

Chapter 5

1945-1959 at Rutgers: A Postwar Interlude of Aspirations and Frustrations

The end of World War II ushered in major changes in the nature of the American psychology department and, more generally, in the role of psychology in American society. For several decades following the war, a major stimulant for the postwar transformation of psychology was the generous support of a number of federal agencies. They provided new and significant sources of employment for academically trained psychologists, some for research in laboratories within a given agency, and others for professional services required by that agency. These federal agencies were also generous in providing grants directly to faculty for research of direct or potential relevance to the agency. In short, emerging from psychology after the war were new scientifically based professions, and this was also to the enormous benefit of psychology as a science.

By the end of the war, psychology had established itself as a sizeable and permanent presence within the military's research and development. Psychology was no longer experiencing the disdain it encountered early in the war from, to use Pratt's words, a "hard-boiled group in the Army and Navy that has no use for psychology." Psychology had proven itself during the war and its input to the military now ranged ever more widely to include research in motor skills learning, general training methods, decision-making, psychometrics, the social psychology of team composition and performance, and human engineering, among others. All of this required that psychology departments provide the military with a variety of well-trained research and professional psychologists. The grants from the Department of Defense to faculty often provided funds not only for direct research expenses, but also for building or enhancing research facilities, and for supporting graduate students as well.

An even greater impact on the academic department was the Veterans Administration with its requirements for large numbers of clinical psychologists to treat the "neuropsychiatric" problems of many returning veterans, that is, psychological problems, some induced by neurological injury. The VA and the Public Health Service were generous in providing a participating psychology department with funds for the training of graduate students, for physical facilities, for

internships, and for a variety of basic and applied research projects — in short, for a well-rounded graduate program in clinical psychology.

As a consequence of this research support and the demand for new PhDs to staff the positions available in the various agencies, numerous psychology departments enlarged and altered their composition. There was now a need for a research-oriented faculty who could attract outside research funds and who could train doctoral level graduate students for an academic, professional and/or research career.

In line with these changes to psychology, the American Psychological Association reorganized and enlarged its role “to advance psychology as a science, as a profession, and as a means of promoting human welfare” (Capshew, 1999, p.162). Professional publications, the most prestigious under the aegis of the APA, grew in number and diversity as outlets for the burgeoning of psychological research and professional practice. The APA played an important role in the assuring a degree of quality control for psychology professions, including an accreditation process for graduate programs in clinical psychology.

American colleges and universities also experienced great changes following the war. The federal largesse for research and development that boosted psychology after the war was even more significant for university departments in the physical sciences and in engineering, particularly from the Department of Defense. Higher education experienced explosive growth with the return of millions of veterans to the college campus, also financed in part by the federal “GI Bill,” which provided the veteran with payment for tuition, books, supplies and a monthly stipend of \$65 for single veterans and \$90 for those with dependents.

Facilities, temporary and permanent, were built to accommodate this influx and heralded the long-term growth of higher education in America. Over a decade after the war, another boost to education in America came from the launch by the Soviet Union of Sputnik in 1957, the first space satellite, an accomplishment which led to self-searching questions about the adequacy of American education at all levels, and in turn to the infusion of resources by the federal government for education.

Rutgers University was one of the universities faced with a large surge of enrollments from returning veterans. Indeed, at the peak of

this surge, 1948-49, Rutgers was among the 20 largest American universities in enrollment. Coupled with providing veterans with a college education was the more long-term task of strengthening the stature of the Rutgers as a university, a university that had lagged in development during the prewar period with almost no growth in its physical facilities and educational offerings. Support by the state had increased somewhat prior to the war but fell far short of that enjoyed by the major state universities in America, particularly those in the Midwest. After much deliberation and political effort, Rutgers University was legally recognized by the state legislature in 1945 as the State University of New Jersey. The hope was that this status would finally allow Rutgers to build the physical facilities and faculty on a par with the stature of a state university in a populous state.

Coupled with this new status of Rutgers was the acquisition by the University of a set of the previously autonomous Newark Colleges — College of Arts and Sciences, Business Administration, Law, Pharmacy. This and other acquisitions, including the acquisition of the College of South Jersey in Camden somewhat later, reinforced the aspirations among a contingent of faculty and administrators for the growth of Rutgers into a major American university. But there were problems. Internally, Rutgers was still in the final throes of shedding part of its old identity as a private institution. In fact, when Rutgers negotiated its relationship with the state that led to its designation in 1945 as the state university, it retained considerable autonomy not found with other state universities. This provision was not lost on opponents of Rutgers who argued that Rutgers was still not the “state university” in the usual sense, and by politicians who used it to fuel the ever-popular issue in New Jersey of keeping taxes at a minimum. The defeat of a bond-issue referendum by the voters of New Jersey in 1948 to fund the building of university facilities reflected this lack of public acceptance.

In 1951, Rutgers new president, Lewis Jones, invigorated the Rutgers leadership. He had come with prior experience and success as president of Bennington and the University of Arkansas. Funding for new buildings from loans, and from public and private sources gradually increased under his leadership, as did many innovations in the educational offerings of the university. Also under his leadership, the governance of the university was changed to satisfy the demand that Rutgers be truly the state’s university — this by establishing a Board of Governors with a majority of its members appointed by the governor. This Board took over from the Board of Trustees the authority to conduct and oversee the financial and educational affairs

of the university. McCormick (1966) captured the accomplishments of Jones' seven-year presidency at Rutgers and what was to follow with this succinct summary:

His administration had been a productive one, marked by notable progress in physical development, by the expansion of graduate and professional programs, and by the reorganization of the governing structures of the University. Contending against conditions that were often discouraging, he brought the University to the threshold of what was to be its most brilliant period of development. (pp. 314-315)

This depiction of the tenor of the Jones administration could also characterize the tenor of psychology at Rutgers immediately after the war and during the Jones presidency. Psychology's "notable progress" consisted of modernizing the curriculum, establishing rudimentary laboratory facilities for research, and successfully reviving the graduate program. The revival of the graduate program was due in no small measure to a "reorganization" of a graduate faculty drawn from the several undergraduate colleges, the clinic, and the School of Education. Psychology also contended with "discouraging" circumstances, most notably the skimpy financial support for graduate training during most of the 1950's. While the Jones administration brought the university to its threshold of major development, the modest but important gains in psychology during this period also brought psychology to the "threshold" of its explosive growth.

It was not until the beginning of the 1960's that Rutgers University finally received the support it needed from the state. Psychology benefited from this state support, but the explosive growth of psychology at Rutgers in the 1960's was fueled by the availability of federal research grants for psychological research and graduate training, and by the recruitment of a young and energetic faculty who were able to attract such federal grants.

College of Arts and Sciences

We need to start the description of the postwar Psychology Department at the men's college by first going back to the last years of Pratt's tenure. Even before the end of the war, Pratt was expressing his concerns about the sluggish development of Rutgers psychology's national image. In a letter to Dean Marvin (1/4/43), Pratt raised several matters "for postwar consideration." Among these was a commitment to hiring "at least one full-time instructor for the Department...a young man in our midst, one who is fired with enthusiasm, new knowledge, and a love for research." He also wanted

"the restoration of two assistants and the earlier budget." But Pratt's concerns seem to have been deeper than that of resources. Pratt continued:

Within a year or two after my arrival here the name of the Department of Psychology at Rutgers began to appear in professional journals through my own writings and the studies of the assistants and a few graduate students. As a result of your consideration and generosity, we were able to make the beginnings of a good laboratory on the top floor of our present location. But now the top floor is nearly silent. The difference goes beyond that of the budget to what I suspect is a more fundamental difference of opinion between the administration and myself as to what is best for the Department of Psychology. My judgment in such matters may be all wrong, but I am willing to assume the responsibility of finding out just how wrong it is.

I have not found archival material that would reveal what the "more fundamental difference of opinion" was nor Marvin's response to Pratt's letter. Whatever special support Pratt might have expected from Marvin (who was undoubtedly quite favorably disposed toward psychology) shifted with Marvin's death in 1944 to Harry Owen, the new, and perhaps less receptive, Dean of Arts and Sciences.

What is clear from the archival record is that Pratt took a leave of absence in 1945 to serve as acting head of the Department of Philosophy, Psychology, and Sociology at Turkey's University of Ankara. According to Pratt's obituary, Geldard, 1980), Pratt's "chief function was to serve as consultant to the Turkish Minister of Education on the long-standing and vexing question of the degree of autonomy to be given the faculties of Turkish universities" — the same theme of autonomy we find in Pratt's letter to Marvin. When Pratt asked Dean Owen for a second year's leave of absence, followed by a virtual declaration that he would take it anyhow, Owen interpreted Pratt's action as Pratt's decision "to let your appointment lapse." (Owen's letter to Pratt, 4/28/46). Owen stated that "every teacher available should be on hand to take care of the large increase in enrollment" and "that the Psychology Department in particular would suffer without strong direction." He ended his letter to Pratt with the statement that "the University cannot guarantee you a place on the faculty if and when you decide to return, although naturally we shall make every effort to reappoint you as a Professor of Psychology." Owen's sentiments were supported by President Clothier. So ended Pratt's presence at Rutgers.

With the departure of Pratt, only Sanderson and Williams remained in the department, with Sanderson as acting chairman. The department was given a couple of junior lines in 1946, but Sanderson

still had to rely on sending students to NJC, the School of Education, and University College (the university's evening college for part-time students) to meet the influx of veterans.

Two additional junior lines and the hiring of Morgan Upton (1898-1984) as chairman of the Psychology Department brought the staff up to seven men in 1947, sufficient to meet the demands for instruction. Upton was a Harvard-trained experimental psychologist (MA, 1927; PhD, 1928), with prior teaching experience at Harvard and at St. Lawrence University. He developed a specialty in industrial psychology, and earned his Diplomate in Industrial Psychology.

The department's postwar undergraduate offerings were enhanced with new courses on basic topics: Learning and Motivation, Comparative Psychology, Developmental Psychology, Thinking and Communication. A new course on an applied topic, Psychology of Personnel Control, was also added to the undergraduate curriculum and reflected Upton's interests.

Of the several junior faculty hired during Upton's chairmanship, Milton Schwartz (b. 1918) would serve the department in several capacities and for many years. He had come to Rutgers in 1946 with an MA from New York University. He completed his doctorate at New York University in 1949 while teaching at Rutgers, and by 1959 he became chairman of the department.

By the end of the 1950's the composition of the faculty was beginning to change rapidly. Sanderson retired in 1959 and Williams 1960. In the early 1960's the department was given both junior and senior faculty lines which would also give the graduate program considerable momentum — a story we take up in the next chapter.

NJC, renamed Douglass College in 1955

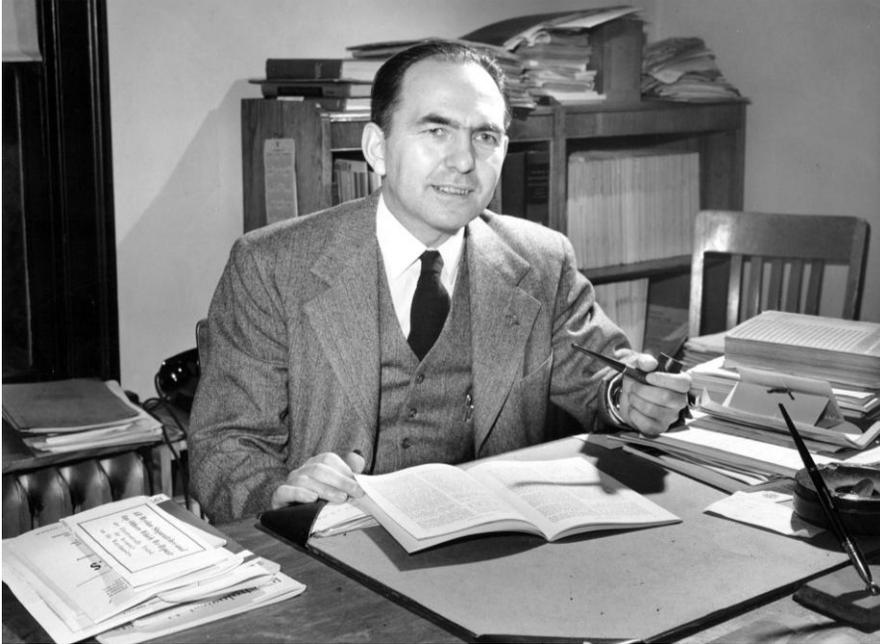
At NJC, the war had not decimated the actual teaching of the curriculum as it had at the men's college. After Cook's death in 1944, Richardson chaired the Department of Philosophy and Psychology until a year before her retirement in 1955, obviating the need to find new, outside leadership. Nor was there a search for major new directions in the curriculum. Cook had initiated an emphasis on child psychology in NJC's curriculum. Richardson's own extensive training and interest in child development assured a continuing emphasis on child psychology. She did not, however, continue Cook's practice of taking students to various outside facilities for field-level experiences in child behavior.

Instead, she seemed to rely more on classroom demonstrations and a rather modest observational facility that Cook had established.

The importance Cook allocated to clinical psychology was sustained both by Richardson and even more by Hanawalt. Although Richardson was not trained as a clinical psychologist, she used a couple of her summers in the late 1940's to enroll in special studies in the Rorschach, in non-directive counseling, and in clinical psychology. Hanawalt was instrumental in protecting the clinic during certain critical periods and supporting the development of a modern graduate clinical program after World War II. Although Hanawalt did not practice or participate actively in the clinical program, he did hold a Diplomate in Clinical Psychology.

Richardson was able to staff the variety of courses with the help of Harriet Fjeld (1897-deceased, date not found), a PhD from Columbia. She first joined the NJC faculty in 1943 as Lecturer. Fjeld also served as a psychological counselor for students during her tenure at NJC, which lasted until her retirement as Associate Professor in 1957.

Aside from a few comments about a tight budget in some years, Richardson's annual reports to the NJC's dean indicated that she had adequate resources to staff an undergraduate curriculum. She was complimentary of her faculty, and particularly impressed by Hanawalt's contributions to research, outside lectures, and community service, in addition to carrying a full teaching load. Involvement in the graduate program, which was not a major concern to the NJC faculty during Richardson's chairmanship, changed quickly with her successor.



Nelson Hanawalt, first chairman of the psychology department when it separated from philosophy at the women's college in 1955, the same year the college was renamed Douglass College. (Photo courtesy of the Rutgers University Archives.)

Hanawalt was Richardson's natural successor as chairman of the department. In his first annual report to the dean of NJC, he proposed two things of note.

First, he described "numerous meetings with fellow psychologists here [NJC] and in the University in regard to the development of graduate work in psychology." He went on to urge that NJC psychologists participate in this effort, even if only to a modest extent. In fact, under Hanawalt's leadership, the NJC faculty would play a large role in the ensuing years, both in reviving the graduate clinical program and in being the locus of a graduate program in developmental psychology. Another tie that developed between the men's college and the women's college near the end of the decade was the cross listing of several courses that permitted students from both colleges to attend some of the same courses.

Second, he urged the separation of psychology and philosophy into two departments. In support of this recommendation, he wrote, "...there has always been the most cordial relations between the psychologists and the philosophers. In fact, however, we have few problems in common aside from the budget. In fact, also, we are really two departments aside from the budget." His recommendation was accepted and so a second and autonomous Psychology Department came into existence at Rutgers University in 1955.

Jean Burton (b. 1925) joined the clinic staff in 1954, and then the Douglass College faculty in 1955. Burton had come with an MA from Ohio State University, with George Kelly as her mentor. Her graduate work was in child development. She soon completed her work for the PhD (1956) and remained at Douglass until her retirement in 1988. With Richardson's retirement and with Hanawalt's interests in other matters, Burton's appointment turned out to be important in sustaining Douglass's emphasis in child psychology. She enhanced the curriculum with two new courses: Adolescence, Atypical Child. Like Cook, Burton saw the value of field experiences in teaching courses in child psychology. She arranged for students to visit outside day care centers to observe children. She also searched for ways to establish in-house facilities on the Douglass Campus for teaching and research. Burton continued to serve the department, college, and university in many capacities, including a stint (1975-81) as chair of the Douglass Psychology Department.

Another appointment of note was that of Donald Forgays (1926-1993) in 1957. His graduate work in comparative and physiological psychology was at McGill with Donald Hebb. After one year as Assistant Professor he was promoted to Associate Professor. He remained at Douglass for seven years and played an active role in the early development of the graduate program (described later in this chapter). He left for the University of Vermont in 1964.

The Psychological Clinic

When the clinic was transferred from the Psychology Department in Arts and Sciences to the University Extension Division in 1944, Anna Starr was named as its director. She was also promoted to Professor of Psychology in University College. The transfer may have been at Pratt's instigation. In the same letter (1/4/43) to Dean Marvin, cited earlier, in which Pratt expressed his concerns about the sluggish development of Rutgers psychology, he also urged,

Some clearer understanding should be reached regarding the place of the Clinic in the Department. Money and space are now devoted to a set-up which in my opinion is of no value whatever to Rutgers. Unless a psychological clinic is designed primarily for research, it has no place in a university...



Anna Starr came to Rutgers with her husband in 1928. She was a member of the Psychological Clinic and was appointed its director in 1944, a position she held until her retirement in 1956. (Photo from the Psychology Department Archives.)

The removal in 1944 of the clinic from the Department of Psychology to the Extension Division, a non-degree teaching and public service unit of the University, signaled a hiatus in the graduate program in clinical psychology at Rutgers University for well over a decade. In fact, although Pratt had left Rutgers by 1945, the graduate program that was subsequently emphasized at the Psychology Department of the men's college would have been to his liking — an emphasis on traditional experimental psychology, and with little interest in clinical psychology. The postwar administrative home for the revived graduate program in clinical psychology in the late 1950s was in the Graduate School with offices and facilities at Douglass College.



The Psychological Clinic moved from Winants Hall to this location on College Avenue where it remained until 1956. (Photo from the Psychology Department Archives.)

A year after Anna Starr's retirement in 1956, the Clinic was moved from the College Avenue Campus to the Douglass College Campus. The clinic, at the time, consisted of three components: Speech, Reading, Family and Child. It soon divested itself of the first two components, and enlarged the third component under a new clinic director to become a modern and more comprehensive clinical service. Bernard Guerney (b. 1930) was hired in 1957, first as an acting director, and in 1961 as director. He came from Pennsylvania State University with a PhD in clinical psychology. He was hired through Douglass College, but budgetary responsibility for his line resided in the Graduate School, with the status of the clinic "somewhat unclear" (letter of 4/20/61 from Hanawalt to Dean Adams of Douglass College) — a reflection of Rutgers byzantine structure at the time.

When Anna Starr retired in 1956, she also vacated the chair of Psychology at University College. Roger Bellows (1905-1997), an industrial psychologist, succeeded her there as chairman with an appointment as a full professor. A second senior appointment at University College the same year was Kenneth Berrien (1909-1971), a social psychologist. Bellows and Berrien both remained at Rutgers for the rest of their careers and played an important role in the very early development of the graduate psychology program (described below).

The Psychology Section and its Graduate Committee

The first master's thesis in psychology at Rutgers was completed under Henry Starr's direction in 1930. (The first doctoral dissertation was completed in 1941 under Pratt's direction.) Henry Starr's graduate program in clinical psychology was among a handful of early efforts in the biological and social sciences to offer graduate training at Rutgers. The university-wide Graduate Faculty, composed of professors who taught graduate courses, was established in 1932 to develop graduate studies at Rutgers. The Graduate School was established after the war with the revival of graduate work, first in the sciences and then on a smaller scale in the social sciences and humanities. By 1952, the Graduate School had its first dean in recognition of the growing number of graduate programs and students — and its own graduate catalog to list graduate offerings.

In 1960 the university's governance adopted a policy statement recognizing the obligation of a state university to provide its students with graduate and professional training. By then, there were also separate graduate schools in the university: School of Social Work (1954), Graduate School of Library Science (1954), Graduate School of Education (1960), a change in name from the School of Education in recognition of its role in graduate training. Underpinning this policy statement were the substantial increases in financial support from the state and from generous federal support for graduate training and advanced research. These developments are taken up in the next chapter. For now, we need to return to the immediate postwar years, and trace the efforts to revive and modernize the graduate program in psychology.

At first, the Psychology Department in the College of Arts and Sciences undertook the formidable task of reviving the graduate program. The hiring of several new faculty members in the late 1940's

made it possible to offer a number of new graduate courses. Upton's specialty in industrial psychology was reflected among the graduate offerings with Psychology of Personnel Control and with a seminar in Human Relations in Industry. Other new graduate seminars included: Social Psychology, Psychometrics, and Perception. A remnant of the graduate clinical offerings was a seminar in The Etiology and Dynamics of Abnormality.

Still, the department needed much more in facilities and staff to become a research-oriented department with a viable graduate program. In his first annual report to the dean in 1948, when the department at the men's college still seemed somehow responsible for the graduate program, Upton outlined the situation as follows:

Because of limited facilities, courses and staff, no graduate work has been offered this year. The most pressing immediate need of the Department is for larger and more adequate quarters equipped with at least the basic apparatus required for research in the field.

Upton's annual reports continue to reflect these limitations and needs, although by 1951, the department was able to boast the presence of a "small group of graduate students working toward the completion of the requirements for the Master's degree." (Upton's annual report for 1950-51) But the same report also noted a 10% reduction in total enrollment of psychology courses. The decrease in enrollment was not limited to psychology, and led to a university-wide retrenchment. Psychology staff at Arts and Sciences was reduced from seven to five faculty members for several years, and with still limited research facilities, the graduate program there languished. Upton's annual reports tended to be rather short, but the underlying feelings of frustration and vague hope do come through with statements such as "The situation is still one of hope and assurance and we are more strengthened by the abundance of our cravings than weakened by the poverty of our possessions." (Upton's annual report, 1953) (Was this music to the ears of an administration beleaguered by budget problems!)

In 1956, Upton reported an increase in the enrollment of graduate students to fifteen, but with graduate instruction still provided by a small staff. He did note some modest outside help, "Professors Hanawalt of Douglass, Wittenborn of Education, and Lehrman of Newark, have given us valuable assistance in the Proseminar for graduate students which was offered for the first time this year."

By 1956, a university-wide Psychology Section was formed to co-ordinate the activities of the several college departments without however reducing their autonomy. The section was composed of the psychology faculty at the College of Arts and Sciences, Douglass College, University College, and Newark College. Other members of the Psychology Section included a handful of psychologists from the Graduate School of Education and from the Psychological Clinic.

One of the main concerns of the section was the development of a graduate program that would involve faculty and resources from all of these units. Indeed, it was obvious that the Psychology Department at Arts and Sciences could not be solely responsible for the graduate program in psychology, given its limited resources. Moreover, psychologists in the other colleges, with encouragement and support from their respective college deans, psychologists on the clinic staff, and psychologists in the Graduate School of Education also had aspirations to develop and participate in a graduate program that represented their research and professional interests.

A Graduate Committee of the section was formed in 1956 consisting of Hanawalt (Douglass), Upton (Arts and Sciences), Bellows (University College), Berrien (University College), Lehrman (Newark), and Wittenborn (Education). The composition of the committee — full professors, usually the chairman of their respective department — assured its influence in developing a full-scale graduate program with several postwar specialties in psychology represented.

This committee was responsible for identifying the needs of the graduate program, which included research and teaching facilities, clinical facilities for the revival and APA accreditation of a clinical program, faculty hires, graduate student assistantships, and an annual operating budget. They met regularly with key members of the administration to obtain support for meeting these needs. The Graduate Committee was also responsible for identifying sources of support in the Federal government for training and research, admitting graduate students, evaluating the progress of existing ones, and designing the graduate curriculum.

It is difficult to imagine a more unwieldy organizational arrangement for developing a unified graduate program in psychology. Amazingly, this diverse and autonomous set of constituents was actually successful in reviving the graduate program, thanks to the co-operative spirit of its members. The archived minutes of their meetings and those of the section during the difficult but productive

years of 1956 through 1959 provides a detailed picture of their successes and frustrations.

One of the tangible gestures of co-operation we see in these minutes was the Graduate Committee's agreement to present credentials for all prospective faculty appointments to the committee for approval. The committee's proposed budgets also provided for an equitable distribution of funds among the units, particularly the distribution between New Brunswick and Newark.

The limited funding available to the university and, in turn, to psychology is evident in most of the deliberations of the Graduate Committee. A chronic problem in these early years was the recruiting of graduate students in the face of uncertain funding of graduate assistantship during the very period when announcements of the program were to be advertised. A shift is discernible in 1958, when Mason Gross (then Provost) encouraged the committee to advertise graduate assistantships and prepare a "statement of the minimal financial requirements to accept ten or a dozen graduate students in psychology for next year." (GC minutes 3/11/58) In 1957, the committee had proposed a budget of \$36,000 to the university administration to launch a "full-scale graduate program" and received a few hundred dollars. (GC minutes 5/7/57)

By 1958, and more certainly by 1959, the early resolve of the committee to develop a graduate program no matter what the vagaries of support from the state legislature was beginning to pay off. The committee had been meeting regularly during the years of limited funding to identify needs and use whatever resources they had to develop the program, and in effect put in place an organization of faculty that was functioning and that could take on the task of implementing a full-scale program when funds finally became available.

Another theme running through the meetings was the recruitment of senior faculty. Hiring a full professor at the men's college was a problem because lab facilities were not adequate "to attract the caliber of person needed." (GC minutes 6/3/59) As for obtaining APA approval of a graduate clinical program, the word from APA was that no certification is probable "until a clinical psychologist of outstanding reputation is added to the staff." (GC minutes 6/3/59)

We conclude with a summary of a meeting of the Psychology Section on December 16, 1959 with Dean Meder (Dean of

Administration) during which many of the needs and plans of psychology were discussed. Meder urged the section to review its organization to assure the coordination of all of the departments of psychology, and to clarify the relation of the Psychology Section to the Graduate School of Education. Also discussed was the hiring of a senior-level clinical psychologist, the possibility of a new building for the Psychology Department of Arts and Sciences which, with the exception of clinical psychology which would be housed on the Douglass Campus, would also meet the graduate and research needs on the New Brunswick campuses. Meder mentioned plans by the administration to propose a new organization of the disciplines to the Board of Governors. In this plan members of a discipline, such as psychology, would be consolidated into a university department with a chairman responsible for program and personnel planning. (The actual implementation of such a consolidation occurred two decades later!)

Prior to the meeting with Meder, the section discussed a report from the men's college that indicated a growing research emphasis there in experimental psychology, but glaring space needs for research and lab instruction. Somewhat controversial was the assertion in this report that the "center of graduate activity ... should be at the Men's College [Arts and Sciences] since the core courses will be taught there." Some members of the section thought this implied that the graduate program would be largely under control of the men's college rather than the section. Members of this college indicated that their report was misunderstood. Still, this item in the agenda does, in fact, presage future conflicts among the constituents of the section for control of the graduate program. In effect, the very success of the early teamwork in laying the groundwork for a graduate program and the continued autonomy of various units also brought with it the strains implicit in such a byzantine structure, with its potential for balkanization — a topic for the next chapter.

Also a topic for the next chapter is the replacement of the Graduate Committee by a Graduate Faculty. As early as 1957, the committee agreed on the formation of a Graduate Faculty consisting of professors, associate professors, and other psychologists teaching one or more graduate courses. The first meeting of the Graduate Faculty took place in 1960 with Berrien as its first chair.

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