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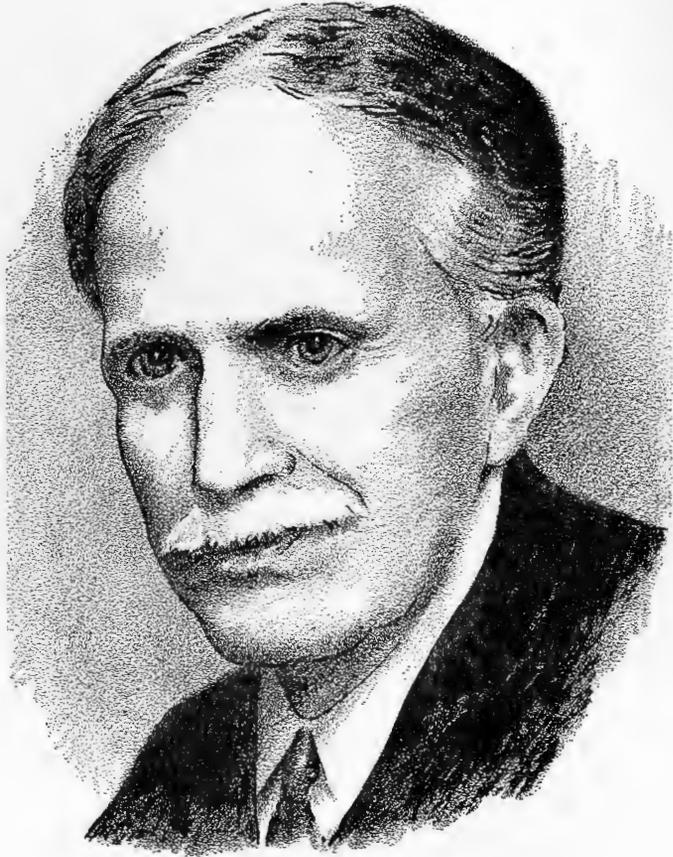
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CHARLES DOWNER HAZEN



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By CARL L. LOKKE

MEN like to read about makers of history. There is always a demand for a new biography of Napoleon, Lincoln, or Bismarck. We like to approach the seat of power if only through the printed page. We are less concerned, if not entirely incurious, about the lives of the scholars who prepare for us the printed pages of history and biography. Yet they, too, play an important, if less glamorous, role in the world. Without the scholars in fact we would be hard put to obtain accurate information about the men of power in the past. Some of them teach our children. Their lives have an interest all their own. Great repositories like the National Archives and the Library of Congress yield material on our scholars no less than on our statesmen, diplomats, and warriors.

This essay is offered as a biographical sketch of a scholar, Charles Downer Hazen, through whose eyes thousands of American students, young and old, once viewed the history of modern Europe. His active teaching career of more than forty years was about evenly divided between Smith College and Columbia University. He received many distinctions—among them Honorary Membership in the Vermont Historical Society.¹

Youth and Education

Charles Downer Hazen was born in Barnet, Vermont, on March 17, 1868, and he died in New York City on September 18, 1941. His family in this country can be traced back to Edward Hazen who came over to Massachusetts from England in the seventeenth century.² By the end of the next century the family had spread to Vermont. In 1798 Hazen's paternal grandmother, Hannah Brown Downer, was born at Sharon; his grandfather, Lucius Hazen, three years later at Hartford. They were married in 1826 and from this union Hazen's father, Lucius Downer Hazen, was born in 1834. For many years the activities of the family centered around West Hartford and Newbury.

In 1861 Hazen's father married Orinda Griswold Kimball of McIndoes, Vermont. Her parents, like his, were born in Vermont. In

due course the Hazens added four children to the population of the State: Lucius Kimball, Mary Lois, Charles Downer, and Margaret Ellen.³ The family lived first in Newbury, moved to Barnet in 1866 and to St. Johnsbury in 1875. The census of 1880 lists the father as a lumber dealer in St. Johnsbury.

In his later years Hazen once remarked that he had lived a long and happy life. Certainly he got a good start. Nature lavished her gifts upon him, withholding one of minor importance to a historian—size. As the third child of four, he must easily have escaped spoiling despite his good looks and bright mind. In the true American tradition he had a paper route as a boy. The family was comfortably situated. It supported Charles through college and graduate school, with two years in Europe thrown in. Both of his sisters attended Wellesley.⁴ Nor should the advantage of the family's prestige be overlooked. Both the grandfather and father were prominent in business and church work; both represented their communities at various times in the Legislature.

After attending the public schools, Charles prepared for college at St. Johnsbury Academy. This school, dating from 1842, was then under the firm hand of Charles E. Putney, a graduate of Dartmouth. Calvin Coolidge described Dr. Putney as "a fine drill-master, a very exact scholar, and an excellent disciplinarian."⁵ Another former student recalled the good instruction, also the excessive piety (Congregational), the frowning upon smoking, dancing, and unseemly mirth.⁶ Hazen finished the three-year classical course in the appointed time and graduated in June, 1885 at the age of seventeen.⁷ The path to college now lay open; he followed it that fall—to Dartmouth.

For admission to Dartmouth the student had to present a certificate from his principal testifying to his "good moral character" and his mastery of certain work in Greek, Latin, mathematics, history, and geography.⁸ This requirement assuredly gave Hazen no difficulty. Nor did the choice of college courses need to perplex him—there was no choice. All courses for freshmen and sophomores were prescribed. As a candidate for the A. B. degree, he was required in his first year to take Greek, Latin, mathematics, English, and natural history. Classes began at 8:10 A.M.; the last classes began at 5:00 P. M. Attendance was required at daily college prayers on week days at 7:50 A. M. Hazen may have had this in mind when he later referred to "the dear, old austere days."⁹

He probably found this rigorous system little different from that at the Academy. He adjusted to it, also to his classmates. Of the

sixteen graduates of St. Johnsbury Academy in the class, he was the youngest. During his first two years he roomed in private homes in Hanover. But in his junior and senior years, he "cohabited," to use his term, with Oliver A. ("Doc") Warden and his cousin, Frank J. ("Fush") Hazen, "in the discreet chambers of Conant Hall."¹⁰ His class in their Sophomore year chose Hazen as president. He became a member of Delta Kappa Epsilon and an editor of *The Aegis*¹¹. His scholarly prowess won him election to Phi Beta Kappa. In 1889 came graduation with Special Honors in Greek. That spring he had reached man's estate.

By this time, it appears, Hazen had decided on an academic career. This meant attendance at a graduate school, in fact, in his case, at "various seminaries of learning." He entered the new Johns Hopkins University in the fall of 1889. Like several other students he found living quarters at 909 McCulloch Street, Baltimore.

Johns Hopkins then held first rank as a center of graduate studies. In 1889-1890 it had 229 graduate students registered in the various fields, including Hazen in history and politics. Professor Herbert B. Adams, a graduate of Amherst, headed the Department of History and Politics.¹² He admitted the Dartmouth man to his famous seminar which had already been attended by such notables-to-be as J. Franklin Jameson, Woodrow Wilson, and Albert Shaw. The catalog describes this seminar as "an organized society called the Seminary of History and Politics, meeting in its own library one evening each week for the report and discussion of original studies." Minutes of its meetings were made and preserved.¹³ At its first meeting for the year 1889-1890, held on October 10 in the Bluntschli Library, thirty men were present. Hazen's name on the roll follows that of the precocious Charles H. Haskins.

Adams kept the scope of inquiry broad. On December 13 he held a symposium on the "elements of civilization" to which each member contributed. Hazen spoke on education and intelligence. The following week he gave a definition of civilization which is recorded in the seminar's minutes. In February Woodrow Wilson, who was then teaching at Wesleyan and lecturing part-time at Hopkins, attended two meetings of the seminar. This was in line with the desire of the professor to have his "boys" come back to see and be seen. He undertook to spur the zeal of the current seminar members by keeping them informed of the accomplishments of their predecessors. Books were not enough. Yet Hazen at the time seems to have felt no urge to praise Adams or the method. "I have been here in the university since

October," he wrote, "and shall stay a month longer. During this time nothing of importance has either happened to me or come within my knowledge. . . ." ¹⁴ But he kept in mind what he was there for. According to one of his Dartmouth classmates, he was "breaking his record" at Hopkins. ¹⁵

In 1891 Adams wrote: "I have the best department of history and politics in this country." ¹⁶ At the same time he did not regard work in it as a complete substitute for study in Europe; his own Ph.D. was from Heidelberg. He and his assistant, John Martin Vincent, who also had studied in Germany, may have advised Hazen to go to Europe. In any case we find the young Vermonter applying for a passport in July, 1890. On his application the following description is given: Age, 22; stature, 5 feet 6½ inches; eyes, black large; nose, straight; mouth, medium size; chin, round; hair, dark; complexion, dark; face, fair appearance. ¹⁷ His older sister, Mary applied for a passport at the same time. ¹⁸

Hazen spent two years in Europe, one each in Germany and France, and then went back to Hopkins to finish his graduate work. His travels took him first to the former kingdom of Hannover. There, at the University of Göttingen (winter semester, October to February), he attended five lecture courses on a wide variety of subjects—political economy (Professor Gustav Cohn), German history to 1816, history of German literature from the beginning of the sixteenth century, and history of art in Italy and Germany in the Renaissance. Under date of February 23, 1891 the University gave a certificate (*Abgangszeugnis*) to "Charles D. Hazen aus Vermont." ¹⁹ Following the old custom of German students, he "roamed about some" in the next two months and then matriculated at the University of Berlin for the spring-summer term, April 23 to August 3, 1891. ²⁰

It was a time of considerable excitement in Germany, a country throbbing anyway with a new sense of destiny since the unification. In March, 1890 the young, inexperienced Emperor William II had forced the resignation of Bismarck, the founder of the Empire, and taken the reins into his own hands. But if Hazen had any comments to make on events in Germany, he did not share them with his Dartmouth classmates. In a letter of May 11, 1891 from Berlin, he gave merely a skeleton recital of his own movements. ²¹ He had been "over here" about ten months, he wrote, and would remain "a little while longer." He had been at the university in Göttingen during the winter and would be "at the one here during the summer." On his vacation wanderings he had not seen one familiar face. Thus his letter "must

be as weak and free from interest as a German newspaper." It is, indeed, but not for the reason stated!

Events in France had no different effect on Hazen from the standpoint of loosening his pen, not even the Boulanger Affair. He appears to have been at the Sorbonne throughout the academic year of 1891-1892.²² On his return to Hopkins he was asked to tell the seminar about his student experiences in Europe. His remarks, at the meeting of January 6, 1893, were quoted in the minutes as follows: "The Historischer Verein in Göttingen consists of the Seminar and Kneipe with the latter predominating. Meetings are held every Saturday evening. A paper, which is usually a good one, is read and discussed. This really serious part of the programme is followed by the social part lasting several hours. In Paris where there were formerly only little cliques of students there is now a student society having apartments with conveniences for reading, smoking, and eating, and with libraries for special work. Foreigners are here cordially received."²³

In a brief letter to his Dartmouth classmates a few days later he did not mention Europe at all.²⁴ For this neglect the secretary called him "a disappointing child" and his communication a "scrap of paper." Was it a "becoming modesty," he asked, for Charles to tell them nothing of his two years of study and travels abroad? Had the Hopkins professors seen the letter they might have experienced different emotions. Hazen wrote that at Hopkins he was hearing lectures on the Ricardian Law of Rent, Origin of the Aryans, Spinoza's Ethics, Final Causes, and "other equally bewitching subjects." He was plainly bored—as Jameson and Wilson had been before him. The catalog for 1892-1893 shows him registered for work in history, economics, and philosophy. He was now one of 337 graduate students.

Thirteen meetings of the seminar were held that year. The members could hardly have complained that the subject matter lacked variety. The night Hazen spoke on student practices in Europe, he was the fourth of five speakers. One man talked on Japan, another on China, Vincent on institutions of higher learning in Paris (he thought those in Germany were more favorable for historical work), and the United States Commissioner of Education followed Hazen. Among the papers presented at other sessions may be mentioned: "Recent Methods of Institutional Study," by Charles M. Andrews; "Slavery in Connecticut," by B. C. Steiner; "The Negro in the District of Columbia," by Edward Ingle of the *Washington Post*; "Condition of the Western Farmer," by A. F. Bentley; and "Evolution of Fairs and Markets," by Mr. Carver. At the ninth meeting John Hayes discussed the

"Blending of National and State Politics," and then Woodrow Wilson was invited to comment on this subject which he did.

Between attending lectures and Adams's seminar, Hazen was laboring to complete his doctoral dissertation. He achieved this objective by the end of the term. At the thirteenth and last meeting of the seminar, he read a synopsis of this study, "The French Revolution as seen by Contemporary Americans," a topic suggested to him by Adams.²⁵ Hopkins then granted him the Ph.D. At last this candidate, as he later expressed it, was "considered sufficiently informed in occult lore, such as historical and political science, to be permitted to teach. . . ."²⁶

Teacher

But where would he be permitted to teach? Dartmouth had sounded Hazen in the fall of 1892 in regard to a tutorship there.²⁷ He decided however to return to Hopkins to finish his graduate work. Then followed a period of waiting to get a teaching job.

In 1893 President Seelye of Smith College and Professor Levermore of Adelphia Academy in Brooklyn both asked Adams to recommend candidates to teach history. The later had definite specifications in mind. "I want," he wrote, "a man of broad culture and wide reading, good manners and a fund of humor," whom he would start at a salary of \$1250.²⁸ Adams presumably put them in touch with Hazen.

Writing from St. Johnsbury on March 22, 1894 the candidate announced to his mentor that he was leaving directly for Baltimore.²⁹ On the way down he was going to stop off to see Seelye and Levermore as they had requested. Having heard nothing from President Raymond (of Wesleyan?) he could not "play him off" against the president of Smith. "I shall however," he declared, "endeavor to use whatever serpentine wisdom I possess."

At least one other candidate was in line for the job at Smith, namely Evarts B. Greene, a Harvard Ph. D., 1893, who was then abroad.³⁰ The man on the spot got the job. Seelye talked with Hazen in New York, sized him up favorably, and on May 1 the trustees appointed this Hopkins man at a salary of \$1500. The president informed him the following day. In this letter he wrote: "You will have the practical management of the entire department [of two members!], and should you accept the position, I am confident, under your management, the department will steadily increase in influence, and the Trustees will do all in their power to make the work satisfactory to yourself and to all who are engaged in it."³¹

After his interview with Seelye, Hazen returned to Baltimore to await the decision. He attended the seminar on May 3. When word of his appointment came, Adams could go to his map on which he showed the locations of his students and stick a pin at Northampton, Massachusetts. The next step was to introduce the young professor to the historical profession. This was managed easily enough, we may be sure, because Adams was a prominent founder of the American Historical Association and its Secretary. Thus we find Professor Charles D. Hazen of Smith College reading a paper at the Association's annual meeting in Washington in 1895.³²

When Hazen had been at Smith several years he asked Adams to recommend someone to fill a third position in his department. The candidate should be "a good scholar and an interesting teacher and somewhat of a man of the world," he wrote, "for a position in a woman's college has peculiar and subtle difficulties of its own."³³ He himself evidently had the required qualities. By 1899 he had classes running in size from 50 to 150 students.³⁴ And they were in those classes to work. As he once told Adams, the girls were "very willing to do a lot of good hard studying."³⁵ A member of the class of '97 later wrote: "He certainly fired us with a burning historical zeal."³⁶ Another had this to say: "I do not know how much of his method was due to Johns Hopkins training but his vividness was all his own. His assigning of special topics and reports was especially inspired. He was not contented to tell the girls facts, he wished them to think constructively and historically." The interest in history at Smith was reflected in the fact that several graduates continued work in this discipline at Yale, Columbia, Chicago, and Cornell.³⁷ Hazen, to his regret, could not send them to Hopkins which at that time barred women.

In 1894 the two members of the department taught 100 students in six courses, all elective. When Hazen left Smith twenty years later the department boasted of eight members, who taught 800 students in fifteen courses, of which one was a requirement in history.³⁸ For years Hazen taught both American and European history and American government. The catalog of November 1897 lists his four elective courses (a teaching load of ten hours a week) as follows: for juniors, Modern European History from the Renaissance to the Napoleonic Era, American History, 1760-1865; for seniors, Nineteenth Century History, that is Political History of Europe since 1815, Civil Government in the United States. After 1906 the American history courses occupied the full time of a new professor, John Spencer Bassett, an-

other Hopkins man. During his last year at Smith Hazen taught six hours a week, all in European history.

"It is great fun teaching girls. I tried it at Smith College." Thus wrote Adams in 1887 when he was trying to get one of his men to take a job at Bryn Mawr.³⁹ While Hazen made a success of teaching at Smith, there is no reason to believe that he cared to remain in Northampton all his days. After all, Adams had left Smith to devote full time to his work at Hopkins. The restless, ambitious Woodrow Wilson wearied of Bryn Mawr and went to Wesleyan, then to Princeton. But opportunity was slow in coming to Hazen. It came in a small way in the spring of 1899 when he went over to Amherst three times a week to meet the classes of an ailing colleague. This teacher of girls told Adams that he was having his first experience teaching men, and, he added, "I like it."⁴⁰

Another factor in the early years kept Hazen from finding his cup of contentment filled to brimming. He was not married. As he approached his 30th birthday (a notable milestone in a young man's life), we find Bachelor Hazen writing to Bachelor Adams about the limitations of the town from the standpoint of an unmarried man. There were too few men in it. "Not having a wife," he continued, "I would like a club and theaters and music and a more varied life."⁴¹ This comment fits in with the recollection of a man who once went to Smith to visit his sister, a member of the class of '96. She took him to her class in history that he might see "the extraordinarily handsome professor who was enormously admired by the girls." As usually happens in such situations, the students did not do well in their discussion period and the teacher was nettled. He kept his outward composure, however, and after class invited the visitor to lunch at one of the Northampton restaurants. When they had to wait a long time for an order to come, Hazen could restrain his impatience no longer. "Mr. Smith," he burst out, "this is no place for a single man!"⁴²

In June, 1901 Hazen married Sara S. Duryea, a member of the class of '96. One objection to Northampton had now been removed. The Hazens lived at 164 Elm Street.

Thirteen more years at Smith lay before him. So far as anyone could have foreseen in 1901, his entire teaching career might well end there. Marriage to a Smith graduate bound him the more closely to this woman's college. Yet circumstances led to a break in 1914. The story is unpleasant.

In 1910 President Seelye, at the age of 73, laid down the burden that he had carried since the College opened in 1875. His successor,

Marion L. Burton, aged thirty-six held the degrees of B. D. and Ph. D. from Yale, where he was assistant professor of Sacred Theology for one year, 1907-1908. When the trustees of Smith elected him in April 1909 he was pastor of the Church of the Pilgrims in Brooklyn. In accord with their plan Burton before taking office went to Europe for a year to study educational systems. Soon after his election he published a book entitled *The Problem of Evil: a Criticism of the Augustinian Point of View*, and replete with Latin quotations in text and footnotes. This native of Iowa seemed to have everything requisite to be a successful college president. At the inaugural ceremonies one speaker paid tribute to his "wealth of western virility and eastern culture."⁴³ His own address that day breathed assurance. "Know the student," he urged.⁴⁴ And when Burton used his remarkable speaking powers to increase within three years the endowment of the College by one million dollars, the trustees could hardly have questioned the wisdom of their choice.⁴⁵

There were adjustments to make on the campus. Over a period of sixteen years Hazen had grown accustomed to dealing with a president thirty years his senior and now had to deal with one five years his junior. As an experienced, popular teacher who knew something about education himself, he probably found it difficult to be as impressed as the trustees with Burton. He and his colleagues may have been unwilling to accept the new president's intimation that before 1910 at Smith they had failed to educate the student. In time Hazen's growing awareness of his own worth was stimulated by the success of his *Europe since 1815*. Published in 1910, the year Burton came to Smith, this book brought Hazen various distinctions, including an invitation to lecture at Columbia, an honorary degree from Hobart, and a national reputation, not to mention royalties. Did Burton come to feel that the College could do better without this prominent, independent professor? Whatever the specific cause or causes may have been, under date of February 20, 1914 Hazen submitted his resignation in these terms:

"I hereby resign my position as Sydenham Clark Parsons professor of history and as a member of the faculty of Smith College, my resignation to take effect at the close of the present academic year, or at such earlier date as may better suit your convenience. In asking that my resignation be accepted, I wish to take occasion to assure you of my deep appreciation of all that has been done for me personally, and for the department in which I have served for nearly 20 years, my connection with which I now sever with regret."

This resignation was not immediately accepted. Smith College has

preserved Hazen's record card on which this entry in Burton's handwriting is found:

"Resigned Feb 20, 1914
Accepted Apr 7, 1914."⁴⁶

Between these dates Burton took steps to find a replacement. He invited Professor Sydney B. Fay of Dartmouth to visit Smith with a view to taking over Hazen's work in European history. Assuming that his colleague was leaving the College, Fay came on to Northampton. He talked with Hazen. In the course of the talk Hazen learned what was on foot. His astonishment must have equalled the embarrassment of the visitor. Fay of course told President Burton that he "was not to be considered unless it was perfectly clear that the college had ended relations with Hazen."⁴⁷ Matters now came to a head. At a meeting held in New York on April 17 (not April 7), the trustees accepted the resignation and released to the press several days later both the letter of resignation and a glowing resolution of appreciation of the departing professor.⁴⁸ Perhaps the historically minded Hazen on receiving a copy of the resolution thought of the letter that William II sent to Bismarck after he had forced the Iron Chancellor to resign. The professor at least was spared the gift of a life-size portrait.

Thus this veteran teacher, at forty-six, found himself without a job. As his resignation was accepted late in the academic year, it was too late for him to get placed elsewhere. He considered going abroad for a time but the political tension, then the war, in Europe led to other plans. In the fall he went to Washington to do research in the Library of Congress. He returned to Northampton twice thereafter: in 1924, to attend the funeral of President Seelye and in 1937, to receive an LL. D. from Smith College. Burton left Northampton in 1917 to become president of the University of Minnesota.

The historical profession rallied to Hazen's support. In the fall of 1914 Cornell offered him an appointment effective the following year but he declined it as he did not wish to pledge himself so far ahead.⁴⁹ Early in 1915 he was named chairman of the program committee for the annual meeting of the American Historical Association to be held in Washington in December. He became a member of the Cosmos Club, with J. Franklin Jameson as one of his sponsors. In April 1915 Johns Hopkins announced that Dr. Charles D. Hazen would give a weekly course the following academic year on the Rise of Democracy in France. In 1916-1917 he gave a course on European Diplomacy since 1815. This ended his temporary service in Baltimore; he had

meanwhile accepted the offer of a permanent professorship in New York.

Hazen had long been favorably known to the department of history at Columbia. He had been invited to lecture there during the absence of Prof. William M. Sloane in 1910-1911. The influential Professor William A. Dunning (with Hamilton W. Mabie) proposed him for membership in the Century Club of New York and he was elected on February 1, 1913.⁵⁰ When Sloane retired the department proposed the appointment of Hazen to teach modern European history. This proposal was first turned down for budgetary reasons. Dunning then took up the cudgels on Hazen's behalf and, with the support of Dean Woodbridge, carried the day.⁵¹ On May 1, 1916 Hazen was appointed Professor of History commencing on July 1, 1916 with a seat on the Faculty of Political Science.⁵²

This appointment gave Hazen much satisfaction. He again had a professorship and one of considerable distinction. He could now direct graduate work. In a letter to the secretary of his Dartmouth class he wrote: "Privately I will say to you that I am happy as a lark over the prospect and that if I had been permitted to make the position to order, I should have made it precisely as the Trustees made it when they offered it to me."⁵³

Fulfilled, too, was the longing of the erstwhile bachelor for "a club and theaters and music and a more varied life." The very hum and bustle and noise of the great city were music to Hazen's ears. He and his wife took a house in the middle of town—42 East 75th Street. He once commented on the quiet in Northampton as if it had been something to endure. He must surely have enjoyed there many simple pleasures such as hearing the musical note of the thrush at dusk; but life in New York brought many compensations. His delight with the metropolis and with Columbia is reflected in joking letters written to him by his friend, William Roscoe Thayer.⁵⁴ If his Dartmouth classmates, he once told them, "would cut loose from the wretched places where you live and move to Gotham, all would be for the best in the best of all possible worlds."⁵⁵

Hazen's teaching load at Columbia did not differ greatly from that at Smith. The catalog for 1916-1917 lists him as giving two courses, each meeting twice a week, Tuesdays and Thursdays, in 615 Kent Hall. One of these courses treated the Political History of Continental Europe from the Peace of Westphalia to the close of the Seven Years' War (first semester) and since the Seven Years' War (second semester). The other course was devoted throughout the year to the Rise

of Democracy in France, a subject he had lectured on at Hopkins. Thus Hazen no longer had responsibility for teaching the Renaissance. It is easy to assume that the substitution of Democracy in France helped to make him in 1916 "happy as a lark." He favored the French cause, the cause of democracy, in the war.

There was nothing flamboyant about Hazen's method of teaching. His procedure never changed. He would walk gravely into the class room at the appointed hour, place his notes on the lectern, look over the class with impassive countenance, go to the back of the room and open the windows, then return to the lectern and read his lecture. (Burgess, according to Professor Shepherd, had a student close the windows to shut out the noise of the city; Hazen may have opened them the better to hear the noise.) He spoke in such a low voice that one had to sit up close to hear him. While in no sense a popular lecturer, he had his admirers. To one student at least it was worth a trip to Columbia to hear Hazen lecture on Talleyrand at the Congress of Vienna.

In his seminar Hazen assigned topics for reports. Like Adams he was not rigid. If a student had a subject of his own to develop a compromise could be made whereby he would first report on an assigned topic and at later meetings on his own topic. The professor did not require that the reports be written out for presentation. Students spoke from notes, while Hazen listened, expressionless, at the head of the table. Lack of expression did not mean, however, as one could learn to his dismay, lack of attention. Any display of faulty logic or flabby thinking or plain ignorance promptly stirred Hazen to action with embarrassing questions. He was evaluating the young men and women around the table. If the reports bored him—some of them must have—he gave no outward sign. In a whimsical letter written during the early years at Columbia, he said he sometimes got a "defective" among the students, "and teaching them ceases to possess many attractions, and only offers ample opportunity for resignation and fortitude."⁵⁶ But Hazen always treated students with courtesy and respect. He created an atmosphere favorable to the pursuit of truth.

In oral examinations for the doctorate he had a happy faculty of putting candidates at ease and drawing the best out of them. His colleague, Evarts B. Greene, remarked on it.⁵⁷ One candidate recalled a quarter of a century later the "great consideration and kindness" with which Hazen had led him "over the jumps."⁵⁸ He preserved two letters from the professor suggesting changes in the galley proof of his dissertation.

These two letters, both in longhand (Hazen never used a typewriter), one covering four large sheets of paper, reveal his interest in good workmanship. They were written in October and November 1917, the first after Hazen had finished reading proof on his own *Alsace-Lorraine*, the second after the book had been published.⁵⁹ He was at the height of his popularity as a writer. One would never guess it from these letters. Nor would one divine that a great war was raging. Hazen was simply attending to the tedious job of helping this candidate put out as good a book as possible. He could scarcely have given more care to one of his own manuscripts.

To the candidate he suggested a long array of minor changes. But if the candidate were to find any of them incorrect or of a sort that they altered his thought, he should reject them. "Most of them," explained Hazen, "are made in the belief that they will make the text read more smoothly." In the second letter he disclaimed any desire to cause the candidate "burdensome expense" in the matter of corrections. He even offered him a personal loan if this would be of any help. No wonder this man remembered Hazen gratefully.

In 1909 Hazen playfully described his record as "one of honorable and obscure achievement in the direction of dispelling darkness in an ignorant world."⁶⁰ The direction of this teacher never changed. In 1937 he retired from Columbia as Emeritus Professor of History.

Writer: Man of Letters

In the foregoing pages two of Hazen's books are mentioned. He wrote a number of others. His most important books were *Contemporary American Opinion of the French Revolution* (1897), *Europe since 1815* (1910, revised edition, 1923), *Modern European History* (1917, 4th edition, 1937), and *The French Revolution* (1932). A fairly full list of his writings to 1930 is found in the faculty bibliography published by Columbia University.⁶¹

These books are based on printed sources. Hazen early accepted the truth that in large part even the specialist's knowledge of history must be got at second hand. The field was too wide, he declared in 1902, "for personal cultivation of more than a mere plot on the part of one who devotes his life to this branch of study."⁶² This view he repeated thirty years later in *The French Revolution*. To him certainly it seemed best in covering the field or cultivating the plot to use printed primary and secondary sources. He shared the general belief that the important material needed by the historian was already in print. Research in manuscripts he left to others.

Hazen took great pains with his research and writing. He practiced his own dictum, "Skepticism, not belief, should be the attitude of mind that the use of sources should arouse."⁶³ Once the facts were established to his satisfaction, he labored long to present them effectively. The conversion of his doctoral dissertation into a book consumed four years. He expressed his gratitude to Adams "for allowing me all the time I wanted to work it up satisfactorily to myself before having to publish it."⁶⁴ Thirteen years elapsed before his next book appeared. His preface to the Thayer letters sets forth poignantly the scholar's travail.⁶⁵

There is reason to believe that Hazen's two major illnesses were brought on by intense application in writing his two major works. The spring of 1909 found him at Hot Springs, Virginia, taking the "cure" for what he called "my highbred, Earl of Chatham disease," namely, gout.⁶⁶ His "History of Europe in the Nineteenth Century" on which he had been working for "some years," he continued, would be published in the fall. This book, *Europe since 1815*, did not appear until 1910. The same thing happened when Hazen was finishing his two-volume history of the French Revolution. The manuscript was in the hands of the publisher in the summer of 1931.⁶⁷ During the following winter Hazen had a serious illness (from which he never entirely recovered) and spent several weeks in a New York hospital. The preface to *The French Revolution* is dated September 1, 1932. Such illnesses and such delays are the price sometimes paid for works of exacting scholarship and literary art. Hazen paid it without complaint. In 1909 he undertook to make light of his affliction by referring to the "spinal douches, spout baths, hot baths, and other paraphernalia of the medical profession . . . being daily applied to my ego." In 1933, in speaking of the publication of *The French Revolution*, he did not even mention his recent illness.⁶⁸

The products of Hazen's pen became known across the country. Waldo G. Leland once wrote to him in jocular vein: "I told them [the Y. M. C. A.] that you were the greatest writer of high brow stuff for low brows in the American Historical Association."⁶⁹ Hazen was in fact one of the few professional historians of his time to win the title of man of letters. The American Academy of Arts and Letters elected him a member on November 20, 1924. Among the Johns Hopkins men he and Woodrow Wilson were outstanding as writers.

William Lyon Phelps said of Hazen that he was "equally at home in Vermont and Paris; because he was always the same man."⁷⁰ He was the same man at the Academy that he was at the University. This

is revealed in the correspondence with him which is preserved in the Academy's Library. Let one or two illustrations suffice. The photo serving as frontispiece to this essay was taken only after the secretary had requested Hazen three times to sit for it.⁷¹ In 1924 he had sent to the *New York Times* a beautiful tribute to Baron Korff, but at the Academy he declined to write tributes to Professor Channing and Brander Matthews, as he considered others whom he named better qualified to do them.⁷² He was active in helping to entertain guests and in proposing the election of new members, for example, Henry Osborn Taylor in 1939.

The War Guilt Question

Success is hard to forgive. Hazen had much of it to be forgiven by the early 1920's. For years everything had seemed to come his way. Before the war broke out in Europe, his *Europe since 1815* had brought him a national reputation and two honorary degrees; during the war it brought him a cherished professorship in New York. He urged American participation in the war on the side of the Allies, the side of democracy, and in 1917 the United States declared war on Germany. A stream of books, articles, and reviews flowed from his pen.⁷³ The French government provided the capstone to his triumphs by inviting him in 1920 to lecture at Strasbourg, an honor followed in due course by the Legion of Honor decoration. Nor should the material gains be overlooked. For the year 1932 Henry Holt & Co., his publishers, paid Hazen \$2,199.65 in royalties.⁷⁴ They must have paid him several times that amount each year in his heyday.

Hazen's colleagues might have been able to forgive such successes had he shown a disposition to temper his views of the war period. This he would not or could not do. In his opinion the Germans had caused the war and deserved to be soundly punished for it; they should be required to make reparation for the damage done the Allies. In short, they should be compelled to pay as they had compelled the French to pay after the war of 1870-1871. The French, he believed, had learned their lesson and he wanted to make sure the Germans learned theirs.⁷⁵ Otherwise the world might experience a recurrence of another major war.

Some of the colleagues, on the other hand, felt just as sincerely that the indictment of Germany was too severe. They began to see feet of clay under the Allies. To them the peace terms seemed too harsh; Brest Litovsk passed easily into limbo. Perhaps the burden on Germany should be lightened in the interest of general tranquillity.

There was a growing emphasis on the economic interpretation of history which Hazen termed "a gross exaggeration."

The discussions came to a head when Hazen in the fall of 1923 published a revised edition of his *Europe since 1815*. During the winter a young professor at Smith College, Harry Elmer Barnes, drafted a critical review of the new book which he passed around for comment among several others, including Professor William Langer of Harvard. This review, headed "Seven books of history against the Germans," appeared in the March 19, 1924 issue of the *New Republic*. A bombshell in itself, more was to follow. In the words of a later writer: "Dr. Barnes called Chevalier Hazen to account in the *New Republic* for March 19, April 9 and May 7, 1924, and has since written a great deal about the origins of the war. . . ." ⁷⁷⁶

Hazen replied but once. In a letter published in the *New Republic* of May 7 he stuck to his guns except for several minor concessions. Informed students tended to avoid in his presence the war guilt question. In the late 1920's an anecdote went the rounds at Columbia about a new graduate student whom word of the controversy had passed by. In presenting a report in Hazen's seminar he mentioned several books by Barnes. Suddenly, to the amazement of the little group, he stopped, looked at the impassive face of the professor, and asked, "Have you ever heard of him?" After what seemed like an eternity, Hazen replied softly, "Yes, I've heard of him."

Friend

"We certainly were in luck when we went to Dartmouth and made the friends we did."⁷⁷⁷ Thus Hazen once wrote to his classmates. This letter and a number of others from him are found in the printed reports of the Class of '89 (already cited frequently in this essay), which cover a date span of 50 years, from the first in 1890 to the last, the fifteenth, in 1940.⁷⁷⁸ They reveal a side of this reserved man that was largely unknown to colleagues or students. With the old Dartmouth friends he relaxed. Not that he was given to writing much about himself even to them. But he usually, when importuned, wrote something; and the diligent secretary supplied additional information about him from the alumni magazine, newspapers, and letters from others.

Hazen attended all of the class reunions held at five-year intervals from 1909 to 1939. He also went to Hanover in September 1901 when Dartmouth commemorated the centennial of Daniel Webster's graduation from the College. The alumni were required to appear "in a

Webster costume of blue coat, buff waistcoat, stock, dicky, and tall hat."⁷⁹ Someone took a picture of three men of '89 thus attired. It is printed in the Eleventh Report. Hazen stands between a clergyman and an engineer, each of the three with his right hand thrust into his waistcoat. The class secretary professed not to know why these "dignified gentlemen all" should have worn such "picturesque costumes."

Nicknames and abbreviations of names flourished among these sons of Dartmouth. The class boasted of two Hazens; one was called "Fush" and the other "Charlie," "C. D.," even "Seedy." Walter S. Sullivan was known as "Sully" and Alfred A. Wheat as "Fred."

These two were particularly close to Hazen, partly because of their long residence in New York. They both served as ushers at his wedding in 1901. They often lunched together at the University Club. They took the train together to Hanover to attend the reunions. And when Wheat moved to Washington, Hazen and Sullivan continued by themselves. Sullivan's first letter (1890) mentions Hazen and so does his last (1940).

After World War I Sullivan wrote: "We are all proud of C. D.'s expanding fame as a historian. I now nominate him as our next Ambassador to France." After Hazen's appointment to Strasbourg was announced, Wheat said the Alsatian youths were going to hear some "good stuff." "Sully and I know," he continued, "for we have been sitting at his feet for the past year imbibing the same brand of wisdom that is soon to edify France."

Hazen on his part saw to it that neither he, nor his classmates, nor the class reports should be taken too seriously. He once suggested as a title for the reports, "The Short and Simple Flannels of the Poor."⁸⁰ He referred to "Doc" Warden of Montana, newspaper publisher and publisher of the class reports, as "the Playboy of the West" and to Henry Blair, a lawyer in Washington, as the "silver tongued orator of the Potomac," whom it was difficult to suppress.⁸¹ The secretary, one should add, insisted that C. D. was wrong about Warden, that Warden far from being a playboy was "one of the outstanding Work Boys of our class."

Mrs. Hazen took steps to perpetuate her husband's affection for his classmates and his College. She made provision in her will for the establishment at Dartmouth of a fellowship in modern European history to be known as "The Charles Downer Hazen Fellowship."⁸²

The frontispiece to this essay shows Hazen as he appeared in the

late 1920's. It seems appropriate to conclude with a word picture of him at that time, contributed much later by a member of his seminar. "I can still see him," this professor wrote, "as he appeared in the seminar room: The dark eyes, set in a tired but fine face, the spare frame, draped in perfectly tailored grey (sometimes blue), always with the ribbon of the Legion in his button hole, the quiet, self-possessed bearing of the gentleman, and the interest, always to be felt, in the techniques of research."³⁸

NOTES

*Based on a paper presented before the Seventh Summer Session of the Vermont Historical Society, July 26, 1957.

¹ *Vermont Historical Society Proceedings*, XIII, O.S., (Jan. 15, 1924), xxv.

² Tracy Elliot Hazen, *The Hazen Family in America, a Genealogy*. Edited for publication by Donald Lines Jacobus (Robert Hazen, M.D., Thomaston, Conn., 1947).

³ The six members of this family are enumerated in the Census of 1880, population schedule for St. Johnsbury, Caledonia County, Vermont Microfilm roll 1342. Records of the Bureau of the Census, National Archives. Population schedule for St. Johnsbury, Caledonia County, Vermont. Records of the Bureau of the Census, Microfilm reel 1342. National Archives.

⁴ Hazen, *Hazen Family*, 612-614.

⁵ *Autobiography of Calvin Coolidge* (New York, 1929), 48-49.

⁶ Charles Edward Russell, *Bare Hands and Stone Walls* (New York, 1933), 10-14.

⁷ Elwin H. Twombly to writer, June 19, 1957.

⁸ See certificate form in *Catalogue of Dartmouth College, 1885-86* (Hanover, 1885), 16.

⁹ Letter of June 1, 1920. *Dartmouth '89: Seventh Report*. These class reports, 1890-1940, will be cited below by report number only.

¹⁰ Letter of Aug. 17, 1924. *Ninth Report*.

¹¹ Mrs. Ethel G. Martin, Archivist, Dartmouth College, to writer, June 26, 1957.

¹² John Martin Vincent, "Herbert B. Adams," Howard W. Odum, ed., *American Masters of Social Science* (New York, 1927), 99-127; W. Stull Holt, *Historical Scholarship in the United States, 1876-1901, as Revealed in the Correspondence of Herbert B. Adams* (Baltimore, 1938).

¹³ "Records Historical Seminary 1877-92," typed copy. Herbert B. Adams Papers, Lanier Room, Gilman Hall, Johns Hopkins University.

¹⁴ Undated letter. *First Report*.

¹⁵ Undated letter from W. S. Sullivan. *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Letter to William R. Harper, May 1, 1891. Holt, *Historical Scholarship*, 156.

¹⁷ Passport Applications, Vol. 702, No. 19663, July 16, 1890. General Records of the Department of State. National Archives.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, No. 19664.

¹⁹ Mr. Shütze of the Georg August University in Göttingen was good enough to send the writer by letter of Aug. 9, 1957 a copy of the *Abgangszeugnis*.

²⁰ Mr. Göber, Archivist, Humboldt University in Berlin, to writer, Sept. 23, 1957.

²¹ *Second Report*.

- 22 Marc Bouloiseau kindly tried to check for the writer the dates of Hazen's attendance at the Sorbonne, only to learn that the pertinent University records were destroyed during World War II. Letter of Jan. 30, 1958.
- 23 "Records Historical Seminary, 1892-1901." Adams Papers.
- 24 Jan. 17, 1893. *Third Report*.
- 25 Hazen to Adams, Feb. 28, 1898. Adams Papers.
- 26 April, 1909. *Fourth Report*.
- 27 *Third Report*.
- 28 Seelye to Adams, May 2, 1893; Levermore to Adams, Dec. 27, 1893. Adams Papers.
- 29 Adams Papers.
- 30 Greene to writer, Dec. 24, 1943.
- 31 Seelye to Hazen, May 2, 1894. Hazen Papers, American Academy of Arts and Letters, New York. These papers deal chiefly with academy matters.
- 32 American Historical Association, *Annual Report, 1895*, 453-466.
- 33 Hazen to Adams, Mra. 25, 1898. Adams Papers.
- 34 Same to same, Feb. 1, 1899. *Ibid*.
- 35 Letter of Feb. 28, 1898. *Ibid*.
- 36 Mary Breese Fuller, "Development of history and government in Smith College, 1875-1920," *Smith College Studies in History*, V (April, 1920), 151-152.
- 37 Hazen to Adams, Feb. 1, 1899. Adams Papers.
- 38 Fuller, "Development of history and government," 151-152.
- 39 Adams to Frederic Bancroft, Apr. 6, 1887. Holt, 100.
- 40 Hazen to Adams, Apr. 20, 1899. Adams Papers.
- 41 Same to same, Feb. 28, 1898. *Ibid*.
- 42 Theodore Clarke Smith to writer, Mar. 1, 1944.
- 43 *The Inauguration of Marion LeRoy Burton, Ph.D., D.D., as President of Smith College, the Fifth of October MCMX* (Northampton, MCMXI), 81-87.
- 44 *Ibid.*, 54-55.
- 45 Springfield *Republican*, June 15, 1914; also article on Burton in *Dictionary of American Biography*.
- 46 Florence Macdonald to writer, Oct. 31, 1957.
- 47 Fay to writer, Feb. 15, 1944.
- 48 Springfield *Republican*, Apr. 21, 1914. The resolution is not found in the *Sixth Report*.
- 49 *Ibid.*, Oct. 12, 1914; letter from Hazen, Dec. 18, 1914. *Sixth Report*.
- 50 Charles G. Proffit to writer, Mar. 10, 1953.
- 51 Richard Hofstadter, "The Department of History," R. Gordon Hoxie et al., *A History of the Faculty of Political Science, Columbia University* (New York, 1955), 236-237.
- 52 Richard Herpers to writer, Apr. 11, 1958.
- 53 Letter undated, probably sent in May, 1916. *Seventh Report*.
- 54 Charles Downer Hazen, ed., *The Letters of William Roscoe Thayer* (Boston and New York, 1926), 383-384, 386.
- 55 Letter of June 1, 1920. *Seventh Report*.
- 56 June 1, 1920. *Seventh Report*.
- 57 Greene to writer, Dec. 24, 1943. An appreciation of Hazen by Professor Greene is found in American Philosophical Society, *Year Book* (1942), 345-347.
- 58 Eugene N. Curtis to writer, Mar. 25, 1944.
- 59 Hazen to Curtis, Oct. 22, Nov. 14, 1917. Professor Curtis of Goucher College kindly loaned these letters to the writer.
- 60 *Fourth Report*.
- 61 *A Bibliography of the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University, 1880-1930* (New York, 1931), 230-232.
- 62 See *Historical Sources in Schools: Report to the New England History Teachers'*

Association by a Select Committee (New York, 1902), 7. Hazen was chairman of this Committee.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 15.

⁶⁴ Letter of Feb. 28, 1898. Adams Papers. Hopkins awarded Hazen the John Marshall Prize for his *Contemporary American Opinion*.

⁶⁵ See Note 54, above.

⁶⁶ April, 1909. *Fourth Report*.

⁶⁷ Henry Holt & Co. to Hazen, July 13, 1931. Henry Holt & Co. files, New York.

⁶⁸ Apr. 22, 1933. *Twelfth Report*.

⁶⁹ Feb. 7, 1919. Records of the National Board for Historical Service (Hazen Folder). Library of Congress.

⁷⁰ *Commemorative Tributes of the American Academy of Arts and Letters, 1905-1941* (New York, 1942), 431-432.

⁷¹ Mrs. William Vanamee, Secretary to the President, to Hazen, Jan. 13, Mar. 18, 1925; Oct. 21, 1926 (1925?).

⁷² *New York Times*, Mar. 15, 1924; Hazen to Mrs. Vanamee, Apr. 9, Oct. 11, 1931.

⁷³ Two record groups in the National Archives contain papers relating to Hazen's writing in 1917. See Records of the Committee on Public Information (3-A1, folder M-3B) for discussion of his pamphlet, *The Government of Germany*, and Records of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace (The Inquiry, Hazen folder).

⁷⁴ Henry Holt & Co. to Hazen, Jan 20, 1933. Henry Holt & Co. files.

⁷⁵ See Charles Downer Hazen, "When France failed—and why," *The American Magazine*, LXXX (Dec., 1915), 46-47, 94.

⁷⁶ C. Hartley Grattan, "The historians cut loose," *American Mercury*, XI (Aug., 1927), 417-419.

⁷⁷ Apr. 22, 1933. *Twelfth Report*.

⁷⁸ Mr. Ralph S. Bartlett, the only member of the Class of '89 now living, kindly called the writer's attention to these reports (letter of Feb. 27, 1958).

⁷⁹ Information from Mrs. Ethel G. Martin, Apr. 22, 1958.

⁸⁰ *Ninth Report*.

⁸¹ *Eleventh Report*.

⁸² Will of Sara D. Hazen, Jan. 30, 1949 (probated Apr. 18, 1952). Surrogate's Court, County of New York, State of New York (Wills, vol. 1992, p. 145).

⁸³ Glyndon G. Van Deusen, Jan. 2, 1944.

