laws would have limited, more likely ended, the PEF's work and influence

Recent Critics Say Yes. Recent revisionist historians have criticized the Fund's influence on Black education. William P. Vaughn wrote that Sears and the PEF perpetuated racial segregation in southern schools. Historian Henry J. Perkinson felt that, by going along with racially separate schools, the Peabody Fund "prevented the South from attaining educational equality with the North for the next seventy-five years." Vaughn, Perkinson, and other recent revisionist critics judge Sears and the Peabody Fund in light of the hard-fought civil rights achievements of the 1960s and '70s. A century earlier, in the 1870s and '80s, Sears and the Peabody Fund trustees had to deal with racial attitudes and southern state laws as they found them. Sears' stand in Louisiana of aiding private White schools because White parents would not send their children to racially mixed schools made the PEF's influence in Louisiana less successful and more controversial than in any other southern state.

Historians Praise PEF. Up to about 1950, historians' general praise of the work and influence of the PEF may have been because the PEF was the first large fund by a private individual to help public education in the post-Civil War South, because the Fund's assistance came when desperately needed, because its trustees were prominent and respected northerners and southerners, and because its policy harmonized with southern middle and upper class interests. The praise of earlier historians is followed by recent criticism.

E. Merton Coulter: "The greatest act of help and friendship that came to the South during the Reconstruction originated with George Peabody, Massachusetts-born English banker and benefactor....The South was deeply moved by this beam of light piercing their blackest darkness."

Harvey Wish: "Northern philanthropy tried to fill the gap left by Southern poverty and by Bourbon indifference to elementary education. No kindness had touched the hearts of Southerners quite as much as the huge educational bequest of the Massachusetts-born financier, George Peabody of England."

Edgar W. Knight : "The Peabody Fund was a highly beneficial influence to education in the South." (In another book): "The Peabody Fund...was not only the earliest manifestation of a spirit of reconciliation on the part of the Northern man toward the southern states, but it was also one of the largest educational blessings which ever came from the outside to that section of the country."

Paul H. Buck: "As in his [George Peabody's] gifts to England he had hoped to link two nations in friendly bonds, now after the Civil War it seemed to him most imperative to use his bounty in the restoration of good will between North and South...." (In another book): "The Peabody Education Fund...was an experiment in harmony and understanding between the sections." (Again he wrote): "Not only was the gift of Peabody one of the earliest manifestations of a spirit of reconciliation, but it was also a most effective means of stimulating that spirit in

others."

Abraham Flexner: "The trustees of the Peabody Fund were a distinguished group of men. No body of trust has ever contained men of higher character, greater ability and eminence, or more varied experience."

William Knox Tate: "No sketch of Southern education should close without an expression of gratitude to our friends in the days of darkness--George Peabody and the Peabody Board of Trustees. No other $3,000,000 [sic, $1.5 million of Mississippi and $384,000 in Florida bonds were never honored by those states, making a total $2 million fund] ever accumulated on the earth has done so beneficent a work as has this fund."

J. L. M. Curry: "Among the benefactors of education none have surpassed George Peabody in the timeliness and utility of his gift."

Daniel Coit Gilman: "Mr. George Peabody began this line of modern beneficence...." (About the Peabody Fund): "The influence exerted by this agency [Peabody Education Fund] throughout the states which were impoverished by the war cannot be calculated, and it is not strange that the name of George Peabody is revered from Baltimore to New Orleans...." (About post-Civil War southern philanthropy): "Almost if not quite all of these foundations have been based on principles that were designated by Mr. Peabody."

Thomas D. Clark: "Since 1867 the Peabody Fund has worked as an educational leaven, and by the beginning of the twentieth century such matters as consolidation, compulsory attendance, teacher training, vocational education and general lifting of Southern standards received ardent editorial support. Especially was this true in the first decade of this century when the famous education publicity crusades were under way."

Charles William Dabney: "George Peabody [was] the first of the line of philanthropists to aid the Southern states in their struggle for education after the Civil War." [And]: "The gift of Mr. Peabody in its purpose to help cure the sores of a distressed people by giving them aid for a constructive plan of education was original and unique. It was not for the mere relief of suffering; it was to lay the foundations for future peace and prosperity through enlightenment and training. In this sense he was a pioneer of a new philanthropy, which did not seek only to palliate, or merely to eliminate the causes of evil and distress, but to build up a better and stronger human society."

William Torrey Harris: "It would appear to the student of education in the Southern States that the practical wisdom in the administration of the Peabody Fund, and the fruitful results that have followed it, could not be surpassed in the history of endowments."

Jesse Brundage Sears: "This [the Peabody Education Fund], as our first experiment, must be pronounced a decided success and it must stand as an excellent precedent both for the future public and for the future philanthropist."

PEF in Alabama. Recent historian Kenneth R. Johnson wrote that while the Peabody Fund's influence in Alabama "was a praiseworthy one, it has been overemphasized." The free school provision in Alabama's 1868 constitution was in the planning stage when Sears first toured the South, including Alabama, in July 1868. Peabody Fund aid was given to schools in several Alabama cities, first through Alabama's local and state officials acting as PEF sub-agents.

Later Peabody Fund aid went through the Alabama state superintendent of education. Despite limited resources, the average school enrollment in Alabama public schools increased during 1870-75 from 35,963 to 91,202 White children and from 16,097 to 54,595 Black children. The Peabody Fund expenditure in Alabama during 1868-1905 (37 years) totaled $79,200.

Historian Johnson doubted the assertion in Curry's *History of the Peabody Fund,* 1898, that the Fund was primarily responsible for establishing the public school systems in the southern states. "Had Dr. Curry been more objective and his research more thorough, [his] conclusions might have been different." Alabama public schools, Johnson wrote, were established with state money and by state officials. "Despite claims to the contrary, the Peabody fund was not important financially to Alabama's public school system." What limited the Peabody Fund's influence in Alabama, Johnson explained, was its policy of aiding only town schools with large numbers of pupils. Alabama's population as late as 1890 was 85.2 percent rural. Helping well-run town schools, he wrote, did not encourage similar rural school growth. (Sears' rejoinder to this criticism was that millions of children were in need and to have catered to the overwhelming number of rural school needs would have soon depleted the Fund's limited resources.)

The Peabody Fund's policy of not aiding private schools, Johnson admitted, helped undermine their earlier importance. The Fund's policy of requiring local matching funds stimulated the more well-to-do to accept regular school taxes. The positive consequence of this policy was to remove the "charity" stigma from public schools. Agents Sears and Curry's travels and speeches also fostered the idea that public education was every child's right and not a privilege.

Johnson faulted the Peabody Fund's acceptance of segregated schools, its two-thirds Black school discriminatory policy, and the Fund's acceptance of the assumption "that though Negroes should be educated, they were not as deserving as Whites.... Peabody [Fund] officials did not initiate this anti-Negro attitude," wrote Johnson, "but their policy tended to confirm existing prejudices."

Curry and Teacher Training. J. L. M. Curry made the claim to the Peabody Fund trustees (1900) that "the normal schools of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Alabama, and Texas are the direct...result of the General Agents and of your timely benefactions." Historian Johnson called this an overstatement, citing the following Alabama example.

To get Peabody Fund money, private academies and colleges offered to establish normal departments. The Peabody Fund rejected these offers, fearing that private normal schools would hinder Peabody-preferred state-supported normal schools. In 1872, Alabama had one normal school (in Florence); in the 1880s four normal schools for Whites and two for Blacks; and in 1890 four for Whites and three for Blacks. The Peabody Fund did not found these normal schools but aided them after 1882 and also funded Peabody Normal Institutes (one-month summer sessions) during 1890-98. At Florence Normal School in the 1890s the Peabody Fund helped establish a model school for seniors to practice their teaching under supervision.

After the Peabody Fund's first focus on supporting public schools, it turned to training teachers in teacher institutes and in normal schools. As Massachusetts Board of Education secretary (1849-55), Sears had supervised that state's normal schools, the first in the nation. As

Peabody Fund agent, he insisted on aiding only state-supported normal schools. In 1867, when the Peabody Fund began, there were 21 normal schools in the U.S., 20 of these outside the South and only one in West Virginia. Five years later (1872), there were 42 normal schools in the U.S., six of them in the southern states. After 1878 Peabody Fund policy focused its resources mainly on aiding normal schools. On April 28, 1879, a year before his death, Sears wrote to Winthrop, "On the whole it now looks as if we should carry out our new plan--the improvement of teachers --as successfully as we did our first--the establishment of schools."

Curry, Sears' successor and second agent during 1881-1903, led the Fund's second phase of aiding teacher training through teacher institutes, normal schools, and educational journals. Curry financed many teacher institutes, which were two-to-four-week gatherings of teachers and administrators offering lectures about classroom instruction and school administration. He valued the professional training aspects of teacher institutes and normal schools and extolled the favorable public sentiment they created for public schools. Between 1883-92, under Curry, 86 percent of the Fund's expenditures went for teacher training.

PEF Importance and Influence. The PEF was the source for the educational leadership of Barnas Sears, J. L. M. Curry, Wickcliffe Rose (Curry's successor as PEF agent), and others in late nineteenth century and early twentieth century education foundations serving both races in the South. Samuel F. Slater openly acknowledged the influence of the PEF on his creating the Slater Fund for Negro Education in the South. Curry and Rose were agents for both the Peabody and Slater funds. Several Peabody Fund trustees also served both of these and other funds. Curry's history of the PEF states that George Peabody's philanthropic example directly influenced Paul Tulane to found Tulane University in New Orleans and Anthony J. Drexel to found Drexel Institute in Philadelphia.

Curry cited the impressive influence of the PEF trustees. Among them at different times were three U.S. Presidents (U.S. Grant, Rutherford B. Hayes and Grover Cleveland), two U.S. Supreme Court chief justices (Thomas Manning and Morrison R. Waite), several state court justices, famous military leaders of the Union (Admiral David G. Farragut) and the Confederacy, two bishops, several members of Congress, U.S. cabinet members (Alexander H. Stuart, U.S. Secretary of the Interior; and Hamilton Fish, U.S. Secretary of State), ambassadors (Henry R. Jackson of Georgia, Minister to Mexico), city mayors, state governors (William Aiken of South Carolina and William A Graham of North Carolina), financiers (Anthony J. Drexel and J. Pierpont Morgan), and others.

PEF and Later Southern Educational Philanthropy. The Southern Education Board, founded in 1901, grew out of the four conferences for education in the South; these grew inevitably out of the work of the PEF, with Curry and others being connected with all three. In 1902 John D. Rockefeller's General Education Board was responsible for significant educational philanthropy, again with Curry and others from the Southern Education Board among its members. During 1902-13, it is difficult to distinguish among the programs and work of the PEF, the John F. Slater Fund, the Conference for Education in the South, the Southern Education Board, the General Education Board, the Rosenwald Fund, and the Anna T. Jeanes Foundation, all working to improve conditions in the South. There was the closest cooperation between the

trustees, officers, and directors of these various boards and funds.

The common problem was to uplift the southern poor, to gain southern acceptance of public education, to encourage state and local laws that perpetuated tax-supported public schools, and to initiate and spur both teacher institutes and teacher training normal schools. The Peabody Fund, first in this area, was also the first U.S. multi-million dollar foundation with a positive attitude toward solving social ills; first without religious conditions; first whose influence was national, as its scope was regional and local; first to provide for future modifications as conditions changed; and first to set a pattern of selected trustees from the professions and business. The PEF established principles and precedents adopted by later foundations. It was a model and guidepost, influencing practically all subsequent philanthropic efforts in the South and the nation.

George Peabody College for Teachers

Peabody Normal College Origins. In 1875 the PEF trustees decided to make the normal school in Nashville a model for the South. The Nashville normal school began with University of Nashville Chancellor John Berrien Lindsley who, in the early 1870s, tried but failed to get Tennessee state support for a normal department at his university. Unable to get funds from the legislature and quick to see benefits from a PEF connection, he asked Peabody Fund trustees to help establish a normal school. Sears agreed and, by one account, said to Tennessee Governor James D. Porter in 1875:

> I have just returned from a visit to every capital in the South and have decided to establish the Peabody Normal College in Tennessee. I have reported to [my Trustees] that Nashville is the best place.... [We hope] to make it a great teachers college for the whole South and I want your active cooperation.

Governor Porter got the legislature that year to amend the University of Nashville's charter, substituting for its moribund literary department a normal school to which the Peabody Education Fund promised $6,000 annually. Sears expected state funding but the Tennessee legislature adjourned without such action. To save the project, Sears in May 1875 proposed that if the University of Nashville trustees donated buildings and grounds and an amount from its small endowment for a normal school, the Peabody Fund would give its promised $6,000 annually.

Normal College President Stearns. In September 1875 Eben S. Stearns became president of State Normal College. He was a New England educator of considerable stature whom Sears (when Sears was secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education) had appointed second president of West Newton Normal School, MA, the first U.S. normal school. Under Stearns, the State (later Peabody) Normal College opened December 1, 1875, with 13 young women students and a faculty of three, and ended the year with 60 students.

To Sears' dismay, the Tennessee legislature did not vote funds for State (i.e., Peabody) Normal College during 1875-77. In 1878 Sears looked into moving the Normal College teaching staff to Georgia or another southern state with guaranteed state support. Georgia's legislature passed a bill appropriating $6,000 annually for a Georgia State Normal School if the PEF would appropriate an equal amount annually. This proposed move to Georgia stirred action by Nashvillians, who pledged to pay $4,000 annually until Tennessee state aid took over. In 1881

the Tennessee legislature finally appropriated $10,000 annually.

The Peabody-funded Normal College's three-year course, after high school preparation, led to a diploma, the Licentiate of Instruction. In 1878 the Normal College added a fourth year and a bachelor's degree. PEF support from 1875 was largely through two-year competitive Peabody scholarships at $200 a year for exceptional young men and women from the southern states. These prestigious Peabody scholarships required that recipients continue their college studies for two years and teach at least two years in their state after finishing their studies. During 1875-1909, 3,751 such Peabody scholarships were awarded.

Presidents W.H. Payne and James D. Porter. President Stearns died in April 1887. After an uneasy interim, William Harold Payne became president in 1888. W. H. Payne was an educator of national distinction, having held the first U.S. professorship of education at the University of Michigan during 1879-88. In 1888, during W. H. Payne's administration (1888-1901), the Tennessee State Board of Education officially recognized George Peabody's contribution by confirming the name Peabody Normal College. W. H. Payne was succeeded by former Tennessee Governor James D. Porter, who served during 1901-09. Near the end of Porter's administration, the PEF endowed the renamed George Peabody College for Teachers with over one million dollars, contingent on matching gifts. President Porter raised matching money required by the PEF donation: $250,000 from the State of Tennessee, $200,000 from the City of Nashville, $100,000 from Davidson County, and $250,000 property from the University of Nashville.

Peabody College Lineage Since 1785. Thus, as part of the University of Nashville, Peabody College took its place in a distinguished academic lineage that is over 200 years old. That lineage began with Davidson Academy, chartered by the North Carolina legislature in 1785 when Nashville on the Cumberland River was only five years old and Tennessee was still part of North Carolina. Davidson Academy, 1785-1806, was rechartered as Cumberland College, 1806-26; rechartered as the University of Nashville, 1826-75; rechartered as State Normal College (aided by the PEF), 1875-1909 (renamed Peabody Normal College in 1889); rechartered as George Peabody College for Teachers on Hillsboro Road near Vanderbilt, 1909-79; and rechartered as George Peabody College for Teachers of Vanderbilt University on July 1, 1979. Peabody College always had both a teacher education focus and a liberal arts component, later adding programs in rural education, library science, art, music, physical education, special education, and educational field surveys.

Comparisons 1905. Peabody College, with this distinguished academic lineage, teacher education mission, and a seemingly bright financial future, was always private, had a small but strong faculty, and graduated a relatively small number of educators, some of whom achieved distinction. A 1905 comparison of the Peabody Normal College faculty with the faculty of 51 other U.S. normal schools showed that 21 percent of Peabody faculty had doctoral degrees compared to 11 percent in other normal schools; 67 percent of Peabody faculty had attended colleges outside the South (one-third of these at Harvard, Columbia, the Johns Hopkins, Chicago, and Cornell universities); and ten percent had studied at European universities.

Vanderbilt University, Nashville. The Vanderbilt-Peabody connection began with the

founding of those two independent institutions of higher education in Nashville, TN. Vanderbilt University was chartered on August 6, 1872, as the Central University of the Methodist Episcopal Church South. Southern Methodist leaders and especially Methodist Bishop Holland N. McTyeire worked diligently for its founding. In February 1873 Bishop McTyeire visited Commodore Cornelius Vanderbilt in New York City (their wives were intimately related). Vanderbilt had made his fortune in steamship lines (hence "Commodore") and then in railroads. They talked about the Civil War's devastating effect on the South. Vanderbilt said he would like to do something for the South. Bishop McTyeire told him of the difficulty in raising money for the new Southern Methodist university buildings in Nashville. Vanderbilt donated $500,000 on March 12, 1873, later raising the amount to $1 million. The institution was renamed Vanderbilt University on June 6, 1873, and buildings were started. Instruction began October 3, 1875, with a faculty of 26 professors, five of whom had been college presidents, and a student body of 307 young men, all but 18 from Tennessee and adjacent southern states.

Vanderbilt's Kirkland. Before 1900, Vanderbilt's second chancellor, James H. Kirkland, sought a Vanderbilt-Peabody affiliation similar to that of Teachers College at Columbia University, with Peabody Normal College moved from its three-mile distant University of Nashville location onto the Vanderbilt campus. Besides Peabody's financial assets as the PEF's promised legatee, Kirkland saw Peabody Normal College as part of Vanderbilt University, helping to make Nashville the leading university center of the South. Kirkland's two big battles were to make Vanderbilt independent of Methodist control, which occurred after a 1914 court case, and to merge Peabody with Vanderbilt, which occurred 40 years after his death.

Vanderbilt-Peabody Link Attempts. Kirkland's early plans for a Vanderbilt-Peabody connection included Daniel Coit Gilman, the Johns Hopkins University president. Gilman was then the South's most respected higher education leader and was also an influential PEF trustee. Kirkland in 1899 told his friend Gilman he hoped that when Gilman retired from the Johns Hopkins, he (Gilman) would become Peabody Normal College president and help form a Vanderbilt-Peabody affiliation. In a letter to Gilman in January 1900, Kirkland expressed the hope that a new Peabody College Board of Trustees would favor affiliation with Vanderbilt. Kirkland thought that merger would be advanced if Gilman spoke at Vanderbilt's twenty-fifth anniversary (1900) on the need for university development in the South. But Gilman could not accept the speaking invitation.

In January 1901, when Gilman was to retire as the Johns Hopkins president, Kirkland again urged Gilman to head Peabody Normal College and help make it a Vanderbilt University department. Both institutions would benefit, he reasoned, with Peabody becoming more influential in advancing the teaching profession in the South. Gilman approved Kirkland's plan but declined to head the new Peabody Normal College.

Having failed to get Peabody to affiliate with Vanderbilt (with Gilman as Peabody Normal College president), Kirkland wooed James D. Porter, Peabody Normal College president, a PEF trustee, and a former Tennessee governor during 1874-78. Porter wanted Peabody to remain in its south Nashville location. Anticipating the PEF's dissolution and its large final gift to Peabody Normal College, Porter secured legislation in 1903 transferring

University of Nashville assets to Peabody Normal College. A PEF committee during 1903-05 planned the Fund's closing and transfer of its assets to assure Peabody Normal College as the leading teachers' institution in the South. Present at the January 1905 final vote transferring PEF assets to Peabody Normal College were such influential Peabody Fund trustees as Theodore Roosevelt and J.P. Morgan.

Peabody Moves Next to Vanderbilt. To induce Peabody to move nearby, Kirkland had Vanderbilt land deeded as a site for the new George Peabody College for Teachers. Porter still resisted Peabody Normal College's physical move. Holding the trump money card, the Peabody Fund trustees voted on October 5, 1909, to transform Peabody Normal College (1875-1909) into George Peabody College for Teachers (1909-79). For reasons of academic cooperation and mutual strength, the trustees decided on Peabody's physical move to Hillsboro Road, next to but not on Vanderbilt land. Porter resigned as Peabody Normal College president August 4, 1909, and was compensated by a pension from the Carnegie Pension Fund. George Peabody College for Teachers maintained its independence and erected buildings during 1911-14 on its present Hillsboro location, across the road from but not on Vanderbilt land.

Peabody President B. R. Payne. Peabody's new president who supervised the move to Hillsboro Road was Bruce Ryburn Payne, president for 27 years during 1911-37. This North Carolina-born graduate of Trinity College (later Duke University) and Columbia University Teachers College had been professor at William and Mary College and the University of Virginia. Raising money for Peabody's new buildings, he modeled the new campus on Thomas Jefferson's architectural plan at the University of Virginia: a quadrangle of columned buildings (the "pillars of Peabody") and a green inner mall, dominated at the head of the campus by the Social-Religious Building with its prominent rotunda. George Peabody College for Teachers taught its first students on the new Hillsboro site in the summer session of 1914, with 1,108 students enrolled, 18 of them from Vanderbilt.

Payne-Kirkland Differences. Payne, like Kirkland, was a strong administrator with a vibrant personality. Their relationship, although formal and polite, was somewhat strained because Payne was determined to keep Peabody independent and yet cooperate with Vanderbilt in courses and students. Kirkland was disappointed at not having Peabody under Vanderbilt's tent and on its land. Payne's egalitarian concern for democratic education followed the democratic educational philosophy of his Columbia University mentor, John Dewey. Payne stood apart from Kirkland's classical elitism, staunch advocacy of law and order, and highly nuanced southern race and class distinctions. Payne raised $1.5 million to match the PEF final gift, temporarily making Peabody richer than Vanderbilt. Payne's plans for Peabody, however, were cut short with his death.

Through the years trivial irritations arose over differences in fees and the fact that Peabody had more women than men students. Peabody women students charged discrimination and a snobbish belittling of education courses by Vanderbilt liberal arts professors. (Vanderbilt faculty gladly taught for extra pay in Peabody's large summer school.) Still, there was a mutually beneficial exchange of students during the 1920s-50s, with more Peabodians taking Vanderbilt graduate courses than the other way round. Rightly or wrongly, Payne and the

Peabody faculty sensed that Vanderbilt wanted to separate its graduate courses from them and that Vanderbilt's academic Dean Walter L. Fleming (dean during 1923-29) and subsequent deans and some Vanderbilt faculty disdained Peabody's teacher education mission and belittled its academic standards.

Vanderbilt's Education Department Experiment. In 1926 Dean Fleming proposed to Kirkland that Vanderbilt establish its own Education Department. After some hesitation, Kirkland established a Vanderbilt Education Department in 1930 (causing some apprehension at Peabody), headed by Joseph K. Hart. He had taught at the University of Chicago and the University of Wisconsin, favored John Dewey's ideas, and was an accomplished textbook writer (*A Social Interpretation of Education*, 1929). Hart's liberalism led to student disturbances and ended his four-year Vanderbilt career (1930-34) with some bitterness and vague threats of a lawsuit. Chancellor Kirkland's retirement and President Payne's death, both in 1937, ended some 27 years of occasionally contentious but generally mutually beneficial Peabody-Vanderbilt cooperation.

Joint University Libraries (JUL) Cooperation. Research library needs during the administrations of Vanderbilt Chancellor Oliver C. Carmichael and Peabody President S.C. Garrison (during 1937-45) led to the establishment of the Joint University Libraries (JUL), opened in 1941 to serve Vanderbilt, Peabody, and Scarritt College for Christian Workers (founded in 1892 under Methodist control). In studying the library needs of the three cooperating institutions in 1935, A. Frederick Kuhlman, associate director of the University of Chicago Libraries and an American Library Association representative, noted and soon had eliminated 280 quarter hours of duplicated courses among the institutions. The JUL, directed by Kuhlman, and the large foundation financial aid and cooperation its operation required, helped clarify Peabody's and Vanderbilt's distinct missions: Peabody's focus on education, fine arts, practical arts, and summer school, and Vanderbilt's focus on undergraduate and graduate liberal arts and sciences. The JUL dedication on December 5-6, 1941 (renamed in 1984 the Jean and Alexander Heard Library), further aided mutually beneficial Peabody-Vanderbilt cooperation.

A Joint MAT Program. During 1952-55 Vanderbilt's Chancellor Harvie Branscomb and Peabody's President Henry H. Hill (1945-61) cooperated in a joint two-year Master of Arts in Teaching (MAT) program. Funded by the Ford Foundation, subject content courses were taught at Vanderbilt and education courses at Peabody. When Peabody declined to continue its part in the joint MAT program, Vanderbilt added to its own small teacher certification program a special Ph.D. program to improve college teaching, with professional courses taken at Peabody. When Vanderbilt added a full-time director of teacher education to supervise the certification of elementary teachers, Peabody again felt apprehensive. Vanderbilt's elementary school teachers took professional courses at Peabody, and Vanderbilt's secondary school teachers took student teaching and one teaching methods course at Peabody.

Nashville University Center Plan. A May 1962 study by educator John Dale Russell recommended a Nashville University Center, with a common school calendar, a foreign languages area, geographic studies area, performing arts, research and grants, a faculty club, a university press, intramural and intercollegiate sports, and music and drama clubs and

presentations. The plan, open to other Nashville institutions, stopped short of a Peabody-Vanderbilt merger but mentioned raising Peabody faculty salaries and reducing Peabody teaching loads to the Vanderbilt levels. Vanderbilt never fully embraced the plan, which was nursed along through the 1970s by a 1969 Ford Foundation grant. Peabody officials thought the plan seemed too much Vanderbilt-centered.

In retrospect, the 1962 Russell Plan was Peabody's last chance to affiliate with Vanderbilt from a position of strength. Vanderbilt's enrollment and financial status grew in the 1960s; Peabody's finances went into slow decline. Cooperation continued in the JUL, in academic courses, and in athletics and other programs. Peabody and Vanderbilt were neighboring educational institutions with mostly pleasant contacts and memories but with different histories and missions. Their faculty and student backgrounds, experiences, and attitudes were also different. Affluent Vanderbilt students, reflecting their parents' elitism and conservatism, were different from Peabody students' more prosaic, less cultured, egalitarian family backgrounds.

Economic Recession, 1970s. A national recession preceded Peabody-Vanderbilt merger, affecting higher education in the 1970s with rising energy and other costs and inflation. Enrollments declined, especially in colleges of education. Peabody lost 30 faculty members during 1970-72, found itself with unused facilities, and some of its Ph.D. programs faced loss of accreditation. By 1974, Peabody had reduced its programs in music and accounting; eliminated programs in business education, home economics, and modern languages; sold its Demonstration School; and cut its arts and science courses. Undergraduate enrollment dropped between 1972-76 from 1,200 to 800, and graduate enrollment shrunk to about 1,200. Stringent measures saved Peabody's plant and endowment, but these were now so threatened that a further weakened Peabody had little to offer in merger talks.

Peabody President Dunworth. Peabody's new president during 1974-79 was John Dunworth, a former dean of the School of Education at Ball State University, Muncie, IN. In August 1978 he persuaded Peabody trustees to begin unpublicized merger talks with Vanderbilt. He did not want to irritate already threatened Peabody faculty, students, and alumni. He preferred merger talks to reach resolution before Peabody interest groups organized resistance. Dunworth stood firm on a guaranteed survival of a strong Peabody College of Education. But he and others knew that Peabody professors outside the areas of education and human development would have to be let go. No longer an equal and somewhat of a supplicant, Dunworth held merger talks during September and December 1978 with Vanderbilt Chancellor Alexander Heard and Vanderbilt President Fields.

Early Merger Talks. To Vanderbilt officials in 1978, absorbing Peabody was less attractive than it had been during 1900-50. Still, Vanderbilt had a major stake in Peabody's survival. Vanderbilt needed Peabody's programs in education, physical education, accounting, music education, and some psychology areas. Vanderbilt needed to continue its cooperation with Peabody in Medical Center research, student counseling, student health, band, choir, joint athletic teams (Peabody athletes were essential to Vanderbilt's intercollegiate sports competition), equity in the Joint University libraries, and Vanderbilt also needed Peabody dormitory space for its students.

Vanderbilt's President Fields wanted Peabody's assets but not at the price of guaranteeing indefinite continuation of a full-fledged college of education. Fields' thoughts on merger included scaling Peabody down to something close to an educational policy study program or guaranteeing the existing college of education for eight years, after which Vanderbilt could convert Peabody to whatever purposes it wished. Merger costs would have to come from Peabody's endowment, Peabody's earnings would have to cover its own costs, and Peabody trustees would have to surrender Peabody's total assets.

Talk of Leaving Nashville. President Fields and Chancellor Heard told President Dunworth that merger talks would have to become public, with full disclosure of joint Vanderbilt-Peabody committee consultations and of deliberations of the two boards of trustees, faculties, and faculty senates. Faced with what seemed to him to be difficult terms, Dunworth interrupted negotiations with Vanderbilt in December 1978. A possible merger with a university outside Nashville was mentioned (Duke University, Durham, NC, and George Washington University, Washington, DC, were named). Not believing that Peabody trustees would consider a merger outside of Nashville, Vanderbilt's President Fields believed that a more compliant Peabody would soon renew its courtship.

Peabody-TSU Merger? A new factor then entered the picture. Under court order in 1977 the formerly largely Black Tennessee Agricultural and Industrial University in Nashville merged with the Nashville campus of the University of Tennessee, the latter mainly a night college for commuting students. The new Tennessee State University (TSU) had tried but failed to work out a doctoral program in education first with Memphis State University and then with George Peabody College for Teachers. In January 1979, TSU representatives joined some members of the Tennessee State Board of Regents (governing board of former state colleges) in talks on a possible Peabody-TSU merger. Nashvillians, who read the story in local newspapers on February 13, 1979, were surprised, believing that their long cooperation made a Vanderbilt-Peabody merger manifest destiny. Despite some racial concerns (the image of TSU was of a largely Black institution), a Peabody-TSU merger was more acceptable than having Peabody leave Nashville. A Peabody-TSU merger was also tolerable to those who wanted a lower cost (lower than Vanderbilt's high tuition cost) public university in Nashville. When the Tennessee State Board of Regents voted 11-1 for a Peabody-TSU connection on March 10, 1979, Vanderbilt trustees quickly reconsidered their position.

Vanderbilt-Peabody Merger Agreement. Peabody-TSU talks provoked decisive Peabody-Vanderbilt merger action. Vanderbilt leaders considered what a Peabody-TSU merger would mean: many Black students on the nearby Peabody campus and a state-owned Peabody having to give up its cooperative programs with a private Vanderbilt. A formal offer by Chancellor Heard and Trustee Board chairman Sam M. Fleming on March 17, 1979, was presented to the Peabody trustees on March 19. After six hours of debate, Vanderbilt's offer was accepted by the Peabody board. Vanderbilt agreed to allow a joint TSU-Peabody doctoral program in education. On April 27, 1979, Vanderbilt's and Peabody's trustees signed a "Memorandum of Understanding." George Peabody College for Teachers of Vanderbilt University (Vanderbilt's ninth school) became effective on July 1, 1979.

Merger Terms. Vanderbilt absorbed about $11 million of Peabody's endowment, retained over $9 million after merger expenses, and allotted $8.5 million of that $9 million for continued Peabody support. Peabody kept its responsibility in teacher education and teacher certification programs; kept its undergraduate degree programs in elementary education, early childhood education, and a master's program in library science; kept its Ed.D. program; offered the Ph.D. program through Vanderbilt's Graduate School; and kept its prestigious John F. Kennedy Center for Research on Education and Human Development. Peabody gave up its liberal arts component and ended its undergraduate degrees in physical sciences, social sciences, and human development (except educational psychology); and gave up its master's degree programs in art education and music education. These program changes went smoothly. But for Peabody faculty whose jobs were lost it was a time of uncertainty and sadnees, if not bitterness.

Peabody Positions Lost. Some Peabody faculty, especially those who lost their positions in a scarce job market, vigorously protested merger, voted "no confidence" in President Dunworth, and staged a symbolic march on the Peabody administration building. Reducing faculty and staff positions was difficult. Each of the 40 staff employees let go received a parting bonus of five percent of annual wage for each year of service, or up to 75 percent of their annual pay. Many found jobs at Vanderbilt. Non-tenured faculty received one year's pay plus $2,000 for relocation. Tenured faculty could either teach for a final year or receive severance pay of one year's salary and also collect a bonus of two percent for each year of service and one percent for each remaining year until retirement. For a few near retirement, this amounted to paid leave plus a sizable bonus. Vanderbilt helped find new or temporary positions for those whose jobs were lost.

In letters to Vanderbilt's Chancellor Heard and Peabody's President Dunworth, the national American Association of University Professors (AAUP), on appeal from the Peabody faculty, stressed affected faculty rights. While the Tennessee branch of AAUP condemned dismissals, the national AAUP took no action. In a show of solidarity, a small Vanderbilt faculty group urged Vanderbilt to retain all tenured Peabody faculty. By August 24, 1979, all Peabody tenured faculty had signed waivers (some were still bitter and jobless). By 1980, five of those had not found jobs. Two untenured faculty filed grievances; one initiated legal action but settled out of court.

Most Peabody faculty and staff, dedicated to Peabody's mission and proud of its history, were saddened by the necessity of merger. Their cooperation, quiet dignity, and good grace marked merger as their finest hour.

President Dunworth resigned on May 1, 1979 (with undisclosed severance pay), a necessary casualty of merger. Peabody psychology Professor Hardy C. Wilcoxon as acting dean smoothed the transition until the appointment of the new dean, Willis D. Hawley, in October 1980.

Vanderbilt Gain. Vanderbilt got 58 more acres, 16 major buildings, needed dormitory and apartment space, a president's home, and 1,800 added to its enrollment (over 9,000). As a gesture of good will, Vanderbilt committed $700,000 per year for 10 years to Peabody's operating budget. Someone called the merger the biggest real estate deal in Nashville's history

(Peabody campus property was valued at over $55 million). Peabody student tuition costs inevitably rose 10 percent.

Peabody College was bruised and hurt by the merger but survived (ten years after merger it was stronger academically than ever). Peabody might not have survived as a high-cost college of education, despite its reputation, in competition with lower cost and widely available public institutions. Peabody's own best graduates had become state university presidents, deans, leading teachers, researchers, and education writers. Peabody-trained educational leaders thus helped strengthen lower cost public university colleges of education which competed with Peabody, ironically contributing to Peabody's demise as an independent private teachers college.

Was Merger Necessary? Wise Peabodians and other educators of the late 1970s knew that the time was long past for the survival of a private independent single purpose teachers college like Peabody, despite its regional reputation and national influence. Most Peabodians from today's perspective see the 1979 merger as a necessary and positive step, leading in fact to more productive years for Peabody. But fairness requires mention of the belief that merger could have been avoided, that Peabody could have made it on its own. This is the theme of William Force's 1986 book, *A Short History of George Peabody College for Teachers, 1974-1979.* He was Vanderbilt's Vice Chancellor of Operations and Fiscal Management, 1966-70, and Peabody's Vice President, Director of Institutional Research, and Higher Education Professor, 1970-81.

Force Says No. Force felt that Peabody's independence of, yet nearness to and cooperation with Vanderbilt, along with years of open and covert merger talks, gave Peabody "a problem of identification that led to many in-house and external reevaluations of Peabody's mission, strengths, weaknesses, and needs. A prestigious three-member 1949 external committee found that two-thirds of Peabody's income came from its combined liberal arts and teacher education undergraduate school programs (enrolling over 1,200 from a 2,000 total enrollment). This finding justified the undergraduate school as Peabody's main financial support. Despite merger rumors and one prominent joint appointment with Vanderbilt (Nicholas Hobbs was a Peabody professor, 1951-70, with an overlap as Vanderbilt provost, 1967-75), Peabody trustees in 1969 affirmed Peabody's independence, stating that "cooperation with Vanderbilt was never meant and does not now mean any merger."

Peabody Difficulties. Following three years of deficits, 1968-70, President John Claunch appointed two new vice presidents, May 1970, to balance the budget, which was accomplished in 1972: expenditures, $9,715,034; income, $10,157,919. Knowing that President Claunch was near retirement and wanting to limit speculation about selecting a new president, the Peabody trustees in May 1972 used a "Long Range Planning Committee" as a smoke screen for a presidential search committee. It was announced on August 8, 1973, that President Claunch was retiring and that Peabody's new president on January 1, 1974, would be John Dunworth. The faculty was disappointed at not being involved in the president's selection, but cooperated and applauded President Dunworth's promise of substantial raises.

The path to Peabody-Vanderbilt merger began, wrote Force, when Dunworth replaced the two administrators who had carried out the 1970-74 financial belt tightening. Changing Peabody's Bylaws, Force also believed, limited trustee-faculty interaction; distanced the trustees

from faculty, staff, and student opinion; narrowed trustees' view of Peabody affairs; and adversely affected campus morale.

***Design* Recommendations.** Peabody's collapse or merger became inevitable, Force wrote, by the loss of undergraduate enrollment (and attendant financial support), which he attributed to the trustees' implementation of a 1974 report, *Design for the Future: A Report from the Select Committee on Peabody's Second Century to President John Dunworth and the Board of Trustees. Design* was written by three-members during the spring and summer of 1974, with too little faculty discussion, thought Force (with ample interaction, recalled the authors). The authors recall that President Dunworth was unwilling for the report to be reviewed or revised by any interest group before the trustees considered it. On August 29, 1974, the trustees approved the report by voice vote with one dissent. Force saw this affirmative trustee vote as a noncritical vote of confidence in the new president, and not how well they understood the report's full implications.

One of *Design*'s 107 recommendations called for the elimination of vice presidencies for academic and administrative affairs and their replacement by four key administrative officers reporting to the president. The academic vice president took sabbatical leave followed by retirement before *Design*'s approval by the trustees. Vice President for Administrative Affairs William Force's title was retired by trustee approval of *Design*, with his responsibilities reorganized in a new office of Executive Dean for Administrative Affairs.

Non Teaching Degree Programs Eliminated. Peabody's difficulties and forced merger, Force believed, came from implementing two recommendations in *Design*: eliminating non teaching degrees: Bachelor of Arts, Bachelor of Music, Master of Arts, and Doctor of Musical Arts; and requiring a "professional" or methods component in all courses. This recommendation, Force wrote, reduced academic content time when the national trend was to strengthen academic courses. Implementing *Design*, Force believed, caused 36 faculty members either to leave for other jobs or be dismissed. Before the July 1, 1979, merger, another 38 full-time and three part-time faculty left or were let go, 23 of them with tenure. The Art Department, without its Bachelor of Arts degree, Force wrote, was unable to attract qualified students and closed at the end of 1976. Force attributed the undergraduate enrollment decline (from 850 to 649 during 1976-79) to implementation of *Design* and failure to publish a 1975-76 catalogue. He also attributed to *Design* the spending of $600,000 for each of three years from Peabody College's endowment and the loss of income from that total of $1.8 million.

Force's Interpretation Challenged. Critics of Force's interpretation defend the *Design*'s three authors as dedicated lifetime career Peabody faculty whose recommendations were in Peabody's best interest. They cite the following errors in Force's interpretation of events: Under the *Design*, all academic programs (not courses) were to have a professional education orientation. Existing Doctor of Philosophy degree programs and new ones in education-related fields were encouraged. Trustees' approval of $600,000 per year withdrawal from Peabody's endowment for program development preceded *Design* and was not a consequence of its adoption. The Art Department was not terminated in 1976 but continued until it was eliminated as one of Vanderbilt's preconditions for merger. It was Vanderbilt's precondition for merger, not

the *Design*, which led to the loss of 38 faculty positions in 1979, including the 23 tenured professors. Reduction in undergraduate enrollment cited by Force was predicted in *Design.* But (not mentioned by Force) this undergraduate reduction was offset by a much greater increase in the number of graduate students and graduate student credit hours in the kinds of campus professional programs called for in the *Design.*

Why Vanderbilt Acquiesced. At the merger signing, April 27, 1979, Vanderbilt Chancellor Heard painted the bigger picture of advantages to both institutions in merger. He said (in effect): after seven decades of cooperation Vanderbilt and Peabody need each other. Vanderbilt is in the business of higher education and the precollege schooling of its entering students needs improvement. We live in a knowledge-based and science-and-technology-determined society and world. Because Peabody College has the expertise to prepare better teachers, who in turn prepare better entering students, Vanderbilt needs Peabody. And Peabody needs Vanderbilt's strong university base. The risk we take in working together is worth taking because of the success we can achieve together.

Sharpening Peabody's Focus. Acting Dean Hardy C. Wilcoxon, under whom Peabody College began its first year and a half as Vanderbilt's ninth school, 1979-80, pointed to Peabody's need to "sharpen its focus as a professional school." A Peabody faculty member since 1966, Wilcoxon had degrees from the University of Arkansas (B.A., 1947, and M.A., 1948) and Yale University (Ph. D., 1951). He and others knew that Peabody, like all Vanderbilt schools, had to pay its own way from its students' tuition, research grants, and fundraising, as well as pay for university plant operation and personnel, and other services.

Peabody's Dean Hawley. Willis D. Hawley, named Peabody College dean October 15, 1980, came to Vanderbilt in August 1980 to teach political science and to direct the Center for Education and Human Development at Vanderbilt's interdisciplinary Institute for Public Policy. A San Francisco native, he earned the B.A., M.A., and Ph. D. degrees in political science from the University of California, Berkeley, where he also earned his teaching credentials. At Yale University, 1969-72, he taught political science and also co-directed Yale's training of secondary school teachers. He taught political science at Duke University, 1972-80, where he was also director of its Center for Education Policy. During 1977-78 he was on leave from Duke to help plan the cabinet-level U.S. Department of Education under President Jimmy Carter.

Hawley had a clear view of U.S. education needs and school reform demands which blossomed in the 1980s (*Nation at Risk,* 1983, and others). He and the faculty began to sharpen Peabody's professional focus and educational priorities. By the 1983-84 school year Peabody College had upgraded its undergraduate and graduate programs, added new faculty, acquainted them with the new educational technology (Ed Tech; i.e., computers and telecommunications applied to learning), and moved the college into national leadership in using Ed Tech to improve public school learning. Hawley put Peabody's scattered Ed Tech components under a Learning Technology Center to enhance research, secure grant projects, and apply findings to improve public schools.

Hawley wrote in 1986 that "Peabody, more than any other school of education and human development, [is] national in scope and influence." He cited Peabody as "America's

School of Education" because "we are arguably better than anyone else at linking knowledge to practice." After a 1987 self study on Peabody's mission, Hawley wrote that "Peabody's central mission is to enhance the social and cognitive development of children and youth," focusing on the handicapped, and to transfer that knowledge into action through policy analysis, product development, and the design of practical models.

Library School Closed. Besides program revision, the 1987 self-study led Peabody to close its 60-year-old Department of Library and Information Science. Hawley explained that the library school had been understaffed, that enrollment had not grown, that the school librarian's task was evolving into a computer-based facilitator of learning, and that to meet American Library Association would mean adding faculty. A two-day celebration in May 1987 honored Peabody's Library School leaders and alumni.

Ten Years Since Merger. Stepping down as dean in 1989, Hawley reflected on Peabody's ten years as Vanderbilt's ninth school. There was anxiety then and optimism now, he said. To make Peabody the best U.S. school of education and human development, he added, we improved two-thirds of the programs, collaborated with Fisk University on increasing the numbers of minority teachers, added new faculty, and increased Peabody's capacity to serve and influence educational policymakers and practitioners. We established the Center for Advanced Study of Educational Leadership, the Corporate Learning Center, the Learning Technology Center, and strengthened and broadened the mission of the John F. Kennedy Center for Research on Education and Human Development. We increased student aid and have seen external research and development funding grow at an annual rate of 20 percent. In education technology research and learning, he said, "we can claim to be the best in the country."

Progress Since Merger. After a leave of absence and return to other Vanderbilt duties, Hawley became education dean at the University of Maryland on July 1, 1993. Some key achievements at Peabody through the 1980s decade under Hawley's deanship follow:

Educational Leadership: The U.S. Department of Education awarded (1989) Peabody College and Harvard University a joint 5-year $2.5 million grant to study effective leadership in K-12 (kindergarten through grade 12) school systems. The grant funded a National Center for Educational Leadership, housed at both Peabody and at Harvard to study the leadership styles of school principals and school superintendents.

Middle School Ed Tech: Apple Computer donated (also in 1989) ten computers, with equipment and software matched by Peabody College, to improve math, science, and language arts teaching in a Nashville middle school. Besides better middle school learning, multimedia presentations showed prospective teachers how to apply Ed Tech in the classroom. Peabody College is one of a six-member Southeast research university consortium testing and evaluating new Ed Tech programs in teaching and learning.

Ed Tech and Handicapped Children: Peabody College received (again, in 1989) a four-year $80,000 grant for 20 educators to develop and evaluate computer-based instruction to improve learning by children with disabilities. The 20 teachers so trained, in turn, were resource educators for other teacher education institutions, thus stimulating ongoing programs. "We're on the forefront of computer-based instruction," Peabody's special education professor in charge of

the research said, "and one of the leading institutions on technology as applied to teaching children with disabilities."

Learning Math with Jasper: Peabody's Learning Technology Center developed (since 1987-88) a multimedia videodisk series of "Jasper" stories for middle school math learning. In the first 15-minute story, middle school student Jasper Woodbury buys a motorboat and must figure out whether or not he can take the boat home by sunset without running out of fuel. Using facts in the story, middle school students apply practical mathematics to solve the problem. The story also has "hooks" that introduce related subjects, as when Jasper buys the boat and the question of fuel source arises. A discussion about geography and natural resources follows. Children using Jasper stories were found to be better able to solve complex math problems than were children solving similar word-described-problems. Math is made more interesting to teach and to learn, along with related subjects. The Jasper video story project soon involved eleven schools in nine states.

Best Counselor & Guidance Program. For three consecutive years, Peabody College was named as having the "top choice" program to prepare guidance counselors. The judges (618 high school guidance counselors) most often named Peabody College as having the best program for undergraduates from among 650 quality four-year colleges, public and independent, listed in *Rugg's Recommendations on the Colleges* for 1990, 1991, and 1992

Peabody's Dean Pellegrino. Peabody's new dean, James Pellegrino (since January 1, 1992), was acting dean at the University of California, Santa Barbara, before joining Vanderbilt as holder of the Frank M. Mayborn Chair of Cognitive Studies. To keep Peabody on the cutting edge of educational research, he said, more research space was needed, along with continued cooperative Ed Tech research, such as the Jasper video story project. "I inherited a financially stable and intellectually robust institution," he said in the fall of 1992 (enrollment was over 1,500 [870 undergraduate, some 630 graduate students]). His goals were to so undergird Peabody's instructional programs with innovative technology that they will be "uniquely superior" and set a standard for other universities.

Peabody, Dean Pellegrino said, was developing a college-wide blueprint to improve learning in American schools. That blueprint included continued collaboration with school leaders and teachers in Nashville and elsewhere, focusing on Peabody College-developed innovative educational technology. Besides Peabody's September 1992 collaboration with Nashville schools (one of Peabody's 35 projects with Nashville schools), Peabody also joined the U.S. Education Department-sponsored alliance to promote the six national education goals.

S-R Building: Tech Ed and Administration Center. During 1993-95 Peabody renovated and expanded by 50,000 feet its historic Social-Religious Building at a cost of $14.5 million to make it the center for Ed Tech research and development. The focus is on developing the creative use in education of computers, interactive video and audio, fiber optics, and satellite systems. The Social-Religious Building, retaining the main auditorium, also houses Peabody College central administrative offices, the Department of Teaching and Learning, and the Learning Technology Center. It has capabilities for multimedia presentations, productions, and conference facilities, and also have a visitor's center.

Thus, since 1979, under deans Hawley and Pellegrino, Peabody College has advanced its small but excellent teacher education and other programs, especially Ed Tech; has been financially stable, has refurbished its physical plant, and has continued to enhance its national reputation. Peabody's catalogue states that among its 29,000 living alumni are more than 30 presidents of colleges and universities, superintendents in 175 school systems, and well prepared teachers in many U.S. and overseas classrooms. Since 1867, the PEF began and Peabody College continues to serve education and human development in the South and the nation.

Peabody Institute of Baltimore

George Peabody in Baltimore. Baltimore was George Peabody's commercial base and residence during 1815-37, or for 22 of his 74 years. After he established his first Peabody Institute (library and lecture hall and fund) in his hometown of Danvers, MA (renamed Peabody, MA, 1868) in 1852, he asked Baltimore friends visiting London to help him to establish a Peabody Institute for Baltimore. His total gift of $1.4 million made possible the Peabody Institute of Baltimore. His February 12, 1857, founding letter was drafted by trustee and friend John Pendleton Kennedy, a many talented novelist, statesman, and U.S. Navy Secretary (Samuel F.B. Morse demonstrated his telegraph and Commodore Matthew Perry opened trade with Japan under Navy Secretary Kennedy). Kennedy shaped Peabody's philanthropic intent into a four-part research and reference library, art gallery, academy (later conservatory) of music, and scholarly lecture series.

Baltimore in 1857. When the Peabody Institute was founded in 1857, Baltimore, with over 200,000 population, was a thriving port city and a commercial, industrial, and shipbuilding center. Baltimore did have a little used Mercantile Library and a struggling member-only Library Company of Maryland founded in 1797 (which the Maryland Historical Society trustees sponsored; some of its books were later transferred to the Peabody Institute Library of Baltimore). But, compared with culturally superior New York City, Boston, and Philadelphia, Baltimoreans thought of their city as a cultural wasteland, the only major U.S. city without a noteworthy university, art gallery, music school, or public library. To meet Baltimore's cultural need, to repay Baltimore for his 22 years of commercial success there, and in line with his 1852 sentiment accompanying his first check for his first institute, "Education--a debt due from present to future generations," Peabody founded and Kennedy and other trustees shaped the four-part Peabody Institute of Baltimore. The Peabody Institute, opened October 25, 1866, in fashionable Mount Vernon Place, near the Washington Monument (built by Robert Mills, who later designed the Washington Monument in the District of Columbia), was an early cultural center, similar to the later New York City's Lincoln Center and Washington, DC's Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts. The Peabody Institute building was designed in a grand new Renaissance style by Edmund G. Lind, a young British-born architect practicing in Baltimore.

First Librarian J. G. Morris. Local Lutheran minister John G. Morris was the first Peabody Institute director and librarian during 1860-67. A later scholar in several fields, he was pastor of Baltimore's First English Lutheran Church, 1827-60. His 1896 *Life and Reminiscences of an Old Lutheran Minister* recalled that George Peabody had listed him with others for a vacancy among the trustees. He was elected a trustee in 1858. In 1860 the Institute was

inactive, the building not finished, no books had been bought, but the trustees wanted a librarian. He was chosen June 1, 1860, from four candidates and began work August 1, 1860. He corresponded with European and American book dealers, went to Boston and New York to purchase books and to study libraries and their management, and compiled a first want list of 50,000 books, printed in 1861, and a second want list, printed in 1863. While the Civil War delayed construction of the Peabody Institute building, Morris, aided by library committees, located and bought over 50,000 of the world's best reference and research books, overflowing the Peabody Institute Library's original quarters. When his contracted period ended in 1867, he became pastor of Baltimore's Third Lutheran Church and spoke and wrote on religious and scientific subjects.

Peabody Institute Provost N. H. Morison. Nathaniel Holmes Morison was the Peabody Institute's first provost (and second librarian, succeeding J. G. Morris) during 1867-90, or for 23 years. Morison was born in Petersborough, NH, and worked his way through both Phillips Academy, Exeter, MA, and Harvard College (1839). He came to Baltimore to teach at a private day school for girls (1839-41), established his own Morison School for Girls in Baltimore (1841-67), and from that position became Peabody Institute provost.

Provost Morison's descendant, Harvard historian Samuel Eliot Morison (wrote *Admiral of the Ocean Sea,* 1942, about Christopher Columbus), gave the 1957 Peabody Institute of Baltimore centennial address. He described Provost Morison as Baltimore's outstanding intellectual until around 1880 when the Johns Hopkins University and its President Daniel C. Gilman began to overshadow the Peabody Institute and its Provost N. H. Morison.

Peabody Institute Lectures. Before Provost Morison's appointment in 1867, the Peabody Lecture Series began with a talk in 1866 by Joseph Henry of the Smithsonian Institution. Provost Morison scoured the U.S. and England for outstanding lecturers in the arts, sciences, and literature, often introducing them himself. James Russell Lowell lectured in 1871-72 on Edmund Spenser and John Milton. Ralph Waldo Emerson lectured in 1872, with poet Walt Whitman and naturalist John Burroughs in the audience. Noting poor attendance at similar Institute lectures in other cities when there was no entry fee, Provost Morison made a modest charge which helped improve lecture attendance in Baltimore. Lectures were suspended during 1899-1906 because of lessened public demand, restored in 1907 when U.S. Naval Commander Robert Edwin Peary's spoke on his North Pole explorations, discontinued during 1915-69, and revived in 1969 under Peabody Institute President (and Conservatory Director) Richard Franko Goldman.

Librarian P. R. Uhler. Philip Reese Uhler, first employed by librarian J. G. Morris and Morison's assistant librarian, succeeded Morison as the Peabody's third librarian during 1890-1913, or for 13 years. He was an entomologist who had worked with Harvard University scientist Louis Agassiz. A critical need for space in 1875 led to a spectacular new library building, also designed by Edmund G. Lind, and built on the east side of the original structure. The new building, opened on September 30, 1878, was so expertly joined to the old that the two appear as one structure.

Impressive Library Building. Visitors and scholarly users from around the world are

struck by the six tiers of book stacks which soar 56 feet to a skylit ceiling The book stacks are supported by pillars and cast iron gilt-covered railings. The impressive interior of five decorated balconies of books framing the large oblong interior reading room with study desks has been called a "Cathedral of Books." Architects, scholars, and general visitors are still struck by the library's architecture, unique collection, and extensive book catalogues. Library school students and others came to inspect the collection, observe library operations, and view the spectacular interior. They came from New York State Library, Columbia University Library School, Drexel Institute (Philadelphia) Library School and elsewhere. Chicago's Newberry Library is said to be modeled in part on the Peabody Library of Baltimore. The Johns Hopkins art historian Phoebe B. Stanton believed architect Lind modeled the exterior and interior after London gentlemen's clubs, such as the Reform Club, for scholarly contemplation amid classical grandeur. The Peabody Library building, interior, and unique collection remain one of America's most noted and written about research and reference libraries.

Historian S. E. Morison's 1957 centennial address praised his ancestor Provost N. H. Morison's valuable book purchases that helped make the Peabody Library unique. At the turn of the century its collection was exceeded in quality only by the Harvard Library and the Library of Congress. For some years the Peabody Library holdings in ancient history and literature surpassed even those of the Library of Congress. With pride, Peabody librarians filled interlibrary loan requests from the Library of Congress.

Peabody Library Book Catalogues. Book catalogues were used before card catalogues. Using the book catalogues of the New York Astor Library and the British Museum Library as models, Morison, Uhler, and some assistants spent 14 years (1869-1882) completing the first five-volume *Catalogue of the Library of the Peabody Institute of the City of Baltimore,* 1883-93, listing some 100,000 volumes by author, title, and with many cross referenced content articles. A second catalogue of eight volumes listing additional books appeared in 1905.

Provost Morison justified the value and uniqueness of the research and reference library as follows in an annual report:

> Education always proceeds from the above downward, from the best to the common minds, from the leaders of the people to the people themselves. Furnish...the foundations of intelligence and thought, and they will...stimulate and improve the whole community.

Influence on Enoch Pratt Free Library. Yet, Morison also cared about mass public reading needs. He had an ally in Baltimore merchant Enoch Pratt, a Peabody Institute trustee and treasurer, intimately involved in day by day Peabody Library activities. Aware of the need and encouraged by Morison, he endowed the Enoch Pratt Free [public] Library. Morison helped him design the building and select the books. Baltimoreans eagerly welcomed the Enoch Pratt Free Library's opening in 1886, located near the Peabody Institute. By then the Johns Hopkins University had been open for ten years (opened in 1876). The Peabody Library was destined to be part of the Enoch Pratt Free Library during 1966-82. The Peabody Conservatory of Music and the Peabody Library became part of the Johns Hopkins University from 1982.

Peabody Conservatory of Music. The Peabody Conservatory of Music (Academy to

1874) was the first founded in the U.S (1857) but the fourth to offer instruction (1868), after the Conservatory at Oberlin College, Ohio, in 1865; and the Conservatory of New England (Boston), and the Cincinnati Conservatory, both in 1867. European music conservatories emphasized superior virtuoso performance, had church origins, and received state support. Private U.S. music conservatories had to meet mass musical tastes and needs to attract financial support. For accreditation, they had to add their own liberal arts courses or affiliate with a liberal arts college or university. The Peabody Conservatory of Music went through these stages in adapting to changing American needs.

The opening of the Peabody Academy of Music was delayed first by the financial panic of 1859, the year the Peabody Institute building foundation was laid at Mount Vernon Place; delayed by the Civil War after the two-story building was completed in September 1861; and further delayed after the Peabody Institute dedication on October 25, 1866, when George Peabody smoothed jurisdiction conflict between the Maryland Historical Society and the Peabody trustees.

The Library on the second floor opened in 1860. Lectures began in 1866 with a talk by Joseph Henry of the Smithsonian Institution. Provost N. H. Morison was appointed on April 4, 1867. To start the Academy of Music, the trustees turned to Marylander James Monroe Deems, former University of Virginia professor, 1849-58; a Civil War hero and general; and a European-trained musician. He organized 12 concerts in 1866 and 11 in 1867 and hired local musicians, performers, and soloists plus Boston musician Lucien H. Southard. Southard gave three lectures on the history of music in February 1867. After a long search, the trustees appointed Southard as the Peabody Academy of Music director, during 1867-71, or for four years, at the Academy's first quarters at 34 Mulberry Street. Musical instruction began in October 1868.

Southard had studied music at Lowell Mason's Boston Academy and Trinity College, CT. He had been a composer and organist in Boston, Richmond, and Hartford before his Baltimore appointment. He started the Peabody Academy concerts and the Peabody Chorus singers. His short four-year tenure was attributed to alleged criticism by musical community cliques who disliked his northern background and criticized his inability to win community support. His importance in the Peabody Academy of Music's first years was overshadowed by the long tenure and accomplishments of his Copenhagen-born successor, Asger Hamerik. Peabody Institute records number music directors from Hamerik's time.

Conservatory Director A. Hamerik. Hamerik's appointment came after Peabody trustee Charles J. M. Eaton asked the help of American consul Fehrman in Vienna, Austria. Consul Fehrman's advertisement in a European music journal brought letters of interest from Hamerik and others. Despite unease about Hamerik's limited English and shyness, he was appointed as the Peabody Academy of Music's first director from July 11, 1871, until 1898, or for 27 years. He came from a musical family on his mother's side and had studied and performed under various music masters in London and Berlin (1862-64), Paris (1864, where he was French composer Hector Berlioz's only pupil), Stockholm, Milan, and Vienna.

Hamerik won Baltimore citizens' respect and support by his musical professionalism, persistence, zeal, and by playing American composers' works on concert programs. He

overcame parents' reluctance for their children to study music as a profession. He raised the admission requirements, reorganized the curriculum, specified graduation requirements, purchased instrumental equipment, strengthened the music library, and added European-trained faculty. He revived the Peabody Chorus and established a student orchestra. Baltimoreans, feeling keenly their second class status to New York City's musical culture, valued the musical prestige Hamerik brought them.

Sidney Lanier. In 1873 Hamerik hired poet-musician Sidney Lanier as first flutist in the Peabody Symphony Orchestra. Lanier, then a 31-year-old law clerk, had left Macon, GA, to seek a music career in New York City. He stopped in Baltimore to visit his flutist friend Henry Wysham, through whom he met Asger Hamerik. Impressed when Lanier played his own flute compositions, Hamerik hired Lanier as first flutist. Better remembered as a fine Southern poet, Lanier lived in Baltimore near the Peabody Institute for eight years, lectured in English literature at the Johns Hopkins University (1879), and died in 1881 at age 39 of tuberculosis contracted when he was a Civil War prisoner.

In 1874 the Peabody Institute building was enlarged to include the site occupied by the Academy of Music; a third floor was added, and the name was changed to the Peabody Conservatory of Music. Also, during Hamerik's tenure, Robert Garrett (John Work Garrett's son) commissioned sculptor W.W. Story to duplicate his bronze seated George Peabody statue in Threadneedle Street, near the London stock exchange. The replica was placed in front of the Peabody Institute of Baltimore.

On February 22, 1876, under Provost Morison, with Hamerik conducting the Peabody Orchestra, the Peabody Institute hosted in its first music building Daniel C. Gilman's inauguration as first president of the Johns Hopkins University.

George Peabody and Johns Hopkins. When Baltimore merchant Johns Hopkins made known his intent to establish a philanthropic gift, Baltimore and Ohio Railroad president John Work Garrett brought Johns Hopkins and George Peabody together in his (Garrett's) home during George Peabody's 1866-67 U.S. visit. Hopkins asked Peabody how and why he began his philanthropy. Within 48 hours of that meeting, Johns Hopkins drafted his will establishing the university, medical school, and hospital. Both the Peabody Institute and the Johns Hopkins University were conceived as distinctive cultural institutions, the Peabody Institute as a unique cultural center; and the Johns Hopkins University, 18 years later, as the first U.S. graduate university organized like German universities to discover new knowledge by library and laboratory research, the results to be disseminated in seminars and publications.

The Johns Hopkins University was deliberately sited four blocks from the Peabody Institute so that faculty and students could use the Peabody Library's rich resources. Good relations continued after the Johns Hopkins University moved in 1916 three miles north to its Homewood campus. University library materials, particularly serial publications, deliberately complement rather than duplicate the Peabody Library collection to this day. The Johns Hopkins scholars long used the relatively close Peabody Library rather than the more distant Library of Congress, knowing that for years and in some fields the Peabody Library collections were superior. Well known researchers and the books they wrote using Peabody Library works

include Johns Hopkins University historian Herbert Baxter Adams, a founder of modern U.S. historiography, and his students; poet Sidney Lanier; Baltimore *Sun* journalist H. L. Mencken (*The American Language,* 1919); Democratic presidential candidate William Jennings Bryan; Professor (later President) Woodrow Wilson (*Congressional Government,* 1901); and novelist John Dos Passos (*Three Men Who Made the Nation,* 1957).

Hamerik organized an Alumni Association, which sponsored a piano scholarship. He enhanced the Peabody Conservatory's prestige by attracting such eminent world musicians to visit and perform as Russian-born composer Anton Rubinstein; German-born pianist, conductor, and educator Hans von Bülow during December-January 1875-1876; British popular composer Arthur Sullivan of Gilbert and Sullivan fame in late December 1879; and Russian composer Peter Illytch Tschaikowsky in spring, 1891. Hamerik's former teacher, Hans von Bülow, wrote in a London paper that "Baltimore was the only place in America where I had proper support."

To avoid interruption, Hamerik worked in a difficult-to-reach windowless and gas-lit room atop a winding metal stairway. A bachelor when he came to Baltimore, he married one of his students from Tennessee. They had four children. In 1890 Hamerik received a knighthood from the king of Denmark. Having often said that an American should direct the Conservatory of Music, Hamerik retired after 27 years. With his leaving, the Peabody Conservatory of Music had completed 30 years of service to Baltimore (1868-98).

Conservatory Director Harold Randolph. The trustees chose Harold Randolph as second Conservatory of Music director during 1898-1927, or for 29 years. He had his entire musical training at the Peabody and was a faculty member when appointed. In his first year (1898) Randolph persuaded the trustees to make May Garrettson Evans' Preparatory School part of the Peabody Conservatory. Baltimore-born Evans spent her childhood in Georgetown, DC. She returned to Baltimore at age 13 to attend the Misses Hall's School. While she attended the Peabody Conservatory of Music her brother, a *Sun* reporter, occasionally asked her to review musical programs. This experience led her to become the *Sun*'s first woman reporter (between ages 20-27), covering dramatic, musical, and general events.

Preparatory Department. Mary Garrettson Evans saw that a preparatory music school for talented children would be a feeder to the Peabody Conservatory of Music and also serve as a general music school for adults. She suggested such a school to then director Asger Hamerik, who recommended it to the trustees, but no action was taken. In October 1894 at age 28 she started a preparatory school herself, helped by her sister Marian and taught mostly by Conservatory of Music students and staff. The school flourished, was first called the Peabody Graduates Preparatory and High School of Music, and four years later (1898) it became the Conservatory's Preparatory Department (called familiarly "the Prep"). Evans was superintendent of the Preparatory Department for over 30 years. She saw its enrollment grow from some 300 students to over 3,200 students in branches around Baltimore. Besides being a music school for talented children, the Preparatory Department reached into the community to serve public schools and adults interested in music, dance, and dramatic speech. It was also a laboratory school for Conservatory students pursuing the teacher's certificate. Before Evans retired in 1930, a gift from James Wilson Leakin enabled the Preparatory Department to move into its own

modern music building, Leakin Hall (1927).

Harold Randolph introduced formal training programs to prepare music teachers and music supervisors, using Baltimore city schools for student teaching. He broadened the educational program, introduced private lessons in place of class lessons, and further Americanized European elements of the Conservatory. He introduced a Research Department, the first in a private music school; worked with the Johns Hopkins University to introduce music courses in the first summer session in 1912; and began a Concert Bureau during 1910-14, enabling Peabody Conservatory faculty artists to perform in nearby communities. To perform in Peabody's famed Friday Afternoon Recitals, Randolph invited such famed musicians as Fritz Kreisler, Pablo Casals, and Wanda Landowska. He started a Placement Bureau in 1914 to place Peabody-trained musicians in school and college positions. A joint Peabody-Johns Hopkins University Bachelor of Music program was begun in 1916. Student enrollment rose from 296 students in 1898 to 765 when Randolph died on July 6, 1927.

John Parker was the fourth Peabody librarian during 1913-27, or for 14 years; followed by Louis H. Dielman, the fifth Peabody librarian during 1926-42, or for 16 years. Well-known because of his long career as librarian and historian, Dielman was born in New Windsor, MD, then famous for its mineral springs, where his father managed the local Dielman Inn. Dielman was card cataloguer for the Maryland State Library, 1900-04; assistant librarian at the Enoch Pratt Free Library, 1904-11; and became a Peabody librarian in 1911. After leaving the Peabody Library, Dielman was on the staff of the Maryland Historical Society, was the second editor of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 1910-38, and compiled biographical reference cards on some 100,000 prominent Marylanders for the Maryland Historical Society. He retired to New Windsor, a much admired local historian whom the townspeople familiarly called "Mr. Lou."

Peabody Art Gallery. Although the Maryland Historical Society sponsored fine art exhibits during 1846-1909, the Peabody Institute Gallery of Art is said to have been Baltimore's first and the U.S.'s third art gallery. It began in 1873, when trustee John M. McCoy donated *Clytie*, a life-size marble statue of a woman sculptured in classical Greco-Roman style by Maryland sculptor William Henry Rinehart. Delighted, Provost Nathaniel Morison exhibited *Clytie* with two other marble figures, *Venus of the Shell* (marble copy of the Vatican's crouching Venus) and Joseph Mozor's *Pocahontas*, the last presented by trustee George S. Brown. These three works drew between 20 and 100 visitors a day. During March 4-April 5, 1879, the art gallery held a loan exhibition of paintings and sculpture, with average attendance of 280 by day and 246 by evening.

An exhibition in 1881 of casts of antiques, bas-relief, and statuary, which trustee John Work Garrett bought for the Peabody Gallery in London and Paris, also included a half-size bronze copy made by Ferdinand Barbedienne of the Ghiberti gates in the Baptistry of St. John in Florence. The catalogue of this popular exhibition went into three printings. Besides being Baltimore's first art museum, the Peabody Gallery of Art was something of an art school, since art students could by permission copy its works.

In 1884, while h[illegible]ivate gallery was being prepared, John Work Garrett lent the Peabody Gallery 52 paintings he owned for a showing that attracted 13,464 visitors. In 1885, T.

Harrison Garrett exhibited his collection of Rembrandt's etchings at the Peabody Gallery. In 1893 the Peabody Gallery received trustee Charles James Madison Eaton's art collection of 81 paintings, 62 watercolors, drawings, portrait miniatures, porcelain, and bronzes by Christophe Fratin. Eaton's nieces also presented to the Peabody Gallery the considerable art collection of Baltimore merchant Robert Gilmore, Jr., which their uncle had purchased to prevent its sale to buyers outside of Baltimore. In 1908, trustee John W. McCoy (whose gift of *Clytie* in 1873 started the Peabody Gallery of Art) gave the Peabody Gallery his art collection, which included other sculpture by Maryland sculptor William Henry Rinehart, along with paintings by Thomas Hovenden and Hugh Bolton Jones. In 1911, the Peabody Gallery received the art collection of Baltimore stock broker George Carter Irwin, which included works by Scacciati, Casmicache, Sirani, Volkmar, and Bonheur. Irwin's sisters established an Irwin Fund used by the Peabody Gallery to purchase paintings by such distinguished American artists as Winslow Homer, George Innes, Childe Hassam, and Jonas Lie.

The Peabody Gallery was especially active during 1911-12 when Sunday afternoon open hours were introduced. *Sun* writer H. L. Mencken wrote humorously of the sacrilege of Sunday viewing. There was a special "Exhibits of Contemporary American Art" in 1911, by the Charcoal Club of Baltimore for prospective buyers, with an illustrated catalogue listing 105 participating artists' names and addresses. Over 4,000 visitors came to see such works as Charles W. Hawthorne's *Fisher Boys,* George Bellows' *The Palisades*, Jonas Lie's *Harbor in Winter,* and Hassam's *The Ledges*. The successful exhibit became an annual event for some years.

The first one-man exhibit in 1912 featured Baltimore artist Charles H. Walther. In 1914 a modernist exhibit of Cubism and Futurism paintings caused something of a sensation. In 1916 there was a special exhibit of sculpture by Paul Manship. Baltimore women artists calling themselves "The Six" held frequent exhibits between 1912 and 1922.

In the mid 1930s the expanding Peabody Conservatory of Music's need for space prompted a decision to close the Peabody Gallery. Its over 1,000 art pieces were placed on extended loan in the Baltimore Museum of Art (opened 1914) and Baltimore's Walters Art Gallery (which became public in 1934).

Conservatory Director O. R. Ortmann. Otto Randolph Ortmann was the third Conservatory of Music director during 1928-41, or for 13 years. As with Harold Randolph, Ortmann was a Peabody Conservatory of Music graduate and a faculty member since 1917. Ortmann, from a musical Baltimore family of German background, studied at both the Johns Hopkins University and the Peabody Conservatory of Music, receiving the Conservatory's Teacher's Certificate in Piano in 1913 and the Peabody Artist Diploma (Composition) in 1917. While still a Peabody Conservatory student, he taught piano and harmony in the Peabody Prep (1911), was appointed acting director for a few months and then conservatory director in 1928 at age 39, continuing Randolph's programs. The 1930s economic depression, which necessitated fundraising, took time from Ortmann's administration, teaching, and music research. His fund drives during 1936-40, with Carnegie Corporation contributions, brought in over $120,000.

Fundraising cut into Ortmann's considerable research skills on such scientific aspects of music as acoustical phenomena, physics of sound waves, and the psychological effects of music

on the learning process. His landmark books included *The Physical Basis of Piano Touch and Tone,* and *The Physiological Mechanics of Piano Technique.* At the request of the American Association of Learned Societies, he formed a Committee of Musicology, forerunner of the American Musicology Society, concerned with scientific research in music.

Ortmann organized the Conservatory's "Friday Afternoon Concert Series," strengthened the conservatory's Research Department (the first music conservatory to have such a department); broadened the curriculum; and furthered academic ties with the Johns Hopkins University and Goucher College. Students from these institutions were able to study music at the Peabody Conservatory of Music and earn a Bachelor of Music degree in 1926, and a Master of Music degree in 1935. Ortmann invited such distinguished musical artists to appear in Peabody recitals as Russian-born pianist Vladimir Horowitz, Russian cellist Gregor Piatigorsky, Hungarian-born pianist Rudolph Serkin, Spanish guitarist Andres Segovia, and Polish-born pianist Arthur Rubenstein.

The 1930s depression led the trustees to consider dividing the directorship into administration and academic areas. When this plan did not materialize, an advisory committee recommended appointment of a new director. Despite controversy, the assessment was that Ortmann had served the Peabody Conservatory of Music well during the nation's worst depression. After resigning from the Peabody Conservatory on September 1, 1941, he joined the Goucher College music department in 1942 and was its chairman during 1943-56.

Conservatory Director R. Stewart. Fourth Conservatory director Reginald Stewart during 1941-58, or for 17 years, was born in Edinburgh, Scotland. His father, a distinguished organist, guided his son in piano, organ, and composition. Young Stewart also studied in France and Canada. He founded and conducted the Toronto Philharmonic Orchestra, formed the Bach Society in Toronto, inaugurated the popular Promenade Symphony Concerts in Canada, and for 10 years was a piano teacher and a conductor at the Toronto Conservatory of Music. Unlike Randolph and Ortmann, both Peabody Conservatory of Music graduates and faculty members, Stewart was European trained and had been a conductor and pianist in England. He had attracted the Peabody Conservatory trustees' attention while successfully conducting the New York City Orchestra during Carnegie Hall's 1940-41 season. While Peabody Conservatory director, Stewart also conducted the Baltimore Symphony Orchestra during 1942-52.

Building on Ortmann's curriculum, Stewart gained for the Conservatory academic accreditation by the National Association of Schools of Music in 1950 and membership in the Middle States Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools in 1955. To serve outlying areas and also to alleviate parking and transportation difficulties, Stewart started Peabody Conservatory branches in Glen Burnie, Dundalk, and Towson. He initiated joint degree programs with Loyola College, Towson State University, and McCoy College (a Johns Hopkins University division offering part-time and continuing education programs). Because of diminishing audiences and growing deficits, Stewart replaced the traditional Friday Afternoon Recitals with Candlelight Concerts, performed by Stewart's newly formed Little Orchestra, made up of Peabody Conservatory faculty and Baltimore Symphony Orchestra musicians.

Because of good relations with the Baltimore Symphony Orchestra (Stewart appointed

principal Orchestra musicians as Conservatory teachers) and by employing European musicians during and after World War II, Stewart assembled the Conservatory of Music's largest and most illustrious faculty. His resignation in late 1957 prompted the trustees to reevaluate the Conservatory's role. They followed an outside consultant's (Harrison Keller) advice to keep admission standards high.

Conservatory Director Peter Mennin. Fifth Conservatory director Peter Mennin during 1958-62, or for four years, was born in Erie, PA. He studied music at age seven, produced his first symphony at age 19, attended Oberlin Conservatory, OH; received his bachelor's and master's degrees from the Eastman School of Music, and the Ph.D. degree from the University of Rochester. He served in the U.S. Air Force in World War II and, at the unusually young age of 24, left the faculty of the Juilliard School of Music to become Peabody Conservatory director a year after the 1957 centennial of the Peabody Institute's founding.

Peter Mennin's many honors made him, after Asger Hamerik, the Peabody Conservatory of Music director with the greatest international reputation. Mennin believed in uncompromisingly high standards for performing artists. He established the Conservatory of Music Doctor of Musical Arts degree in 1963. To provide students with professional experience in a conservatory setting, Mennin founded the Peabody Art Theater, providing young opera singers with studies that included performances, management experience, and labor union relations experience. He also created the Conservatory's American Conductor's Project, an annual Alumni Homecoming, and the conferral of honorary degrees, which helped attract the musical world's attention to the Peabody Conservatory of Music.

Mennin also appointed important artist-teachers to the faculty who would in turn attract talented students. He hired Charles S. Kent as Conservatory of Music dean. When Mennin resigned on October 31, 1962, to become president of the Juilliard School of Music, Kent became director. With Mennin's resignation, a trustees' committee met to ponder what to do about recurring Institute deficits.

Library Deficits. Deficits became worrisome in the early 1950s during sixth Peabody librarian Lloyd Arnold Brown's tenure, 1942-56, or for 14 years. He came to the Peabody Library from Ann Arbor, MI, where he had been curator of maps at the University of Michigan Library. After his Peabody Library years he was director of the Chicago Historical Society, 1956-58; and director of research for Historic Annapolis, Inc., working with maps and other historical records to restore the Annapolis waterfront area.

Librarian Brown found it increasingly difficult to meet budget needs from the original endowment. The library was less used than in its heyday. During 1949-52 the library served an average of 15 researchers a day. Library hours were extended in 1952 from 9 to 9 on weekdays, 9 to 5 Saturdays, and 2 to 5 Sundays (50 attended the first Sunday opening, July 14, 1952). Possible merger talks between the Peabody Library and the Enoch Pratt Free Library were reported in 1953, but nothing happened.

Seventh Peabody Librarian Frank Nicholas Jones (during 1956-66, or for 10 years) was a native of Reading, PA, with degrees from Harvard College and Columbia University School of Library Service. He had been assistant librarian of the New York City Bar Association Library;

librarian in Newburyport, MA (where George Peabody had worked in his brother's drapery shop); was deputy supervisor of Boston Public Library Reference Division; had served in the U.S. Army in Europe; was administrative assistant at Harvard College Library; and came to the Peabody Library after being librarian at Ohio University in Athens.

Library Merger Talks. Peabody library merger talks surfaced again during 1963-64 under Librarian Jones as plans developed for enlarging the reference section of the Johns Hopkins University's Milton S. Eisenhower Library. A November 12, 1963, *Sun* article, described some Baltimoreans' objections to the suggested transfer of the Peabody Library collection from its Peabody Library building to the Johns Hopkins University Library. Such a move, they said, would be contrary to George Peabody's intent. Others accepted the idea to help solve the Peabody Library's financial troubles and to keep the reference collection intact, even if not in its original home. Although Johns Hopkins University President Milton S. Eisenhower (U.S. President Dwight D. Eisenhower's brother) urged the merger as mutually beneficial, it did not take place until 1982. The stumbling block was that the Johns Hopkins University officials could not find a satisfactory way to maintain the Peabody Library building as a library facility, as the Peabody trustees insisted, after removing the research collections.

The failed 1963-64 Peabody Library-Johns Hopkins University merger talks gave way to informal discussions about possible affiliation with the Enoch Pratt Free Library. A suggestion in March 1966 was that the Enoch Pratt administer the Peabody Library, that most of the research collection be transferred to the Enoch Pratt, and that the Peabody Library building, as the George Peabody Branch of the Enoch Pratt Library, become a study center for genealogy, maps, and medieval studies. Objections to this proposal reverberated for several years. A legal suit brought against the Peabody Institute and the City of Baltimore to prevent transfer of the Peabody Library collection to the Enoch Pratt was not settled until July 1970, when the Maryland Court of Appeals ruled in favor of the proposed transfer.

What bothered the Baltimore scholarly community about the proposed Peabody Library-Enoch Pratt merger was the proposal to sell some 100,000 Peabody Library volumes (since the Enoch Pratt could not house all the volumes) and use the money to restore the Peabody Library building. A Johns Hopkins University faculty resolution of October 7, 1966, voiced "deep apprehension" about "the possible loss to this city of one of its richest scholarly and cultural resources," stating that the 100,000 volumes to be sold (for about $1 million) were among the most valuable and irreplaceable in the Peabody Library collection.

Peabody Library of the Enoch Pratt Library. This proposed book sale did not materialize. But the Peabody Library did become part of the Enoch Pratt Free Library for 16 years, from July 2, 1966, to July 1, 1982, supported by the City of Baltimore. A June 23, 1966, *Sun* article described the Peabody Library as initially "among the nation's largest and finest scholarly libraries" but that "dwindling income and exploding knowledge" had "caught up with [it]." A successful fundraising campaign in the early 1970s helped clean and refurbish the main Peabody Library reading room, and paid for better lighting fixtures and air conditioning. A $27,000 restoration in early 1977 removed a century of soot and revealed gold leaf rosettes on the five-tier library cast iron grillwork. The Peabody Library collection in its original building

was thus saved as a continued source of Baltimore's cultural pride.

Peabody Library of the Johns Hopkins University Library. Budget cuts, however, in the late 1970s and early 1980s forced the City of Baltimore to discontinue supporting the Peabody Library as part of the Enoch Pratt Free Library. In the summer of 1982 trustees from the Enoch Pratt, the Peabody Institute, and the Johns Hopkins University agreed to transfer administration of the Peabody Library to the Johns Hopkins University. After July 1, 1982, Enoch Pratt Librarian Evelyn L. Hart skillfully supervised the merger of the Peabody Library, its 250,000 volumes, and seven staff members into the Peabody Library department of the Milton S. Eisenhower Special Collections Division of the Johns Hopkins University. Lynn Hart, as she was familiarly called, was a native Baltimorean, a graduate of Goucher College, and had a master's degree in library science from Catholic University of America. She worked at Enoch Pratt, 1942-50, as school liaison librarian, was head circulation librarian at Goucher College, 1950-58, returning to Enoch Pratt as head of book selection, 1965-76, when she headed the Peabody Library of Enoch Pratt and administered the transfer of the Peabody Library to the Johns Hopkins University library system.

For the Johns Hopkins University the Peabody Library was a valuable acquisition, since its holdings included such treasures as 55 incunabula (books published before 1500), 500 Bibles in 18 languages, a rare four-volume set of John James Audubon's *Birds of America,* and an extensive genealogical collection. (Most of Peabody's genealogical records were recently transferred to the Maryland Historical Society.) A proposal in 1989 to raise funds by selling 10 sets of rare Peabody Library books, including Audubon's *Birds of America,* raised a lament in a letter in the *Sun* that the collection "is a time capsule of 19th century intelligence whose integrity deserves respectful maintenance."

Many thought it appropriate that the Peabody Library of Baltimore would be helped to continue as a productive research and reference library by the Enoch Pratt Free Library and the Johns Hopkins University. Their founders had been George Peabody's fellow Baltimore merchants and friends. His philanthropic example had influenced them. It seemed fitting that their institutions sustain his institution.

Peabody Art Collection On Loan. Much of the Peabody Gallery of Art collection is still owned by the Peabody Institute and is exhibited regularly in the Baltimore Museum of Art, Walters Art Gallery, the Peale Museum, and the Maryland Historical Society. The art collection is well-documented in the Peabody Archives where annual reports, letters, exhibition facts and publicity, catalogues, and correspondence tell the history of the major art items. Peabody art items continue to appear in significant exhibitions, including Mary Cassatt's "Young Woman in Black" in the "Two Hundred Years of American Painting" exhibit, sent abroad by the U.S. Information Agency for the U.S. Bicentennial Celebration. The Cassatt painting was also included in *The New Paintings: Impressionism 1874-1886* at the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco and the National Gallery of Art in 1986. In 1982, several Peabody-owned paintings appeared in the Smithsonian Institution Traveling Exhibition, "American Impressionism," which went to Paris, France, and several East European cities. Peabody Institute art works were in the 1987-88 *New Horizons American Painting 1840-1910* exhibit touring the USSR as part of the

U.S.-Soviet Cultural Accord signed in Geneva in the summer of 1985.

Just as the Enoch Pratt Free Library and the Johns Hopkins University had helped save the Peabody Library reference collection, so too many thought it proper that Baltimore's premier art depositories should house, safeguard, and show art treasures from what had been Baltimore's first and the U.S.'s third oldest art gallery.

Conservatory Director C. S. Kent. More viable, the Peabody Conservatory of Music also faced the challenge of rapidly rising operating costs amid mounting competition from many more private and especially state-subsidized public college and university music schools. Sixth Conservatory director Charles S. Kent, during 1963-67, or for four years, had earned the bachelor's degree in music theory from the University of Louisville (where his father was president); the Master of Music degree from the Eastman School of Music; and the Ph. D. degree from the University of Rochester. He also studied at Dartmouth College and the Juilliard School of Music. He received the Bronze Star for World War II service in England. He taught at Oberlin Conservatory, Western Reserve University, the New England Conservatory of Music, was dean of the University of Mississippi's Music School, and taught music theory at Indiana University's Music Department.

Kent, widely known and respected as a music educator and scholar, continued Mennin's intent for the Conservatory to train musical performers, prepare music teachers, and be a leader in the musical community. During Kent's nearly five years as director in the 1960s, higher education expanded considerably. The Peabody Conservatory of Music also increased its services through concert tours, cooperative programs with other institutions and artists, radio and television programs, larger summer schools in Baltimore, and Conservatory of Music branches in Northampton, MA, and Towson, MD. To accompany undergraduate and graduate enrollment growth, an associate director was added in 1966. Kent began a Peabody Development Fund campaign which raised $850,000 by 1965. His failing health required a leave of absence in December 1967 and led to his resignation in May 1968.

Associate director Ray E. Robinson, acting Conservatory director during 1967-68, had attended San Jose State College for the bachelor of arts degree and Indiana University for the master of music degree. After military service, he was music conductor and arranger for west coast educational television productions. His Indiana University doctoral dissertation was "A History of the Peabody Conservatory of Music," June 1969. His subsequent music career was as president, Westminster Choir College, and as distinguished professor at Palm Beach Atlantic University, Florida.

Conservatory Director R. F. Goldman. Seventh Conservatory director Richard Franko Goldman, during 1968-77, or for nine years, was the son of the founder of the [Edwin Franko] Goldman Concert Band in New York City. He graduated in 1930 from Columbia University, forming a lifelong friendship with fellow student Jacques Barzun. He studied music privately, was associate conductor of the Goldman Band under his father, 1937-56, and at his father's death, he succeeded him as conductor from 1956. He taught at the Juilliard School of Music, 1947-60; was a visiting music professor at Princeton, Columbia, and New York universities; and a music writer and scholar of note. Two Peabody trustees interviewed him in New York in the

spring of 1968. He visited Baltimore in May 1968. Offered the post, Goldman accepted on condition that he be both Conservatory director and Peabody Institute president (his concern was to clarify administrative authority). After a year as director, Goldman became the Peabody Institute president in the fall of 1969. The trustees believed Goldman's national reputation would help maintain the Conservatory's standard of excellence, attract major faculty who would in turn attract promising students, and raise funds needed to perpetuate the prestigious but financially troubled century-old Peabody Institute.

A dormitory-cafeteria-parking garage complex, designed by Edward Durrell Stone, opened during Goldman's first year. He revived the Peabody Scholarly Lecture series, with Jacques Barzun as the first speaker; rekindled interest in the long neglected Peabody Gallery of Art collection (he made the first full catalogue of the Institute's art holdings); strengthened the Conservatory's liberal arts program; and began survey courses in the fine arts.

Financial Crisis. Although $170,000 was raised from the Rockefeller Foundation in 1970, Goldman's annual report on June 1, 1974, stated, "I am discouraged by the long range prospects." His April 20, 1975, letter to Jacques Barzun confided his intent to retire: "The Peabody is facing real trouble financially, and I can't carry the thing myself." In a January 1976 press conference, Goldman drew public attention to Peabody's financial plight. Since 1971, he said, the Peabody Institute's $6 million endowment had shrunk to $3 million. The only course left, he said, was to sell the art collection then valued at about $1 million (some few pieces had been sold in the 1960s). The threatened art sale provoked public attention and concern. The *Evening Sun* for February 24, 1976, reported that committees from the Peabody Institute and the Johns Hopkins University were considering affiliation. By June 1976 a working agreement was reached. The *Sun* for December 21, 1976, headlined "Peabody to Join Hopkins," and continued, "The famous but deficit-ridden Peabody Institute will be taken under the wing of the Johns Hopkins University next summer." Goldman explained that the Peabody Institute had been operating at a deficit the last dozen years and that the operating budget in 1976 was $2,761,294, which included a deficit of $150,000.

Hopkins-Peabody Merger. The merger agreement was that the Peabody Institute would retain its autonomy but would be under the Johns Hopkins University management and share the university's superior fundraising resources. The Peabody Library continued its research and reference function in its own building as part of the Enoch Pratt Free Library and under city funding during 1965-82. But budget cuts compelled the Enoch Pratt Free Library to release the Peabody Library. On July 1, 1982, the still intact Peabody Library became a special collection of the Johns Hopkins University's Milton S. Eisenhower Library. Goldman delayed retirement until affiliation was completed. He died in Baltimore in 1980, praised for the trust he had generated.

There were mixed feelings about the lost independence of the Peabody Institute, which had for some 110 years been part of the city's and the nation's cultural life. The more realistic were glad that the Johns Hopkins University had helped infuse the Peabody Institute with continued life. George Peabody College for Teachers had merged with Vanderbilt University in Nashville (1979). The Peabody Institute and the Johns Hopkins University had merged in

Baltimore in 1982. The Peabody institutions in Nashville and in Baltimore had long enjoyed friendly and cooperative relations with their neighboring universities. It seemed fitting that the Peabody institutions join resources with their university neighbors to assure continued service.

The Peabody Conservatory of Music's affiliation with the Johns Hopkins University took place during Elliott Galkin's tenure as the Conservatory's ninth director during 1977-83, or for seven years. Extensive renovations were made from a $1 million gift from local magnate Sidney Friedberg in memory of his wife whom he met when both were studying piano at the Peabody Conservatory of Music. The Sidney Friedberg Concert Hall was dedicated on October 8, 1983, when Robert Pierce became the Conservatory's tenth director.

The Peabody Institute remains a marble and red brick complex in the heart of Baltimore's historic Mount Vernon Place. Scholars still use the library's resources. Visitors still enjoy the building's grandeur and art works. Lectures still delight, inform, and entertain. Music students still study Bach, Beethoven, and other classical composers. But some Peabody Conservatory students also compose and perform the new electronic music, using the latest digital synthesis software. Peabody was the first American conservatory with a computer music department. A degree in recording engineering since 1983 allows students to combine Peabody Conservatory music classes with courses in the Johns Hopkins' G.W.C. Whiting School of Engineering. In 1992 the Peabody Conservatory enrolled 538 students from around the world, 280 of them graduate students, and 258 undergraduate students. After nearly a century and a half of change, the Peabody Institute library, music conservatory, art, and lectures still serve Baltimore and the nation.

Peabody's Educational Influence

Contributions to Science. Peabody, who paid for the education of his nieces and nephews, helped one nephew, O. C. Marsh, become the first U.S. professor of paleontology at Yale (and the second in the world). Nephew Marsh induced his uncle to give $150,000 each for science museums to Harvard (archaeology and ethnology) and Yale (natural science), and $140,000 for a museum of maritime history in Salem, MA. Peabody's three museums of science were important gifts made when the classics dominated higher education and science fought for acceptance in the curriculum.

George Peabody's educational legacy 200 years after his birth includes the six Peabody library institutes and lecture funds he founded well before the Andrew Carnegie public library era; Peabody's direct influence on Johns Hopkins to found the Johns Hopkins University, Hospital, and Medical School; and on Enoch Pratt to endow the Enoch Pratt Free Library of Baltimore. He also founded in London the first privately funded low-cost model housing for low-income working families, where some 19,000 people currently live.

George Peabody made less money than many later philanthropists and gave much of it for educational purposes before foundations were established for tax advantage. To accumulate money to leave in estates to one's children is natural. Peabody went beyond this normal goal in his 1852 sentiment, "Education, a debt due from present to future generations." The explanation he wrote to his nephew, "I can only do to those who come under my care, as I could have wished circumstances had permitted others to have done by me," is one clue to his philanthropic

motivation. His educational legacy continues at the two hundredth anniversary of his birth (1795-1995). That educational legacy may be a reminder for our time to do for others as we would have them do for us--that is, to share burdens, to open the way for others.

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