

**A Just Mind, A Just Community:
Percy Hughes' Contributions to Lehigh University, 1907-1942**

William C. Brehm and Iveta Silova

The evolution of American higher education is a complex process, which encompasses both historical legacies and international influences. Although a handful of universities were organized in America's colonial period, it was the 1900s that saw tremendous change in the university with burgeoning new fields and changing socio-economic structures in America. At Lehigh University, President Henry S. Drinker, inaugurated in 1905, provided the impetus to establish a modern higher education institution on South Mountain in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania with new facilities and faculty. Although Yates (1994) places Lehigh's "institutional transition from 'old' to 'new'" (p. 8) in 1919 at the conclusion of World War I, the foundations which made such an institutional shift possible were laid throughout Drinker's presidency. In fact, over his 15-year tenure, President Drinker added 7 new buildings, hired 32 new faculty members (a 30 percent increase), and almost doubled the student body from 630 in 1904 to 1,136 in 1919 (Bowen, 1924). Beyond the physical renovations to the campus itself, Drinker envisioned a University that not only offered more subjects and was inclusive as a community but also one with a liberal arts core. In this context, Lehigh's philosophy—balancing practical and technical education ("progressive" education) with intellectual and creative education ("liberal" education)—gave the university a unique position in the budding world of academic institutions at the turn of the century.

Since new buildings cannot create modern institutions alone, who were some of the most influential individuals credited with transforming Lehigh's institutional culture in the early 1900s?

One such man was Percy Hughes, a professor of the Philosophy, Psychology, and Education at Lehigh University beginning in 1907 until 1942. He graduated from Teachers College, Columbia University with a Secondary and Upper Elementary Professional Diploma (1897), Alfred University with an *Artium Baccalaureus* (1899), Columbia University with an *Artium Magister* in Philosophy, Psychology, and Education (1902), and a *Philosophiae Doctor* in the Faculty of Philosophy at Columbia University (1904). At the heart of Drinker's unprecedented decision to bring a man like Hughes to Lehigh was the implicit recognition of education as a legitimate field of study. Hughes was in fact the first professor at Lehigh with "education" in his title. This was both a way to continue to meet Asa Packer's founding dream for Lehigh by providing "intellectual and moral improvement of the young men" in the Lehigh Valley (Reverend Stevens as cited in Yates, 1994, 22) with *more* fields of study in the humanities while at the same time recognized the *need* for pedagogical thought in all fields.

With such a mandate, Percy Hughes revolutionized how Lehigh perceived pedagogy in all disciplines—often at the expense of disagreements between faculty members—and worked for 35 years to create an equitable and just Lehigh community.

Over the course of his tenure at Lehigh, Hughes used the responsibility of scholarship to pursue social change and transform the Lehigh culture. By committing himself to interdisciplinary work and humanistic principles, he balanced Lehigh's tradition of scientific and classical education, which was often filled with contradictions, tensions, and disagreements. From encouraging curriculum reform for engineers to campaigning against compulsory chapel attendance, Hughes worked tirelessly to transform Lehigh's academic culture and social environment. From women's rights to environmentalism, Hughes devoted his life to advancing historically progressive ideas.

Notwithstanding his courageous efforts at challenging mainstream thinking, Hughes has been buried in Lehigh's history, joining the growing group of "the forgotten heroes of American education" (Null & Ravitch, 2006). His story reveals an untapped era of educational change and transformational thought at Lehigh and the larger academic community in the United States in the early 1900s. Drawing on archival research, documentary analysis, and interviews with Hughes' family members and former students [1], this historical and biographical account will give voice to one of the individuals who "may otherwise not be allowed to tell [his] story or who [is] denied a voice to speak" (Denzin, 1989, p. 82). A combination of documentary analysis and interview data will help us reconstruct the historical timeframe in which Percy Hughes lived and formed his intellectual thought. His scholarly works will be used to determine his philosophical understanding of the role of education. Finally, an analysis of how his intellectual thoughts and principles translated into his actions at Lehigh University will result in a new understanding of what it means to advance the value critical inquiry and promote an inclusive intellectual community in higher education.

Background

Before detailing Percy Hughes' time at Lehigh University, it is important to understand his past. To accomplish this, our research has had to span three continents—British India (present day Pakistan) where he was born, England where he spent his adolescence, and America where he spent his adulthood. In British India, Hughes' family experienced human poverty and misery; in London, they enjoyed privilege; and in the United States, Percy Hughes crystallized his commitment to advancing social justice and equity through higher education reforms. These experiences profoundly impacted Hughes' beliefs and values he thought about, supported, and, eventually, fought for at Lehigh.

Early Years in Peshawar, British India

Percy Hughes was born on January 23, 1872 to Eliza Lloyd and Thomas Patrick Hughes in Peshawar, British India (present-day Pakistan). Thomas Patrick at the age of 23 enrolled in the Church Missionary Society College in a suburb outside of London. He married Eliza Lloyd the same year he was ordained deacon and sent to Peshawar in 1864. There he learned the languages of the land—Persian, Pushto, Urdu, Hindustani, and Arabic, as well as two local dialects, Peshawaree and Panjabee—dressed as a local (an uncommon practice for most missionaries), and eventually built a *hujrah* (guest house) on the Christian Mission's ground to welcome guests.

His belief in learning the local culture and way of life differed drastically from many other missionaries in British India who were more concerned with converting locals to the Christian faith. One of Thomas Patrick's colleagues wrote of his unique abilities, "As [locals] had shown [Hughes] the greatest hospitality, he determined to reciprocate...He was always glad to see them come and they soon found that they were very welcome. In no other mission in India did I see so many natives coming voluntarily under Christian influence" (cited in Clark, 2004). Indeed, Thomas Patrick nearly spent his entire early adulthood learning a foreign land occupied by Britain, and by 1885 published *A Dictionary of Islam: Being a Cyclopaedia of the Doctrines, Rites, Ceremonies, and Customs Together with the Technical and Theological Terms of Muhammadan Religion*, a book reprinted as recently as 1994 because "no similar work has been done over 100 years later" (Hughes, 1994, vi).

Hughes' mother, Eliza Lloyd, was known, according to Elizabeth Clark, as "the little saint." Although our knowledge of Eliza Lloyd is limited at the present moment, the few bits of information that have been passed from Elizabeth Clark to us confirm her commitment to the ideals of gender equity. In particular, Eliza Lloyd fought for women's suffrage as early as the 1880s, well before it was popular to do so in either England or the United States.

Both of Hughes' parents had tremendous influence on his life and work. Strands of social justice and understanding—not to mention his piety—have roots and foundations in his parents and his international upbringing. At the age of three, Hughes moved to London, absent his parents at first, to receive a proper education, something his parents understood could not be earned on the Northwest frontiers of the British Empire.

Christ's Hospital in the United Kingdom

Once Percy Hughes was of age for school, he entered Christ's Hospital, the Blue-Coat School in London. Here Hughes learned historic values of community and the importance of equity from legacies of the school itself. The modern institution of Christ's Hospital began under Edward VI, the "boy king" who in the 16th Century created the school at the age of 15. "Edward then, moved by an appeal from Bishop Ridley, and 'understanding that a great number of poor people did swarm in this realm, and chiefly in the City of London, and that no good order was taken of them,' sent for the Bishop, and that prelate subsequently, by command of the King, conferred with the Corporation, one result, amongst others, being the establishment of Christ's Hospital, by the confirmation of the eighth Henry's grant of the old Grey Friars' monastery, for the sustenance and education of youth" (Blanch, 1887, 3-4). To this day, Christ's Hospital provides liberal education—based on a well-rounded curriculum of classics—"especially to children of families in social, financial or other need" (Mission Statement).

Education at Christ's Hospital had a tremendous impact on Hughes. Although limited information is available about Hughes' time at Christ's Hospital, reprinted letters of some of the most well remembered Blue Coats in history reveal the impact this institution had on its students. Most boys who wore blue coats were said to be "destined, for the most part, to trades or to mercantile pursuits" (Blanch, 1887, p. 40), but some had gone on to the highest ranks of scholarship and literary fame. Samuel Taylor Coleridge,

the famous British poet, attended Christ's Hospital in the early 1800s. He wrote about his experience this way:

At school, I enjoyed the inestimable advantage of a very sensible, though at the same time a very severe master, the Reverend James Bowyer. He early moulded my taste to the preference of Demosthenes to Cicero, of Homer and Theocritus to Virgil, and again of Virgil to Ovid. He habituated me to compare Lucretius (in such extracts as I then read), Terence, and above all the chaster poems of Catullus, not only with the Roman poets of the, so called, silver and brazen ages; but with even those of the Augustan era: and on ground of plain sense and universal logic to see and assert the superiority of the former in the truth and nativeness both of their thoughts and diction. At the same time we were studying the Greek tragic poets, he made us read Shakespeare and Milton as lessons: and they were the lessons too, which required most time and trouble to bring up, so as to escape his censure. I learned from him, that poetry, even that of the loftiest and, seemingly, that of the wildest odes, had a logic of its own, as severe as that of science; and more difficult, because more subtle, more complex, and dependent on more, and more fugitive causes. (cited in Winbolt, 1920, 236)

We believe Hughes received a similar education to Coleridge. Unfortunately, he withdrew from his last form of schooling because of financial reasons; he became a clerk in London to support his mother and his siblings. Soon, he moved to America where his timing was impeccable. He landed on the shores of New York City in time for some of the greatest minds in American educational thought to meet and work together at Teachers College, founded in 1887 but only officially part of Columbia University since 1898.

Moving to America

The eight years from 1888 when Percy Hughes moved to America until 1895 when he enrolled in Teachers College to earn a teaching certificate remain unclear beyond Elizabeth Clark's family history, which says he "was active in settlement house volunteer work and also active with the YMCA." His decision to enroll in Teachers College also remains a mystery beyond the likely influence from his father who taught Sunday school in London before entering the Church Missionary Society College. Why would a man with an incomplete secondary education enroll in a certificate program to teach primary and secondary school, especially when most men enrolled in Teachers College earned certificates for school administrative roles? Was he unable to enroll in such certificate programs because of his incomplete secondary education or did he truly value teaching and consciously choose a teaching certificate? And why did he decide to enroll in a school of education before education was formally recognized as a field of study in American higher education institutions? These questions still remain unanswered in our research. The answers we believe are complex and do not derive from one moment or person; but even the need for us to *ask* these questions suggests Hughes was a unique figure at the turn of the 20th Century. His enrollment at Teachers College was rare—there were less than five men in his graduating class—and he was the only male who earned a teaching—not an administrative—certificate. Commenting on the first cohorts of Teachers College graduates, Dean Russell (1937) emphasized their extraordinary vision:

"They brought with them maturity of judgment and a wide diversity of experience. Ambitious they all were, else they would not have been there. What we had to offer was opportunity, and the inducement to join us in opening up new fields was the lure..." (p. 39)

At Hughes' graduation in 1897, the year before Teachers College became officially affiliated with Columbia University, the superintendent of public instruction in New York City, Dr. Skinner, told the graduates, "the ideal educator would teach four things greater than any to be found in books—how to study, how to think, how to value knowledge, and how to love mankind." Following his graduation from Teachers College, Hughes immediately enrolled in Columbia University as a junior in Philosophy. However, he had to finish his undergraduate degree at Alfred University after his sister became ill and was prescribed fresh air (typical medical advice of the time). While at Alfred, Hughes' scholarship flourished as an editor of the *Alfred Monthly*, almost in direct opposition to the football team which had won few games while Hughes was on the roster. Upon his graduation from Alfred in 1899, Hughes headed to Greenport High School in Long Island, New York City with the words of Dr. Skinner still fresh in his mind. There, the values and purpose of education became tangible to Hughes. But he had larger ideas—ideas he needed more time to contemplate.

Back to Columbia

Percy Hughes' thoughts brought him back to Columbia for graduate work in 1901. He received a recommendation letter (dated March 5, 1901) from William J. White, chairman of committee on teachers and school work at Greenport Union School. In the letter, White said of Hughes, "In my judgment he is one of the best teachers in the state." Adding, "Mr. Hughes impresses me with his conviction that he loves to teach, and is willing to pay the price of getting the best results obtainable from his pupils...he has won a high place in the esteem of our community because of his scholarship and painstaking work." It is our belief that the combination of his classical studies at Christ's Hospital with practical studies at Teachers College allowed him to think about education in new ways. Although he was able to become a remembered teacher at Greenpoint in only two years, he could not devote proper time to thinking about and studying education while caught up in the day-to-day demands of teaching. He needed to return to higher education to fully think about what it meant to be educated and how education should function in a society. Later in his life, Hughes (1939) would go on to write, "When an issue challenges him to Act it is man's distinction that for a period he withholds himself from Action, devoting himself first to understanding what the issue is" (p. 645). Hughes needed more time "understanding what the issue [of education] is"; therefore, he returned to study at Columbia, this time under some of the greatest educational thinkers in American history.

Hughes returned to New York City to find philosophers, psychologists, and educators pondering the very questions he had asked at Greenport High School. He began his work under John Dewey (father of progressive education who came to Columbia in 1900 but only officially recognized as a faculty member in 1906), Frederick J.E. Woodbridge (father of American naturalism), James McKeen Cattell (a pioneer in American psychology and editor of *Science* for 50 years), Nicholas Murray Butler

(founder of Teachers College in 1887, President of Columbia University from 1902 until 1945, and winner of the Nobel peace prize in 1931), Frank M. McMurry (philosopher of the theory and practice of teaching), Edward L. Thorndike (father of educational psychology), and Samuel T. Dutton (co-author of the first school administration textbook in 1908)—all of whom directed his doctoral studies and were on his dissertation committee. Moving back to Morning Side Heights, Hughes witnessed and experienced immense change for how we think about the university generally and the study of education specifically. He became one of the first students ever to study the field of education from a historical and philosophical perspective—not simply as professional training. American education would never again be the same.

Four years of graduate study at Columbia University impacted Hughes' later work at Lehigh University. He became an agent of change, filled with humanistic ideas and classical verses from Christ's Hospital and armed with progressive education learned at Columbia University and Teachers College. He carried on the vision and purpose of higher education so clearly articulated by Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University (1902-1945) who said in a 1905 *New York Times* article: "I think that more and more there comes to be a perception of the true work of education, namely, that it is to fit the young of both sexes for all the duties of citizenship, so that in the generations that are to come there may be men and women qualified to take inspiring and sufficient part in public life, in the life of society, and in all the various organizations by which civilization is expected to progress." (p. SM5). It is this "service ideal" (Rudolph, 1990, p. 356) that formed the foundation for Hughes' transformative initiatives at Lehigh University.

Percy Hughes' Impact on Lehigh University

Percy Hughes arrived at Lehigh University in 1907 when the university "was caught up in the spirit of self-study and reform" (Yates, 1992, p. 121). Building on the community-oriented initiatives began under former Lehigh University President Thomas M. Drown, President Drinker carried out the idea of public service by reiterating Asa Packer's call for a balance of scientific and classical education—what was called "progressive" and "liberal" education respectively in the early 1900s. In his speech to the Engineer's Club of Northern Pennsylvania, Drinker explained that "the duties of our institutions of higher learning... should not be restricted to what is taught to students within our walls, but they should be leaders in thought, and particularly in the teaching of things that pertain to the well-being and betterment of men." In 1906, Drinker invited the great astronomer John Alfred Brashear to speak at the Lehigh Founder's Day exercises. His speech, which Drinker eventually sent to every alumni of the University, echoed Drinker's beliefs in the importance of public service in American universities. After Brashear eloquently praised Lehigh for its contribution to technical fields by preparing graduates in science and engineering, he went on to say,

It may be a hobby for your speaker, but he has been of the opinion for many years that not only is it of paramount importance that every student of technology should have enough of the so-called humanities in his curriculum to develop the higher manhood, and thus broaden out his vision, but, conversely, every student

who may choose the humanities should get in touch with at least enough of science, or technics, to enable him to comprehend the marvelous advances in every line of human thought and industry that will surely come to pass during this day and generation. (cited in *The Bethlehem Globe*, 1906)

Indeed, Drinker had a vision for far-reaching university reforms, and "he found in Percy Hughes a person to supervise them" (Yates, 1992, p. 121). Hughes' methods for reforming the university centered on his belief in critical inquiry. That is to say, to understand an issue, one needs more than reflection: conceiving, exploring, observing, and appreciating are independently needed for complete understanding. In a short history of the department of Philosophy, Psychology, and Education at Lehigh, Hughes (n.d) states, "Critical inquiry should take the place of indoctrination" (p. 7). Hughes separated his notion of understanding from the "stone fence which John Locke built across the field of understanding, to separate the 'operations of the mind' from the sensory medium in which alone they occur" (Hughes, 1939, p. 647). Hughes' belief in critical inquiry displayed the "natural contours [of understanding], which our furrows should follow, if we are to check those floods of ambiguity that now wash sterile gullies down the slopes of thought" (Hughes, 1939, p. 647). Critical inquiry into any issue requires great thought and focus, sometimes in lieu of action. [2]

The search for complete understanding inevitably created tensions, a fact Hughes was acutely aware of, for, as he would write in a 1944 column for the *Warren Journal*, "truth proves itself dangerous indeed, but not fatal." He would persist, nonetheless. In 1937, for example, Hughes was placed on a year-to-year contract at the decision of President Williams. Hughes. Upset at this provision, Hughes wrote a letter to one of his former students, Dr. William J. Rubbins, on the matter: "That genuine democracy and the highest exercise of intelligence are not only compatible but mutually favorable, [President Williams] has, I think, still to learn."

More revealing than Hughes' sharp, humorous commentary on Williams was Dr. Rubbins' letter to the President to write in support of Hughes. In it, Rubbins reveals how Hughes taught critical inquiry: Hughes was the only professor, Rubbins claimed, that taught him he "could think, in addition to [learn] to repeat intelligently what others had thought." If there is anything we can attribute to Hughes, it is his never-ceasing effort to challenge Lehigh's educational culture by wishing every student receive what Rubbins had learned—that is to say, the wish that critical inquiry replace dogma in education. Reading Lehigh's history from the macro-level similar to Yates (1994), Hughes was part of the modernization of Lehigh from the "old" to the "new" in curriculum, pedagogy, and community precisely because of this hope.

Reforming Curriculum

Percy Hughes came to Lehigh at first witnessing and observing, trying to understand the culture and practices at Lehigh. What he witnessed was a school dominated by lectures, absent regular faculty office hours, and an overall feeling that students must adapt to a professor's teaching method or else teach himself the material. Hughes, armed with notions of child-centered learning, wanted to reform this culture by building a new

community around scholarship and intellectual curiosity not stymied by faculty but embraced through student-professor collaboration.

Hughes' eagerness to reform curriculum at Lehigh became evident in faculty meetings. Once he voiced his opinion, debate typically broke out. It is common to read in the faculty minutes comments like "great debate ensued" after Hughes had made a suggestion. His proposals were, in fact, paradigm shifting for many of the established disciplines and norms at Lehigh. In 1924, for example, Hughes together with Professors Hall and Luch, criticized the new metallurgy curriculum for its "lack of sufficient cultural subjects" (faculty minutes, 5 May 1924). He even challenged lectures as the preferred style of teaching. In his first register announcement, Hughes stated how his classes would function differently: "all courses, he said, in this department are conducted through recitation, and require a term paper prepared in collaboration with the instructor" (Hughes, n.d.). He then added how his teaching style differed from other courses as "a departure from the former method of lecturing, with its trend towards sermonizing, in favor of a method that requires students to express and defend their own opinions and to face new problems with the use of their own resources."

Hughes' curricula critiques did not only center on the sciences and engineering disciplines. He criticized the humanities as well. "It seems axiomatic that in the English department, at least, and in modern languages the written exercises should not only be returned marked, but also be again returned by the student to the instructor, corrected by him." Adding, "Here seems to be a point where insistence upon something thoroughly done is more important than two or three things not quite done" (archive box, 111.01.09).

Hughes' critical inquiry of pedagogy in all fields upset the status quo at the University. This left Hughes at times with few friends and rarely voted onto various academic committees. In 1938, after many years unelected to the Faculty Education Club—the standing faculty committee he formed as the only faculty member then trained in education—he was asked to rejoin the committee. The first topic of discussion for the November meeting, to the dislike of many who voted him off the committee years past but in typical *Hughesian* fashion, was entitled "improving the engineering curriculum." This moment is representative of Hughes's time at Lehigh: he never stopped asking how education can be improved for all students—regardless of the opinions of administrators or other faculty members.

Proposing co-education

Co-education became one of Percy Hughes' most important initiatives throughout his tenure at Lehigh University. Historically, calls for co-education in American were heard as early as the pre-Civil War years. Oberlin College first admitted women in 1837, and at the 1856 Women's Rights Convention, Lucy Stone stated the demand women would make for the next century:

"Our demand that Harvard and Yale colleges should admit women, though not yet yielded, only waits for a little more time. And while they wait, numerous petty 'female colleges' have sprung into being, indicative of the justice of our

claim that a college education should be granted to women. Not one of these female colleges . . . meets the demands of the age, and so will eventually perish" (Cited in Rosenberg, 1988).

These "female colleges" did not perish, however, and economics and tradition became the two largest hurdles preventing nation-wide co-education. If a school was financially sound with only male education, then there existed a lack of economic incentive to admit women. Many schools which suffered economic troubles, particularly in the South after the Civil War, admitted women much earlier than schools with little or no financial issues, mainly private, northern schools. Additionally, if a school had traditions and legacies of male education like that of Harvard and Yale (and Lehigh), then it became even harder to heed the call for co-education. As result, female attendance in college only equaled that of men's enrollment in the 1980s.

Despite this troubling history of co-education, there were individuals who worked tirelessly to fight the status quo at private schools in the North—the exact schools isolated from the pressure to support co-education by having both tradition and economic privilege. Hughes was one individual who fought for equity despite the hurdles. He learned the value of co-education from his suffrage-fighting mother in the late 1800s and from the historical legacies of Christ's Hospital, which opened a co-educational school in 1552. [3] Hughes, nonetheless, issued a resolution in 1918 for Lehigh to become co-educational, almost 60 years before the University widely adopted the practice. After consulting John Dewey on the matter, Hughes received a reply from him that emphasized how women actually improve the standards of male education (dated 11 February 1918). Hughes' proposal for co-education at Lehigh University, however, was denied outright.

Hughes did not stop there. He brought Dr. Clara Harrison Town to teach psychology during summer sessions, becoming the first woman to teach on campus, and created extension courses and summer sessions where women were allowed to enroll. By September of 1918, a resolution from President Drinker, inspired by Hughes, reached the faculty: "that the degrees of M.A. and M.S. be granted to women on the same conditions as in the case of men, provided that no permission be thereby extended to women to attend undergraduate courses in the University other than extension courses." It was a compromise most likely to appease Hughes' persistence.

But for Hughes that was not enough. In 1925, the committee for Summer Sessions, which Hughes headed, recommended a teacher training program for both men and women. "That to further the success of such a program a certificate be issuable to both men and women students, for two years work" (faculty minutes, 23 February 1925). This proposal, eventually approved, was a way to give proper training to teachers in the local community, who were typically unwed women.

Undergraduate co-education was, however, Hughes' *cause célèbre*. He did not rest until such a call was heard. Contrary to popular belief, co-education did not begin at Lehigh in 1972. It was, rather, first experienced at Lehigh when, on May 6, 1929, Lehigh adopted two new rules for women: (1) women were now "admitted as graduate students on the same terms as men" and (2) "women admitted to summer sessions either as

graduate or undergraduates" (faculty minutes; emphasis added). For the first time in Lehigh's history, women were admitted as undergraduates, even if only during summer sessions and still under the 1918 rules that declared the education of women "should largely be limited to the late afternoon, and to Saturdays, so that the general character of campus life shall not be affected by this innovation" (faculty minutes, 4 February 1918).

Abolishing compulsory chapel

Hughes did not support Lehigh's tradition of mandatory chapel exercises. These daily 15-minute services originally were ritualistically Christian in nature but by 1931 expressed a moral or ethical charge to the boys before 8 a.m. classes. In an October 10, 1904 letter, President Drown wrote that compulsory chapel "brings the whole body of students together and therefore promotes 'college spirit.'"

But Hughes understood that although Lehigh was founded by Episcopalians, having many reverends as professors (e.g. Stevens, Howe, Rulison) and presidents (e.g. The Rev. Dr. John M. Leavitt was professor of Psychology and Christian Evidences while president of the university from 1875-1879), it was a university designed to respond to the ever changing society by blending the "practical and professional duties of the time" (Asa Packer cited in Blake, 1925) with that of a "sane and philosophic grasp of what society needs" (Blake, 1925, 68). It is for this reason that Hughes believed that by 1907, the university was ready to shift from a religious era to a philosophic period. He explained that the period from 1907 to 1930 could be called "the philosophic period," because "the religious, psychological and educational studies that formed parts of the University curricula, as well as those of distinctly philosophic import, all were throughout inspired and directed by the ancient philosophic dictum that an individual cannot live worthily unless he submit his life to reasoned, independent examination" (Hughes, n.d., p. 1-2). For Hughes, the philosophic period required a shift away from "the prevailing method of instruction [,] the lecture, often imbued with the spirit of a sermon" to that of seminar. Compulsory chapel became the symbol of the religious era of the university, and Hughes was determined to respond to society by moving Lehigh fully into the philosophic period.

Hughes, although a very pious man, did not fully believe in religious exercises on college grounds. In 1923 he proposed a motion to change the word "chapel" to "assembly"—to instill a non-denominational element to the exercises—but was denied by a vote. Similar to his efforts for co-education, Hughes did not let one vote stop his efforts. In 1925 Hughes began to fight compulsory chapel more outwardly, but failed when, in 1929, he lost his seat on the committee on chapel. By 1930, the *Brown and White* was editorializing to abolish compulsory chapel as part of its proposed "Brown and White Platform." This four point plan, appearing in the February 11, 1930 edition, proposed the "abolition of compulsory Chapel" second only to the "elimination of corrupt political practices" on campus. After reading the "Brown and White Platform," President Richards asked the faculty to oppose such an action (faculty minutes, 3 March 1930).

No action on compulsory chapel was taken until 1931—well into the fourth stage of the history of philosophy, psychology, and education at Lehigh, which Hughes viewed "as an era of increased emphasis upon specialized techniques, in religion and morals, in

philosophy proper, in psychology, and in educational economy" (Hughes, n.d., 2)—when the services switched from ritualistic to moral and ethical, the non-denominational element Hughes proposed eight years earlier. In addition to the new rules, students had the option of enrolling in two semesters worth of moral and religious philosophy, a new department headed by Professor Beardslee, as an alternative to the two-year compulsory chapel. [4] This plan lasted until 1937 when compulsory chapel turned into a freshman colloquium, a one-year course equivalent to the teachings in the chapel. By 1940, the administration reduced this colloquium to one semester, at which point the slow abolition of compulsory chapel was finally achieved more than 15 years after Hughes proposed the name change from "Chapel" to "Assembly." [5]

Remembering R.W. Blake as Hughes' legacy

Hughes' soulmate at Lehigh was Robert W. Blake who came to Lehigh in 1899 to teach Latin and head the school of General Literature (later called the College Arts and Sciences) until his death on January 27, 1921. Not only was Blake the man credited for placing Hughes as the head of the newly formed Philosophy, Psychology, and Education department in 1907, but also was one of the only men Hughes found camaraderie at Lehigh for his shared beliefs in liberal education based on the classics. [6] During the early 1900s when the scientific method began to invade the humanities—eventually being labeled "social sciences"—the partnership between Hughes and Blake was based on survival—survival of the belief education was not about "the individual but the society of which the individual [was] a part" (Blake, 1925, 67-68).

Blake's convictions and beliefs in classical education became apparent in his 1912 Founder's Day address. During this eloquent speech, he observed a difference between universities in 1912 and that of the mid-1800s: "The difference between the modern spirit of our Colleges and Universities and that of fifty years ago lies, not only in the extent to which the study of science has invaded the curriculum, but in the frank concessions to vocational training" (Blake, 1925). He would go on to rhetorically ask, "whether higher education in its eagerness to respond to the material needs of an industrial age has not overshot the mark, and whether something that society very much needs has not been slighted." Answering his own query, Blake affirmed "men are not mere creatures of material wants, they do not live by bread alone. They live by the affections, by poetry, by music. They are concerned with art, with philosophy, with religion; they covet good health more than wealth, a good conscience more than success. Let it not be thought that young men find no interest in these things." Hughes' English education, philosophic orientation, and understanding of progressive education from Columbia University attracted Blake to Hughes. With a balance of liberal and progressive education, Hughes was exactly the type of faculty member needed at Lehigh to continue the charge Asa Packer first laid out in 1865 and yet had—and has—been easily overshadowed in a school dominated by engineers.

What is clear is Hughes' absolute respect for Blake. After Blake's death in 1921, the faculty passed a memorial to Blake during a faculty meeting held on January 28. It read in part, "The memory of Professor Blake will always be cherished and held as a precious tradition in the academic life of the Lehigh University, as a rare combination of

scholarship, culture, and personal charm." The February 11, 1921 *Brown and White* editorialized, "faculty and students owe much [to Blake] for the maintenance of the true university spirit." The faculty and students eventually hung a bronze plaque commemorating Blake in Packer Chapel, which still proudly hangs to this day. It reads: "He loved great things. He won the devotion of men and was a power in their lives. He taught to many the greatness of learning and the man's mind."

The evidence is overwhelming and we now believe Hughes began to see his legacy at Lehigh starting in 1923 as tied to Blake's. His participation and persistence at faculty meetings, for example, noticeably increased after Blake's death in 1921. One must believe that Hughes felt he now carried the burden of classical education previously shared by Blake and Drinker. It was in the post-1921 years that Hughes increased his demand for co-education, started his campaign against compulsory chapel, and challenged the curriculum and grading standards of the university.

Another legacy of Hughes' was the official creation of the R.W. Blake Society in 1924, the only philosophical society on campus. It was a way to remember Blake and remind himself of the burden of spearheading continued support for classical education. For Hughes, this was the way to honor the man whom he owed his entire career. More importantly, this society began the sole philosophical group on campus until 1944 when the demands of World War II eliminated many of the student activities and clubs on campus. [7] The Society was opened to ten seniors and five juniors "chosen on the basis of their qualifications and their interest in philosophy, psychology, and education" (*Brown and White*, 13 November 1923). This group of interdisciplinary men would meet monthly, typically at Hughes' home in Belvedere, NJ, and took annual trips to Universities nearby. They would discuss important issues of the day, including "is war inevitable" in the late 1930s and many of Dewey's books.

The students involved in the Blake Society were a unique breed at Lehigh. They were men who used philosophical inquiry in all of their studies. One man, Arthur Mickley (class of 1940), was an electrical engineer but was always drawn to philosophy. He enrolled in a no-credit program Hughes created in 1937 called General Education. The course, designed after the Great Books program out of the University of Chicago, matched students with faculty to "do independent reading in literature" and "meet regularly with a faculty member to discuss the reading" (personal communication, 23 September 2009). Mickley claims he "may have been the only [student] who" enrolled in this British-like program and studied under Professor Becker. In fact, almost three-dozen enrolled during the first year, and mentoring faculty crossed disciplines, including engineering and philosophy professors alike. Even at the age of 90, Mickley to this day continues to participate in a Great Books program.

Another student, Judge Malcolm Muir who graduated in 1935, came to Lehigh because of his cousins, the infamous Stablers of the Lehigh Valley. He enrolled in philosophy because he did not understand the subject, "and still doesn't" (personal communication, 13 January 2010). Muir would eventually go on to Harvard Law school, which Lehigh adequately prepared him for, and began a successful career in Estate law.

At the age of 95 years old, Muir holds senior status as a United States Federal Judge for the Middle District of Pennsylvania, still writing lengthy opinions. Little did most of the students in the Blake Society know, but their involvement was a unique experiment at Lehigh. They were—and still are for the remaining few—unlikely aware of the trials and tribulations of Hughes, Drinker, and Blake starting in 1907 to maintain the firm balance of progressive and liberal education in a school dominated by engineers.

Conclusion

On June 23, 1939, Lehigh celebrated Hughes' 30th year of service. At a large dinner held in the Masonic Temple in South Bethlehem, John Dewey spoke in front of Lehigh faculty, select students, and members of the community. Dewey, one of the most recognizable American philosophers of the 20th century, had known Hughes since his graduate studies at Columbia in 1901 and kept in close contact ever since. For Dewey to give the keynote address in honor of Hughes was an absolute privilege for the whole Lehigh community. With Dewey and Hughes' close friendship (he slept on Hughes' couch in North Bethlehem on multiple occasions), the possibility of Dewey telling comical stories about the absent-minded professor lingered throughout the audience. Were the stories students told of Hughes true? Did he in fact leave his wife at the New York Opera after going to pick up the car? Did he forget he parked his car at the Philadelphia train station when he took a train from New York back to Bethlehem? Had he on multiple occasions walked across the hill-to-hill bridge on his way to Lehigh, turn his back to block the northwardly blowing wind while lighting a cigarette, and then—upon successful ignition—walked straight back home and miss class entirely?

Instead of validating the many myths concocted by students, Dewey explored the history education and placed Hughes in the middle of the great transformations in higher education of the 20th Century. He went further and explained what he saw happening in the world of education. He told the crowd that education and psychology have "suffered in this country through their divorce from philosophy." He reminded the audience that people like Hughes believed philosophy pervaded every part of life; divorcing philosophy from any subject was an injustice to academic pursuits. This was nothing short of a re-affirmation of Asa Packer's dream, the perfect balance between classical and scientific education. Dewey believed that to instill philosophic thought in every subject, in every discipline, and in every field required people like Hughes in American universities. It was not that progressive education should dominate liberal education or vice versa in any one university, but rather that the two must learn to coexist to meet the practical needs of society while still asking philosophic questions *about* society.

The night Dewey spoke showed how Lehigh's history like all history is continuous; even if we do not directly understand where we came from, we still ultimately have been influenced by those who came before us. What Henry Coppee represented at the founding of the university and Robert Blake at the turn of the 20th century, Percy Hughes continued through two wars and into the mid-20th Century. Hughes stated in 1904, "History is that past process which has brought about a present fact, known as the evidence. The historian searches for the thing that has effected that present, for the agent, that is, whose action, then, is that past reality, the content of

history." It has become clear that agents do exist through history, and Hughes was influential in meeting Lehigh's original purpose laid out by Packer in 1865.

Uncovering this small yet important piece of history highlights a legacy of reform and reminds us of the essence of what the University should champion: understanding and coping with an uncertain world, wherever that may lead, by advancing new intellectual values, challenging traditional culture of established institutions, and pushing universities, faculty, and students in new directions (Barnett, 2003). By understanding the tension Hughes lived with for 35 years at Lehigh, and his tenacity to preserve, moves us towards Hughes' dream of students "express[ing] and defend[ing] their own opinions and [facing] new problems with the use of their own resources."

As we remember Hughes today, we will continue to strive for the impossible first set out by Asa Packer, Henry Coppee, and Bishop Stevens: we will create an interdisciplinary educational space where we are not afraid to listen to each other and challenge each other through intellectual thought based on justice, equality, and peace. Remembering Hughes' legacy is an important first step as we try to renew our efforts to make this complicated university filled with transitory students on South Mountain a just community.

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank the Council for Equity and Community at Lehigh University for providing research funding; Ilhan Citak, Jean Johnson, and Lois Black for their help in the archives; and the family of Percy Hughes for their inspiration and help throughout the research process.

Endnotes

1. Our research of Hughes began in August 2008 when we realized Hughes knew John Dewey personally. Since then, we have spent hundreds of hours in Lehigh's archive, traveled to North Carolina and Florida to speak with Hughes' children, Elizabeth Clark and Alfred Hughes respectively, and spoke with five of his former students.
2. Hughes would separate the term "action" from "Action" by using the German words *Wirkung* (action) and *Handlung* (Action).
3. Christ's Hospital first opened one school in 1552, which was co-educational. By 1778, however, all of the girls moved to their separate building. This established the separation of boys and girls for centuries to come.
4. The establishment of the department of Moral and Religious Philosophy outraged Hughes. He believed that it was impossible to separate the study of morals and religions from classical philosophy. History is important here. In 1926, Hughes proposed a motion to allow students to take a course in the Philosophy of Religion, housed in the department of philosophy and education, as a replacement to compulsory chapel. This motion was passed. But in 1931, when the new department of Moral and Religious Philosophy was introduced, no courses in Philosophy could be substituted for chapel. This was politically upsetting for Hughes and, more importantly, took potential students away from his department. As many professors understand, having students enrolled in your department provides justification for continued resources from the administration. Academic politics, like all politics, is a zero-sum game. Thus, throughout the 1930s, Hughes introduced motions in faculty meetings to abolish the newly formed department. This, nonetheless, created great tension between Beardslee and Hughes.
5. The legacy of this one semester colloquium continues to the present. Freshmen in the College of Arts and Sciences are still required to take a one semester "freshmen seminar" where a diversity of topics are discussed. Although morals and ethics may not be foci in these seminars, the history of such a course can be traced back to the debates of compulsory chapel started in the 1920s.
6. Blake was the professor assigned by Drinker to find a replacement for the vacant seat in the department of philosophy and psychology after Lightner Witmer withdrew to the University of Pennsylvania in 1905 or 1906 and William Harper Davis, assistant professor under Witmer and head upon his departure, had, in Percy Hughes' (n.d) recollection, a "nervous breakdown" in 1907. Both Witmer and Davis, incidentally, were colleagues and students of James McKeen Cattell, son of a former Lafayette President and member of Hughes' dissertation committee. It thus became the result of Blake's search that brought Hughes to

- Lehigh after spending a year at the University of Tulane. To the best of our knowledge, Blake and Hughes had not met prior to 1907. It is, however, probable that Blake knew of Cattell because of both Witmer and Davis' connection to Columbia as well as Drinker's relationship with a fellow academician from the Lehigh Valley, which was confirmed by a letter Drinker wrote in support of Cattell's nomination as secretary of the Smithsonian Institution. (Cattell was not selected as secretary.) In any event, it is still unclear exactly how Blake discovered Hughes or Hughes, Lehigh.
7. The elimination of the Society also occurred with Hughes' departure from the University just two years prior.

References

- Barnett, R. (2003). *Beyond all Reason: Living with Ideology in the University*. Philadelphia: Open University Press.
- Blake, R.W. (1925). *Three Addresses by Robert W. Blake*. Privately Printed.
- Blanch, W.H. (1877). *The Blue-Coat Boys or, School Life in Christ's Hospital*. London: E.W. Allen, Ave Maria Lane, E.C.
- Bowen, C.D. (1924). *A History of Lehigh University*. Bethlehem, PA: Times Publishing Company
- Brashear, J.A. (11 October 1906). Founder's Day Address at Lehigh University. *The Bethlehem Globe*, pp. 1.
- Butler, N.M (24 December 1905). The President of Columbia University on Education. *New York Times*, pp. SM5
- Clark, E.H. (2004). Thomas Patrick Hughes (1838-1911): Missionary to India's "Northwest Frontier." *National Episcopal Historians and Archivists*, 62(1).
- Cremin, L. A., Shannon, D. A. and Townsend, M. E. (1954). *A History of Teachers College, Columbia University*. NY: Columbia University Press.
- Denzin, N. K. (1989). *Interpretive biography*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Hughes, P. (n.d.) The History of Philosophy, Psychology, and Education at Lehigh University. (Unpublished)
- Hughes, P. (1939). The Technique of Philosophic Explanation. *The Journal of Philosophy*, 36(24), 645-656.

- Hughes, T.P. (1994). *A Dictionary of Islam: Being a Cyclopedic of the Doctrines, Rites, Ceremonies, and Customs Together with the Technical and Theological Terms of Muhammadan Religion*. Chicago: KAZI Publications, Inc.
- Null, J. W. and Ravitch, D. (Eds). (2006). *Forgotten Heroes of American Education: The Great Tradition of Teaching Teachers*. Greenwich, CT: Information Age Publishing, Inc.
- Rosenberg, R. (1988). The Limits of Access: The History of Coeducation in America. In J.M. Faragher and F. Howe (Eds.) *Women and Higher Education in American History: Essays from the Mount Holyoke College Sesquicentennial Symposia* (pp. 107-129). New York: Penguin Books.
- Rudolph, F. (1990). *The American College and University: A History*. Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press.
- Russell, J. E. (1937). *Founding Teachers College: Reminiscences of the Dean Emeritus*. NY: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University.
- Winbolt, S.E. (Ed.) (1920). *The Poetry & Prose of Coleridge, Lamb & Leigh Hunt*. London: W.J. Bryce.
- Yates, W. Ross. *Lehigh University: A History of Education in Engineering, Business, and the Human Condition*. Bethlehem: Lehigh University Press, 1992.