

**“CHARLEMAGNE, SOVIET SAM AND PRAGMATIC JOHN”**

**LITERARY CLUB OF CHICAGO**

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CHARLEMAGNE – In June 1900, the American Ambassador to the Imperial Government of Russia was Charlemagne Tower, Jr. He was a Pennsylvanian. After attending a military school in New Haven, Connecticut, during the Civil War, he transferred to Phillips Academy in Exeter, New Hampshire, and, then, obtained a degree from Harvard. He travelled, extensively, in Europe; was admitted to the Bar; and spent several years as a railroad executive in Duluth, Minnesota. In 1891, he returned to Philadelphia and became a Professor of History at The University of Pennsylvania. President McKinley appointed Tower as Minister to Austria-Hungary and, then, as Ambassador to Russia. The first President Roosevelt – TR - appointed Tower as Ambassador to Germany. Tower lived until 1923.

Early that Summer of 1900, a Chicagoan named Charles Crane, introduced, previously, by me, to many of you in Papers delivered by me at regular meetings of our Club, asked Tower to arrange an audience with Czar Nicholas, II, for himself and three other Chicagoans, Martin Ryerson, Charles Hutchinson and William Rainey Harper. This audience took place at the Czar’s Summer Palace at Tsarskoe Selo. Ambassador Tower introduced these four Chicagoans to the Czar. Their mission was successful. This “Charlemagne” – Ambassador Tower - has only this “walk-on” part in this Paper. While he is worth more study, he leaves us, now.

For this Paper, my “Charlemagne” is Charles Crane. While his friends addressed him as “Charlie”, his wife, within his immediate family, addressed him as “Charlemagne”. My prior Papers, for our Club, that substantially involved “Charlie” Crane were:

1. In 2014, *The Ineffective Hand of the Dead: The Crane Siblings’ Support of the Arts*, in which he had a Lead Role;
2. In 2012, *The Influence of Halide Edib on Charles R. Crane*, in which he was the Male Lead; and
3. In 2014, *The Whole Town’s Talking about The Monroe Girls*, in which, as President Taft’s appointed, but not serving, U.S. Minister to China, Crane had a walk-on part, comparable to that of Ambassador Tower, in this Paper.

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I have made two presentations on Crane at Symposia at Columbia University and one to the Chicago Chapter of The Society of Architectural Historians. My only repetition will be my mention, hereinafter, of Crane's presence in Russia during 1917, as a Member of the unsuccessful bi-partisan Root Commission, sent by President Wilson, to identify and support democratically inclined Russian revolutionaries. Regrettably, that Commission accomplished nothing.

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Martin Ryerson was a first cousin and life-long close friend of Charles Crane, but "Marty" Ryerson was with this group of men only because he was President of the Board of Trustees of The University of Chicago. Charles Hutchinson was a close friend of Ryerson and was President of the Board of Trustees of The Art Institute of Chicago, but "Charlie" Hutchinson was in this group only because he was Treasurer of The University of Chicago. William Rainey Harper, as you know, was President of The University of Chicago. "Charlie" Crane had persuaded Harper to invite selected Russian academic notables to give lectures at his University in Hyde Park, with a view to creating a climate, there, in which Russian culture and the Russian language could be taught at the University. Harper, while, initially, surprised by Crane's suggestion, once Crane committed himself to 100% of the costs, became 100% supportive.

For any prominent academic of a Russian university, acceptance of such an invitation – even one from The University of Chicago – required the personal approval of the Czar. At Tsarskoe Selo, the University was putting its best foot forward.

Charlie Crane, who had organized this international effort, had only a public high school education in 1870's Chicago, where there was, then, but one public high school. Crane's high school – Chicago's Central High School – was on West Monroe Street, near Halsted Street. From and after 1866, a good student of that school would have been taught Latin, German, French, Greek, Geography, Botany, Astronomy, History, Cicero, Mathematics, Natural Philosophy and Political Economy.

Crane must have had, within him, the genes of a first-rate student. He, with Ryerson, while attending, together, Chicago's – Central High School – were founders of its Everett Literary Society, which met, for the delivery of members' papers, from 1872 until 1880. (Our own Literary Club was not founded until 1874.) As the Everett Literary Society was known,

also, as the Everett Debating Club, its meetings seem not to have been constrained by our own Club's rule that forbids open questioning of its speakers immediately after their presentations. Our Club's rule is said to have been created because of the then vitriolic arguments, among its membership, on theological matters. (Today, this rule may survive because of our members' interest in the promptest possible access to the post-presentation collations.)

All of Crane, Ryerson, Hutchinson and Harper, in time, became members of our Literary Club. Had Charlemagne Tower been a Chicagoan, I expect that he, too, would have become a member.

Crane joined our Club in 1901, but he resigned in 1912, after his father died, when he, using the services of Louis Brandeis, sold his share of the Crane Co., back to it, to facilitate his much younger brother's full control of the Crane Co. and a family settlement of an extraordinarily poor estate plan created by his father, and he moved to New York City. Crane delivered but one paper to our Club. That was in late 1905; it was titled *Russia*. While no copy seems to have survived, one can assume that it contained criticism of the settlement that TR's Nobel Prize-winning interference forced upon Imperial Russia, following its early losses in the Russo-Japanese War.

Ryerson joined our Club in 1891, remained a member until he died in 1932 and delivered but two Papers, neither bearing a title seemingly relevant to his call on the Czar.

Hutchinson joined our Club in 1884, remained a member until he died in 1924, and delivered 18 papers. That in the Fall of 1900 was titled *Stray Thoughts about Russia*. While our Club's records do not contain that Paper, Hutchinson's own Papers, archived at The Newberry Library, contain one that described the June 1900 call that he, Crane, Ryerson and Harper paid on the Czar.

Harper had joined our Club in 1892, soon after he became President of the University of Chicago, remained a member until his untimely death in 1906, and delivered but two Papers, both, by their titles, on esoteric language subjects, other than Russian.

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From 1868 until his marriage in 1881, at age 23, Crane lived with his family on Chicago's Near West Side, on Washington Boulevard, near Ashland Avenue, in the Union Park neighborhood, which was, then, quite fashionable. While his first marital home was at 379 Ashland Avenue, he and his small family, soon, moved to the South Side, near even more

fashionable Prairie Avenue. In time, there were four Crane children, Richard (named for his Crane grandfather), born in 1882; Josephine, born in 1886, who, because of a childhood illness, who, from age two, was virtually entirely substantially deaf; Frances, born in 1887, and John, born in 1899.

Crane was 19, when he and Marty Ryerson graduated from Central High School, together, in 1877. Marty went off to Harvard, and Charlie went off to a reputable technical school in New Jersey selected by his father. Charlie, soon, sickened, and his father persuaded himself that a long ocean voyage would be an effective cure, after which Charlie could settle into an entry-level blue-collar job at the Crane Co. and earn his way into increasingly responsible Crane Co. responsibilities. Charlie did just as his father wished, including the creation of an elevator business that his father chose to sell to the Otis firm. For our purposes, Charlie's Crane Co. activities culminated, in and following the 1880's, wherein, instead of competing with the Westinghouse Co. in the business of manufacturing air brakes in Russia, he negotiated and caused the creation of a joint venture with the Westinghouse Co., to operate, exclusively, within Imperial Russia. This joint venture's products were essential to the operation of all trains operating on the rapidly growing Trans-Siberian Railroad, and Charlie's joint venture was to be the Russian Government's sole source. Such American business activities, within Imperial Russia, had had the full support and encouragement of both the Czar and then US President McKinley.

Crane, by the June 1900 call on the Czar at Tsarskoe Selo, had spent substantial parts of a good number of years in Imperial Russia and had made a substantial number of close friends among the Russian intelligentsia that were increasingly restive, under the governance of Czar Nicholas, II. The losses suffered by Russia in the early stages of the Russo-Japanese War led to the first of its revolutions of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century – that of 1905 – which diminished the Czar's once absolute power, considerably, and he chafed under the new restrictions on his decision-making.

Crane made a practice of befriending, not only President after President of the United States, starting with Cleveland and ending with the Second Roosevelt, but befriending President after President, not only of The University of Chicago, but of America's most famous East Coast universities, some of which received substantial contributions – contributions welcomed, notwithstanding the restrictions that they bore and under which some of those university Presidents, or their successors, came to try to avoid.

In addition to the published biographies of Crane by Hapgood, Saul and Leclair, some 300 pages of a definitive version of his *Memoirs* are, now, Internet-accessible through the Web Site of the Butler Library of Columbia University. Hapgood's biography's title - *The Man Who Bet on People* – is especially, apt, as among the men on whom Crane bet, were **Soviet Sam** and **Pragmatic John**.

**SOVIET SAM** – When Charlie Crane took President Harper to Russia in 1900, Charlie was not likely, yet, to have met Harper's eldest son, Samuel, known as "Sam", then, 18 years old and, still, a teenager. When Sam's father returned from Russia, so enthused by his experiences, there, Sam – infected by that enthusiasm - decided to make an academic career of university-level teaching of Russian culture and history. During the ensuing 40 years, Crane – first from his personal resources and, then, from a charitable foundation that he established in the 1920's - The Institute for Current World Affairs - funded Sam's education and, a few years later, his employment, as a Faculty member of The University of Chicago. Sam, with that support, first, become an expert on Imperial Russia and, then, after the Revolutions of 1917, an expert on Soviet Russia. Along the latter way, Sam acquired, from Chicago's anti-Soviet Press, the nickname of "Soviet Sam" – a name not intended as a compliment.

However, since, even after the Bolshevik Revolution of October-November 1917, which suspended, until the 1920's, the travel of both Crane and Sam, into Russia, the steady annual flow of funds to The University of Chicago arranged by Crane, to support Sam's academic positions, which included all travel expenses to Europe and to Russia appropriate for him to maintain his professorial expertise, he was protected from the employment termination action urged upon the University by Chicago's Press.

**PRAGMATIC JOHN** – In 1896, President Harper had found it difficult to attract a more senior academic, to head his new Department of Philosophy at The University of Chicago, and he settled on John Dewey, who had been building such a Department at The University of Michigan. There is evidence of Dewey's success at The University of Chicago in his ability to strip his old Department at Michigan, attracting to The University of Chicago even the son of then President Angell of Michigan. Jay Martin's biography of Dewey, published by the Columbia University Press, relates that, after Harper initial efforts to identify a leader for his Department of Philosophy failed, Harper, acting on recommendations of men already in the

Department, approached Dewey. After much negotiation over compensation, a deal was struck. Martin observes:

“Philosophically speaking, Dewey was a better choice than any of the other philosophers whom Harper had tried to recruit, [as] Dewey was anxious to create a great department; he was full of energy; and, about all, he was committed to science and scientific research.”

The Philosophy of Pragmatism is said to emphasize the practical application of ideas, by testing them in human experience. The term seems not to have been used until about 1870, when it came into use by the scholar-philosopher William James. The term was adopted and endorsed by Dewey, causing him to be referred to as Pragmatic John.

While one could devote the entirety of a Paper, such as this, to the career of a “Soviet Sam” Harper or a “Pragmatic John” Dewey, this Paper is devoted to the support that *my* Charlemagne provided to the quite different career of each.

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The June 1900 audience at Tsarskoe Selo secured the needed support of the Czar, for a series of lectures at The University of Chicago by noted Russian intellectuals. Lectures, by Maxim Kovalevsky, Pavel Miliukov and Tomas Masaryk took place and were a resounding success. Creation of courses of instruction in Russian History and Language at The University of Chicago followed. In time, The University of Chicago created a Department of Russian Culture and Language. That Department has been absorbed within one bearing the title, Department of Slavic Languages and Literature.

While President Harper’s journey to Russia, had an immediate impact, within his own family, previously, Crane had commenced a relationship with Dewey, which I will, first, describe.

Dewey’s arrival in Chicago coincided with the Pullman Strike of 1894 and caused him to take an interest in the operations of Jane Adams’ Hull House. It may have been in connection with Jane Addams’ operation of Hull House, that Dewey and Crane, first met. While their backgrounds and educations were quite different, their Progressive politics were much the same.

According to Martin,

“Dewey’s budding interest in the theory and practice of education was blooming, just at the time of his move to Chicago. He talked to [President] Harper about his vision of a laboratory school, in which experiments in early education could be conducted and studied.”

In November 1894, when Dewey had, just, assumed his position as Chair of Harper's Department of Philosophy, Harper proposed to Dewey that Dewey create a kindergarten and a grammar school, for teacher training, innovations in research and pedagogical theory and educational experiments. In the Englewood neighborhood of Chicago, Col. Francis Wayland Parker was conducting his training school for teachers, and Dewey visited it, immersing himself in understanding Parker's concepts for the training of teachers. Harper responded to Dewey's enthusiasm, by assuring Dewey that he could organize a complete experimental school under his own and Dewey's control. This was done. This experimental school became known as The Dewey School and, in time, became The Lab Schools of The University of Chicago.

Josephine Crane had remained functionally deaf, dumb and illiterate until 1894, when, at age eight, she came under the wings of, first, Alexander Graham Bell, when she was eight years old, after which she was deemed eligible for a grammar school. The Cranes took advantage of the opportunity of the creation of The Dewey School. Having learning lip reading from Bell, she, quickly, caught up, academically, breezing through grade school and high school at Dewey's Lab School, becoming a gifted dramatist and conversationalist, learned French and German while traveling with her father, and picked up American sign language, so that she could communicate with Helen Keller.

During Josephine's first Fall at The Lab School, its then Principal, Mrs. Dewey, had identified one of the school's youngest teachers, Anna Camp, then age 21, as a tutor for Josephine, then age 10, effective the first of January 1898. For the next decade, Anna was Josephine's tutor and companion, even accompanying her to The University of Wisconsin, which Josephine had chosen for her own University education. There, one of Josephine's professors was a Harold Bradley. Upon Josephine's graduation, at age 21, she married Harold. Anna had been equally fortunate, as, accompanying Josephine, in Madison, she met and, on Josephine's graduation, married a Congregational minister named Edwards.

Recently, in connection with a Crane matter not related to this Paper, one of Anna Edwards' grandsons sent me copies of all pages from her lengthy unpublished *Memoirs* that mention any member of the Crane Family. These pages provide additional details of Anna's experiences during her years of employment by the Cranes and "The Dewey School". Those years included Josephine's personal active participation, in 1903, in the physical building of a

full-sized students' clubhouse. Ann Durst's *WOMEN EDUCATORS IN THE PROGRESSIVE ERA: The Women Behind Dewey's Laboratory School* quotes Josephine, describing, in 1936, the influence of having learned a bit of the craft of carpentry, at Dewey's Lab School, as a means of understanding "what architecture, really is." Thereby, Josephine learned enough about design and construction to be confident in her challenge to Louis Sullivan, about his overdesign and overbuilding of the Bradleys' first Madison residence - that that I described in my Crane Family Support of the Arts Paper.

Professor Bradley became Chair of the University of Wisconsin's Department of Physiological Biochemistry, wildly popular among his students and his fellow faculty, and sufficiently respected by his Crane in-laws, repeatedly elected a Director of the Crane Co.

In 1899, Dewey published the first version of a book that became (and remains) wildly popular – *The School and Society*. Therein, Mrs. Crane was one of the three women that Dewey recognized, for their support of the funding of the creation and early operation of his Laboratory School.

However, the dedication of Dewey's book was to Mrs. Emmons Blaine (Anita McCormick Blaine), a daughter of Cyrus McCormick – famous, today, for her support of the career of Col. Francis Wayland Parker, who had been the founder of the Chicago Normal School and for whom Francis Parker School, on Chicago's North Side, was, later, named, in his honor. Left a widow at age 26, with a two-year-old child, Mrs. Blaine set about creating just the educational environment for her son that she wished, including substantial contributions to Harper's and Dewey's School of Education at The University of Chicago and Emmons Blaine Hall for the Laboratory Schools of The University of Chicago, as well as the initial construction of the first Francis Parker School structure.

In 1901, Parker's failing health (he died in 1902) and a \$1,000,000 gift by Mrs. Blaine of an endowment brought Parker's famous Englewood-based training school for teachers into The University of Chicago. Dewey and Wilbur Jackman, the Dean of Education of the University, who, within the University, was Dewey's superior, were the two candidates, to run it. Mrs. Blaine preferred Dewey and reported a consensus among the faculty of the School of Education for Dewey, failing to disclose to Dewey the existence of a minority of determined opposition, led by Jackman and supported by much of Parker's school's faculty. Dewey accepted the assignment, only, then, to learn of the opposition not disclosed to him by Mrs. Blaine.



Harper tried, without notice to the Deweys, to solve this personnel problem, mollifying the Jackman interests, by terminating Mrs. Dewey's employment, as Principal of The Laboratory School. Whether Harper's 1904 appendicitis, which was followed by a diagnosis of a terminal cancer that killed him in January 1906, contributed to Harper's faulty handling of the situation cannot be known. When Dewey learned of the Jackman clique's opposition to him and of the termination of his wife's employment, he and Mrs. Dewey took offense. Both Deweys, promptly and irrevocably, resigned all their roles at The University of Chicago. Thus, other than Jackman, the Departments and Schools for which the Deweys were responsible were leaderless, and the Dewey-appointed teachers gave notice. While the University, then, published a piece in which it was said that Harper was immensely pleased by Jackson's performance, one can expect that Harper's attention was on his own health and other University matters, not on Jackman's performance. Jackman, himself died in January 1907, creating a total leadership vacuum in the schools for which Dewey was to have been responsible, with which President Harper's successor, Harry Pratt Judson, had to deal.

New York City's Columbia University, opportunistically, hired Dewey. Dewey's interest in, ever, returning to The University of Chicago was nil.; Other than a two-year Sabbatical in China, that I will, hereinafter describe, Dewey remained at Columbia for the balance of his exceedingly productive career. And Chicago's Francis W. Parker School was founded, other than as a part of The University of Chicago.

Per Martin, Dewey's biographer,

“... Nicholas Murray Butler [of Columbia University] was a much more humane President, than President Harper had been, and he never wavered in his support of Dewey. ...”

Through The Dewey School, the Charles Cranes had become close friends of the Deweys. In the many republications of his book on his early experiences with his Dewey School, Dewey continued to recognize Mrs. Crane, as one of the most generous supporters of his School. Dewey may have gone from The University of Chicago, but Crane remained a part of his life.

In 1919, Dewey was invited to Japan and chose to go on to China for a Sabbatical Year to which he was entitled, drawn, per the Dewey's daughter, Evelyn, by “the fascination of the struggle, going on in China, for a unified and independent democracy” and funded by the

wealthy and eccentric Albert C. Barnes of Philadelphia, noted for his collection of Impressionistic Art.

From China, after visiting the Cranes, as guests at The American Embassy in Peking, when Crane had become Ambassador to China, appointed by President Wilson, which must have offended one-time Secretary of State and, now, the steel industry's Senator from Pennsylvania, Philander Knox, Dewey applied for a year's leave of absence, from Columbia University, and the Deweys extended their stay in China to July 1921. I expect that Crane, not Barnes, financed that second "Sabbatical" year for Dewey, but I have not yet seen the documentation trail for it.

The Deweys spent most of their China time in and about Shanghai, Nanking and Peking, with substantial time devoted to areas less influenced by the West than these substantial urban communities. While they were in China, their daughter saw to the publication of their letters to their family, sent from Japan and from China.

In 1924, as Sam Harper remained persona non grata in Russia, Crane arranged for Dewey to go to Turkey, to prepare a Report for Crane's distribution, on the conditions of education in Turkey. Although no mention is made of Halide Edib, as Dewey's contact and escort within Turkey, we can assume that she had that role, as she had not yet found it necessary to escape the then increasingly autocratic ways of Mustafa Kemal, who was not, yet, known as Atatürk.

For Crane and Dewey, these three decades of 1894-1924 had been far from dull.

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Returning to President Harper's election to initiate a course in Russian at his University, in 1902. As Crane had remarked that Harper's extensive knowledge of languages included no modern foreign language, Harper decided that this inadequacy should not be repeated by his son Sam. Upon Harper's return to Chicago, he arranged for Sam to become an American guard at the 1900 Paris Exposition, as a first step toward Sam becoming the first Russian-speaking American expert on Russia.

In 1973, Paul Goble, then a graduate student in the University of Chicago's Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures and, now, a former academic, holding himself out as a former Special Advisor to the Secretary of State, published an essay in a French publication, *BIBLIOGRAPHIE*, titled "Samuel N. Harper and the Study of Russia: His Career and Collection". It is a careful study of Sam's career at The University of Chicago. It includes an assessment of Sam's *Memoirs*, as published in 1945, using Sam's unfinished autobiographical

manuscript, titled *Managed Indiscretions*, as revised at the instance of Sam's younger brother, Paul (Paul had been a lawyer with the predecessor to today's Sidley & Austin.) with the editorial assistance of one of Sam's last graduate students, Ronald Thompson. This manuscript, as so revised, was published under the title, *The Russia I Believe In*.

In 1902, Sam, in his Senior Year at the University, was one of the University's first Russian instructor's five students. After graduating, Sam, having come to realize that he could not become fluent in Russian, without, first, learning French, went to Paris to study under Paul Boyer, the foremost Western authority on the Russian language, at l'Ecole des Langues Orientales Vivantes, a part of The Sorbonne. By the end of May 1905, Sam had assisted Boyer in seeing to the publication of, first, a French-Russian grammar and, then, an English language version, which was published by The University of Chicago Press in 1906.

Sam's time in Paris facilitated his ability to accompany Crane, when Crane visited Russia, as he tried to do annually, and Crane was there, with Sam, in 1904, starting to introduce Sam to Crane's own network of friends, including the then American Ambassador Robert Sanderson McCormick, at the time of the Japanese attack on Port Arthur that initiated the Russo-Japanese War and the 1905 Revolution that caused the Czar to create The Duma – Imperial Russia's first effort towards democratically-elected governmental institutions.

Returning to Chicago, because of the grave state of his father's illness, Sam began to teach the Russian language at the University, funded by a grant from Crane, which, first, was made by Crane, himself, and, after 1925 until Sam's death in 1943, by The Institute of Current World Affairs, which Crane had funded but in which he had no governance role. Goble summarizes their agreement, as:

“Crane agreed to fund a position in Russian studies, at the University . . . in which [Sam] was to divide his time, each year, equally, between the University and travel to Russia; he was . . . to seek no employment there; he was never to spend more than 12 months, straight, outside the United States; and, on occasion, he was to discuss Russian affairs with various economic and political leaders in the United States.”

“Crane agreed not to interfere with [Sam's] scholarly work and stipulated that [Sam] was, always, free to refuse any suggestion made by Crane, as to what he should investigate or do.”

This arrangement facilitated ten more visits by Sam to Russia before the Russian Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, and six times, thereafter, without adversely affecting his professional

relationship with the University or placing him under an obligation that would interfere with his academic work.

Saul, in his biography of Crane (*The Life and Times of Charles R. Crane: 1958-1939*) relates:

“Samuel Harper would remain uneasy, regarding his position at the University [of Chicago] after his father’s premature death in 1906. His position was financed, not by a permanent endowment, but by a series of short-term contracts between Crane and the University. One reason, for this, is that Crane wanted to secure control and that [Sam] Harper’s teaching duties would be devoted, entirely, to Russia and not diverted to other University needs.” [At p. 149, Footnote 76]

Shortly after the January 1906 death of President Harper, both Crane and Sam returned to Russia, with Sam bearing credentials from *The Chicago Tribune* that facilitated his presence at sessions of Russia’s new Duma and interviews of Russians in all walks of life and nationality groups. With Professor Pares, he conducted systematic interviews of peasant Duma deputies, with Pares concentrating on the more established and conservative, and Sam, on the more liberal and even radical. While Sam continued to work closely with Professor Pares, he attempted to keep in contact with the American communities in Moscow and St. Petersburg, in which few spoke Russian. Per Goble,

“[Samuel Harper] was one of the few Western observers, who could move, easily, among groups, along the entire political spectrum and who could talk to anyone about almost anything.”

In September 1906, Sam returned to his teaching, as an Associate in the University’s Department of Comparative Philology. His classes were not well-attended and the University’s Administration, under President Harper’s successor, had doubts as to his usefulness as a member of the University’s Faculty. However, Crane’s continuing support assured Sam his position and enabled him to revisit Russia during the next three years.

In Chicago, Sam published several articles and gave numerous lectures, seeking to inform Americans of actual Russian conditions and dispelling “fake facts” - faulty stereotypes, then too broadly held. He came to believe that his training in Russian history and political science was deficient, and he obtained an academic fellowship at Columbia University for the years 1909-1911. Although he did not complete his advanced degree, he prepared and, later, published a Dissertation on “The Exceptional Laws in Russia”.

[I take “exceptional” to mean “unusual”, and I expect that Sam had, in mind, that the 1906 Russian laws, promulgated by The Duma , were “unusually good”. Of course, the Russian Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 caused all those “exceptional laws” to be practical nullities.]

Sam withdrew from Columbia University, to join Professor Pares at The University of Liverpool, in England, and to join in editing *Russian Review*. As Sam’s Liverpool experience at The University of Liverpool was not what he expected, and he withdrew from it in 1913, his Liverpool experiences had facilitated his travel to and within Russia.

In the Fall of 1914, as The Great War was starting, Sam returned to his teaching at The University of Chicago. In 1915, Sam returned to Russia, visited several sectors of the Russian Front and came to believe that the United States was ill-served by its then Ambassador. Reporting as much to Crane, a change of American Ambassador was effected by Crane’s influence with President Wilson, in 1916, former Governor of Missouri, David Francis, was appointed, with Sam to become his unofficial advisor. Sam welcomed the Russian Revolution of February 1917, but not that instigated by the Bolsheviks, in October 1917, when the Bolsheviks took control. Sam was in Russia at the time of neither, but, having accepted a position of Adviser to President Wilson’s Root Commission, Sam joined Commission Chairman Elihu Root, Crane and the other members of the Commission, in Russia until they returned to the United States in July, whereupon, he stayed into September, when he resumed his teaching in Chicago.

Early in the following year, Sam started his part-time, but significant role as Special Assistant to the Russian Section of the U.S. Department of State, which continued through the end of the Wilson Administration. The years of 1921 into 1925 were unproductive years for Sam, as he was prohibited by the Bolsheviks from entering Soviet Russia. In 1925, accompanying Charles Merriam of the University of Chicago’s Department of Political Science, he reentered Russia in June 26, and a major book, *Civic Training in Soviet Russia*, published in 1929, was a result. Goble observes that, in it,

“... [Sam] moderated his [former hostile] stand on Communism and Russia ...”

Goble suggests that Sam’s moderation was caused, as much by his desire to facilitate obtaining permissions for his later trips to Russia, as it was a consequence of anything Sam observed in 1926. Certainly, Sam’s new public views on Russia facilitated the sobriquet, “Soviet Sam”.

Funded by Crane, Sam was, again, able, with permission granted by the Soviets, to go to Russia in 1932, and Crane asked that Sam, after leaving Russia, extend his trip into The Near East, for meetings with representatives of the Jews and of the Arabs. He was to have ended this tour extension in Constantinople, but, by then, he became too ill to make the connections, there, that Crane wished - presumably at Robert College or at the American College for Girls. He could not have connected in Turkey, with Halide Edib, as, after escaping a death sentence by Kemal Mustapha (Atatürk), she elected not to seek re-entry into Turkey until after he had died, which did not occur until 1939.

Goble characterizes Sam as most happy, in 1933, when diplomatic relations resumed between the United States and Russia, and Sam was able, funded by Crane's Institute for Current World Affairs, to return to Russia. Until Sam's health failed, late in the 1930's, he saw his courses fill up and his lectures become more popular. His wide experience in Russia made him a valued counsellor to officials, scholars and others interested in Soviet Russia. His lectures and articles on Russia were a good, if not invariably, reliable, introduction to a Russia then (and still) little-known or understood in the United States. For Crane and Sam Harper, these four decades of the first decades of 1900's, into 1939, had been far from dull.

Sam died in 1943, after having suffered, for years, from cataracts that had severely impaired his vision, for which the then primitive operations had been unsuccessful.

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If one reflects upon the waxing and the waning of American appreciation of Russia, from and after the Russian Revolutions of 1917, one appreciates that, absent some form of security, no Department devoting itself or individual Faculty member, devoting his or her career to Russia could have survived. Tenure can provide some protection to an individual, but tenure does not protect an academic Department.

A good number of events, within Russia, have taken place that have adversely affected the program on Russia contemplated by Crane, starting with the Bolshevik Revolution, within Russia, of October/November 1917. The University of Chicago's focus on Russian affairs has risen and fallen. Today, if one looks at how the teaching of the history of Russia and of Russian culture and language at The University of Chicago, one finds that, of the specialties professed by the 17 members of its Department its Department of Slavic Languages and Literature, only three

are committed to the history of Russia, and their focus appears to be, like Turkey, only on its European side.

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The other day, I saw an article in *The New York Times* bearing this heading:

**In Deals for Donations, Conservatives [*the Koch brothers*]  
Influenced the Hiring of Professors**

Disclosing a potential conflict of interest, I confess that both my children attended, and two of my granddaughters are attending, the Francis Parker School, and my other two granddaughters are attending The University of Chicago's Laboratory Schools. When I conceived of this Paper, I did not foresee the extent to which what I related of Dewey would include substantial mention of both schools.

Then, I was (and I remain) intrigued by the election by Charlie Crane to facilitate his goals by the funding of the careers of individuals, rather than by contributions to charitable institutions. It appears that he had learned, by personal experience, that even a manager of a bona fide nonprofit corporation will divert contributions to it, in directions of which the donor would not have approved,

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Some months ago, Molly Worthen, in "No Way to Measure Students", in *The New York Times* (Sunday, February 26, 2018), wrote:

"Consider that the Holy Grail of learning outcomes, critical thinking - what . . . Dewey called the ability 'to maintain the state of doubt and to carry on systematic and protracted inquiry'. Teaching it is not a cheap or an efficient process. It does not come from trying to educate the most students at the lowest cost or from emphasizing short, quantifiable, standardized assignments, at the expense of meandering, creative and difficult investigation."

"Producing thoughtful, talented graduates is not a matter of focusing on market-ready skills. It is about giving students an opportunity that most of them will, never, have, again, in their lives: the chance for serious exploration of complicated intellectual problems, the gift of time in an institution where curiosity and discovery are the source of meaning."

"That is how we produce the critical thinkers that American employers want to hire. There is no app for that."

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Thank you. We, now, adjourn to our collations.

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John K. Notz, Jr.

May 29, 2018 - Final Version