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THE HARVARD FACTOR

The University Celebrates Its 350th Anniversary

BY COLIN CAMPBELL

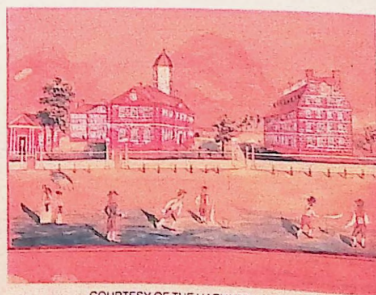
Feresa Fasolino





Amid mortarboards and top hats, Harvard president Derek Bok (center) presides at the 1986 commencement.

HARVARD OVER THE CENTURIES



COURTESY OF THE HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Cricket —
American-style
— on the
Harvard
campus in 1795.

An 1870 class
album includes
this picture of
a student's
living
quarters.



THE HARVARD FACTOR

By Colin Campbell

WADE INTO THE NAMES OF Harvard's former students and you soon feel not just the tickling undertow of 350 years but also the force, the actual weight and sound, of Harvard's influence on the world outside the Yard.

Remember George Starkey, class of 1646? He was an alchemist, a living link with the medieval world.

Consider Ralph Waldo Emerson, class of 1821. The great transcendentalist and distiller of ideas, which now seem deeply American, revisited his old college, years after graduating, and reported feeling the presence of "ghosts" there. The college was already two centuries old, its founding spirits as remote from Emerson as George Washington is from us.

Consider the liberal professorial brain trusts of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, class of 1904, and President John F. Kennedy, class of 1940. The Washington of President Ronald Reagan may include fewer Harvard professors, but look at the alumni of Harvard College, the undergraduate school, and of Harvard's professional schools: Caspar W. Weinberger, Secretary of Defense; Donald T. Regan, White House chief of staff; Education Secretary William J. Bennett; Interior Secretary Donald P. Hodel; Transportation Secretary Elizabeth Dole; Federal Reserve Chairman Paul A. Volcker, and Assistant Secretary of State Elliott Abrams, among others.

Harvard has left a deep impress on American culture and society ever since it was founded in 1636, in the reign of Charles I, and named after John Harvard, a young minister who, when he died, left the college 400 books and a valuable interest in a London tavern. And as the university prepares to celebrate its 350th birthday with a tremendous convocation next September (the present Charles, Prince of Wales, will be among the guests), American education, scholarship, government, law, medicine, business and literature still find themselves somewhat under Harvard's spell. Harvard has set

Colin Campbell is a New York Times reporter.

Celebrating its 350th birthday, America's oldest university still casts a spell over the country, affecting education, government, the sciences and the arts.

Black waiters in 1875 pose outside Memorial Hall, where they served the students.



NOTMAN STUDIOS.
COURTESY OF THE HARVARD UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES

IRA WYMAN/SYGMA

standards in scholarship over the years, and underlying its scholarship there remains a seriousness about truth-seeking, along with a moral ambition, that other schools have strained to emulate. These deeper traits are probably traceable to Harvard's Puritan origins.

One other type of influence is harder to grasp. It is Harvard's social power, its link to cliques, networks and elites both real and imaginary. Defense Secretary Weinberger, for instance, admits cheerfully that he is benevolently disposed toward Harvard people. He adds that he tries not to indulge in blind favoritism, but being Harvard "certainly doesn't hurt them." (Being Radcliffe, by the same token, hasn't hurt, either. The women's college that grew out of Harvard has produced the novelist Ursula Le Guin, the poet Maxine Kumin, the historian Barbara Tuchman, the concert pianist Ursula Oppens and hundreds of other distinguished women.)

A degree from Harvard still has a certain talismanic prestige, and a few years there supplies a person with valuable tickets and acquaintances. The fact drives other good schools — which may well provide undergraduates with as good or even better education — nearly crazy.

Yet, by most accounts, Harvard is less influential than it was on its 250th anniversary in 1886, during the administration of president Charles W. Eliot, who was one of the great reformers of American higher education. Harvard is probably also less influential than it was on its 300th anniversary in 1936, during the heyday of the New Deal. The decline, however, is relative. Harvard is simply no longer alone in its eminence. Other great American universities have cropped up. Part of the credit for them belongs to Harvard.

HENRY ROSOVSKY, AN ECONOMIST AND former dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, is one of many knowledgeable folk who say that Harvard is less unique than it used to be. He loves the place all the same.

One day not long ago, he sat back in a big armchair in his office in Littauer Hall and recalled that when he was dean he had often thought some Harvard departments attracted better students than they deserved. They were flawed departments, he said, but they got brilliant students because of Harvard's magic name.

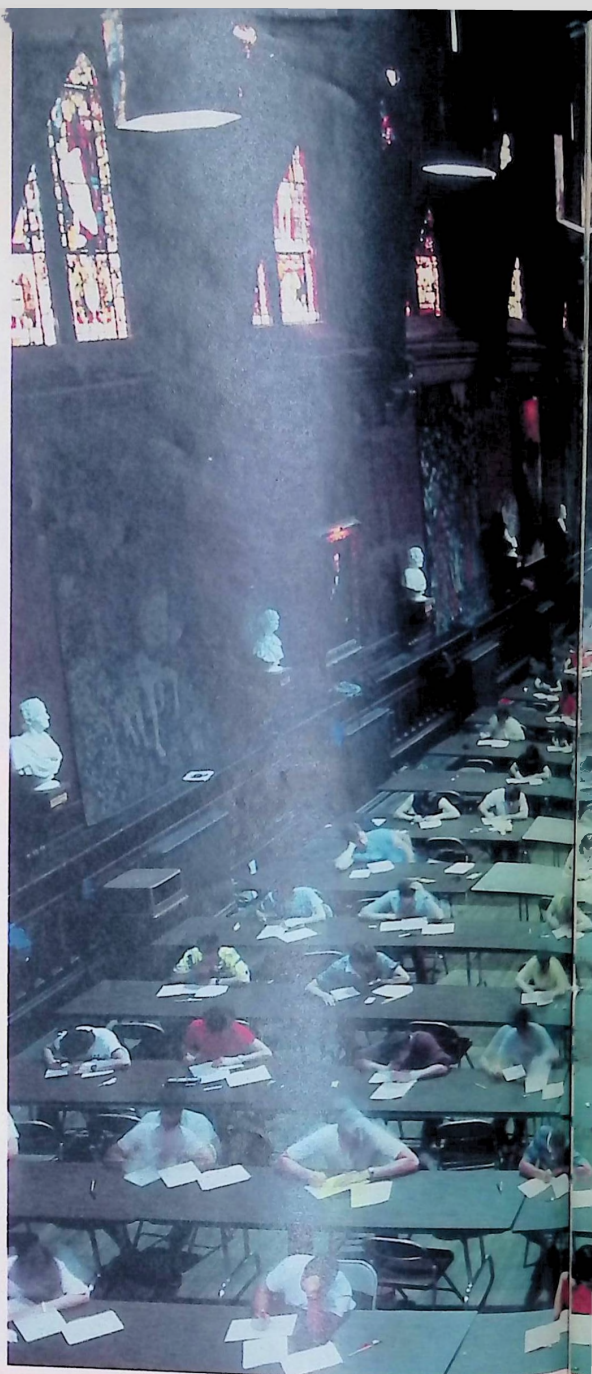
Speaking of Harvard's complex influence, Rosovsky proposed: "Part of it is composed of myth, part of it is a state of mind, part of it is realistic." The realistic part is palpable, a matter of actual scholarly and scientific discoveries. The myth, Rosovsky feels, is overrated, but there is a definite Harvard "state of mind," he says, which influences students and teachers to get into the swing of old traditions, to become very serious about their work, because it is expected of them.

Rosovsky was an undergraduate at the College of William and Mary in Virginia (which is the nation's second oldest college, founded in 1693), and he has taught at Berkeley. He earned such a name as dean of Harvard's faculty that in 1977 he was offered the presidency of Yale. He turned it down (there's a pearl for Harvard's legendary string). He had work to do at Harvard, and he went on to help institute Harvard's "core curriculum" — a range of basic courses that make up 25 percent of an undergraduate's four-year plan.

Rosovsky retired as dean two years ago and is now a University Professor, which means he can teach whatever he chooses. He has also been named a member of Harvard's seven-member Corporation (formally, The President and Fellows of Harvard College). The Corporation — like some independent inner circle of a conventional board of trustees — runs the whole university. Apart from Harvard's president and treasurer, its members have rarely been Harvard employees. Rosovsky, in fact, is the first Harvard professor to be named to the Corporation in a century.

One thing he wanted to say right away was that Harvard continues to be almost uniquely ambitious. It wants to be best in everything, from its library to physics to medicine. Most other great universities tend to specialize, and some hardly bother to compete in some fields.

"Berkeley and Harvard are really the only two institutions in the country



A sea of Harvard students taking their examinations at Memorial Hall.

The heady myth of Harvard's greatness, observes the sociologist David Riesman, 'almost seizes some graduates and makes them less vibrant.'



COURTESY OF THE HARVARD UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES

Charles W. Eliot (seen during a visit to Japan) revolutionized Harvard during his presidency from 1869 to 1909.



DAVID BURNETT/CONTACT



COURTESY OF
THE HARVARD UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES

Though Harvard banned a version of football from its campus during the 1860's, the school soon adopted the game. Left: The Crimson in action in 1922.



GLOBE
COURTESY OF THE HARVARD UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES

J. P. Morgan, class of 1889, at his 45th reunion in 1934.

A student hits the books in his living quarters, 1940.



COURTESY OF THE HARVARD UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES



The Faculty Club at Harvard provides stimulating conversation as well as food.



Students strut their stuff in 1950. The annual Hasty Pudding Show is a burlesque tradition.



COURTESY OF THE HARVARD UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES

John F. Kennedy, class of '40, at the 1959 commencement ceremonies.



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A 1969 cartoon comments on the era when student protest briefly brought the university to a halt and left a bitter aftermath.

A member of the freshman class at Harvard, which in 1977 merged with Radcliffe and became coeducational.



DAVID BURNETT/CONTACT

that have the ambition to be good across the board," Rosovsky said. (Staying good across the board can be tough. Another officer of Harvard, when asked his private opinion of various departments and divisions, replied that economics, the classics, Romance languages, chemistry, biophysics, mathematics and some others are mighty departments that radiate influence throughout the world. History, physics and philosophy, though extremely distinguished, will need new blood soon. Astronomy, geology, English, sociology and the fine arts are relatively weak.)

"When I think of Harvard's influence," Rosovsky said, squinting into the mental distance, "I think of its changed admissions policies." He was referring to the "opening" of the university's admissions in recent decades, and to a democratization of Harvard's influence.

The old policy, as at other elite schools, favored money and family. Glance at the names of Harvard's graduates during the 18th and 19th centuries and they remind you how many illustrious families Boston spawned. Even apart from all the Adamses (Presidents John Adams and John Quincy Adams were both Harvard men), the records toss up names like Leverett, Saltonstall, Phillips, Hancock, Pickering, Sumner, Lowell, Prescott, Bancroft, Story, Coolidge, Peabody, Houghton, Oliver, Wendell and Holmes.

A century ago, 80 percent of Harvard's freshmen came from prep schools, and even in the early 1950's private schools prepared half the freshmen. Black students a century ago were very rare. Jewish students were less so and eventually entered Harvard in sizable numbers; they did so well that an informal (and deeply resented) quota on Jewish students was instituted in the 1920's during the presidency of A. Lawrence Lowell.

After World War II, the admissions policy opened wide. During the 1950's, when Nathan Marsh Pusey was president, Harvard introduced a "need-blind" admissions policy that, in theory, made family wealth completely irrelevant. William R. Fitzsimmons, Harvard's admissions director, who himself went to Harvard in the 1960's on a large scholarship, reports that three out of four entering Harvard freshmen now come from public high schools, and that two out of three students get some financial aid.

When Harvard merged with Radcliffe in 1977, it became coeducational as well — although it causes great displeasure in some quarters that only 45 of the university's 898 tenured faculty members last year were women.

Today, Harvard recruits students from across the country and the world, and more than 20 percent of Harvard's students come from minorities: 9 percent Asian-American, 7 percent black, 5 percent Hispanic, 1 percent Native American. Such minorities added up to only 5 percent of Harvard's student body in the early 1960's.

"Harvard admissions," Rosovsky said, "is an exercise in social engineering."

Democratic admissions would be impossible without plenty of money, and, in fact, one reason Harvard has prospered intellectually is that it has grown so rich. Harvard today is by far the wealthiest private university in the country, with an endowment of \$3.6 billion (the second-richest private university, Princeton, has a \$1.9 billion endowment). Rosovsky agreed: wealth spells quality in an age when libraries and laboratories cost unbelievable sums.

HARVARD HAS BEEN THINKING ABOUT its 350th birthday, and new volumes of history have appeared in the bookshops of Cambridge: a history of Harvard's motley architecture; a collection of essays, "Glimpses of the Harvard Past," by the Harvard historians Bernard Bailyn, Donald Fleming, Oscar Handlin and Stephan Thernstrom; a reprint of the one-volume edition of Samuel Eliot Morison's great four-volume "Tercennial History of Harvard University," which was published half a century ago.

Morison argued in 1936 that Harvard's founders, scores of whom had graduated from Oxford or Cambridge, were dedicated to a recognizably secular liberal education. Bailyn and others, (Continued on Page 43)

One reason that the school has prospered intellectually is that it has grown so rich. In an era when libraries and labs cost vast sums, wealth often means quality.

HARVARD

Continued from Page 21

though, are shifting the emphasis. The founders, they argue, wanted specifically to build a Puritan college that would differ radically from the religiously corrupt old schools of Europe. They were animated, too, by the "dread," as they called it, that the new colony might slip backward, that ministers might grow ignorant. *Veritas*, or truth, which became Harvard's motto, signified God's truth. And, in the end, Bailyn has written, "it was an intensely religious, ascetic Puritan culture that created this institution and that carried it through precarious years into the stability of the 18th century."

The founders' focus on hard work, self-discipline and doing the right thing is still sharp, and it affects the university's seriousness about good works as well as about scholarship. Richard Darman — who got degrees from both Harvard College and from the business school, and who is now Under Secretary of the Treasury — said the other day that the College still instilled "this sense that one *must* be of service."

Many of the Puritans (Cotton Mather for instance) were powerfully drawn to the natural sciences. Nature was God's nature, and to understand nature was to see God's handiwork. Harvard followed suit. By the middle of the 19th century, as the natural sciences became a key to education itself, Harvard's overseers had grown sufficiently committed to modern science to appoint a young chemist — Eliot — to the presidency. "When the Jefferson physics lab was built," Gerald Holton, a physicist and historian of science, said recently in the same century-old building, "there weren't enough physicists in the United States to fill it. It was built on speculation. It was part of a grand statement about the future of science."

Most of the 29 Nobel Prizes Harvard's faculty members have won have been in the sciences, or in medicine and physiology, from the 1914 prize in chemistry, which went to T. W. Richards for his work on the atomic weights of elements, to the 1984 prize in physics, which went to Carlo Rubbia for his discovery of new subatomic particles.

What sorts of professors does Harvard look for in the sciences? Jeremy Knowles, an English chemist who has taught at Harvard for years,

stared for a moment over his lunch before answering: "Deep ones." He apologized for sounding arrogant, but, he said, there was no getting around it.

Harvard began turning into the sprawling, immensely ambitious university it is today under Eliot, its president from 1869 to 1909. What did Eliot do? Herculean things.

He gave his sleepy little law faculty a dean — Christopher Columbus Langdell — who transformed the study of law in the United States. Under Langdell, professors ceased to expound the law (a task that had become increasingly difficult as the law kept growing and contradicting itself from state to state) and began to study cases, through which modern students and lawyers "discover" the law.

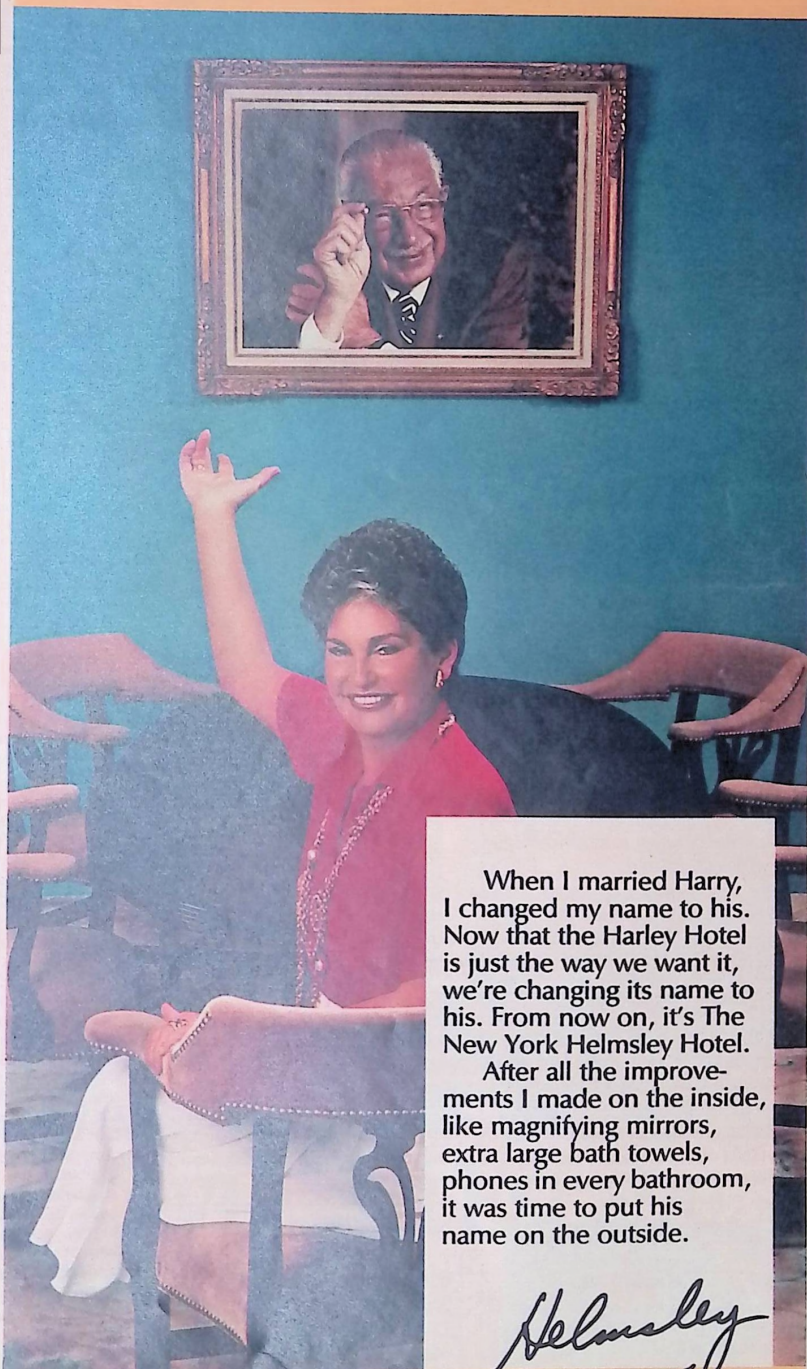
What bothers former Attorney General William French Smith, who got his law degree at Harvard, is that the school has been poisonously divided in recent years between a small group of conservative professors (Smith hired two such at the Justice Department, though he said he hated depriving the school of their talents) and another small group of more or less radical professors who have been arguing that the law should be viewed as a function of social and political power. Over the past year, the school's conflict has grown a bit calmer — but it is still there, and students and professors say the school is not a happy place.

During the decades of Eliot's presidency, the Graduate School of Business Administration was launched. Like the law school, the business school has felt increasing competition from such places as Stanford, but it is still a powerhouse.

Eliot also reformed the medical school, and today, a century later, it has embarked on another great reform. Such huge amounts of money have lately been channeled into medical research that teaching has suffered. So Harvard has shaken up the way it teaches medicine. Traditionally, medical students take two years of lab sciences and two years of clinical studies. But last year, 24 of the school's 165 entering students were put on a "New Pathway" that introduces them immediately to realistic medical problems. Clinical and scientific instruction are merged from the start.

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plays senior faculty members as tutors, and other new labor-intensive methods. Gradually, the medical school's entire student body may take the Pathway. "Problem-based" medical instruction isn't new (five other schools did it before Harvard), but Harvard is certainly the most famous school to take the new route, and its reforms are the most sweeping. Its performance will be watched all over the world.

Harvard's Graduate School of Arts and Sciences also got off the ground a century ago — and it helped transform a quiet, regional undergraduate college into a cosmopolitan center of research. It helped bring German standards of scholarship, then the best in the world, to the United States and it made Harvard a haven for world-class humanists, scientists and — most famously for a while — philosophers, such as C. S. Peirce, William James, Josiah Royce, George Herbert Palmer and George Santayana. The fine arts flourished, too — beginning with Charles Eliot Norton's great lectures and leading to Harvard's famous Graduate School of Design. Yet it has been in literature more than in philosophy, the arts or architecture that Harvard's humanistic influence has seemed most extraordinary.

Harvard long produced poets, critics and other writers, including Emerson and Thoreau, Richard Henry Dana and Henry Adams. But, starting in the late 19th century, literary people began tumbling out: Edwin Arlington Robinson, Gertrude Stein, Robert Frost, Wallace Stevens, T. S. Eliot, the journalists Walter Lippmann and John Reed (both class of 1910), E. E. Cummings, Eugene O'Neill, S. N. Behrman, John Dos Passos, Archibald MacLeish and other literary figures such as Vernon L. Parrington, Maxwell Perkins, Van Wyck Brooks and Brooks Atkinson.

Literary names thinned out after World War I, but, even then, Harvard produced James Gould Cozzens, F. O. Matthiessen, James Agee, William S. Burroughs, Norman Mailer, John Ashbery, John Updike and columns of famous journalists who got their start on *The Crimson*.

One other epochal step taken by president Eliot was to abolish the ancient system of prescribed studies for undergraduates and introduce the elective system. On Harvard's 250th birthday, upperclassmen were henceforth permitted to cut classes; some sailed right to Bermuda. Compulsory chapel was also abolished. So were Harvard's old requirements in Latin and Greek. Eliot dragged Harvard and much of American higher education into an era of liberty that is still in progress, and still being questioned. Harvard is, as it began to be under Eliot, one of the hardest schools to get into (only 16 percent of those who apply are admitted) and one of the hardest to flunk out of.

Trying to turn out more competent, cultured graduates in the face of all the modern world's multiplicities, specialisms, distractions and rebellions, Harvard in the 20th century has created one ambitious undergraduate program after another. In the words of Harvard presidents, these programs have been designed to make students "intellectu-

ally well rounded" (Lowell), to provide them with a "general education" (James Bryant Conant), to reaffirm "the liberal arts" (Pusey) and to expand a "core curriculum" (Derek Curtis Bok, Harvard's current president).

Each new affirmation, moreover, catches the ears of pundits and educators. When the president of Harvard speaks, people listen.

I T WAS A BRIGHT BLUE AFTERNOON in May. Derek Bok — an athletic man who seems comfortable in motion, a man from California who likes to garden — agreed it was a good day for a walk.

Through the Yard and past the law school, greeting acquaintances and waving at sunbathing students, Harvard's president paced his domain. He commented on the flowering trees. He took a quick peek into Harvard's new Sackler Museum and identified himself to the suspicious receptionist.

Unlike most previous Harvard presidents, Bok spent his undergraduate years elsewhere. He went to Stanford, later taught at Harvard Law School, specialized in labor law, was named dean, and — after Harvard erupted in the late 1960's over the Vietnam War and other issues — became president in 1971. There's something of the outsider about him. Some old Harvard people think he's insufficiently Harvard.

He sometimes seems shy. But he has sent sparks flying by criticizing law schools for cornering too many of the nation's best brains; he has irritated some political activists by defending Harvard's decision not to divest itself of stocks in companies that do business with South Africa; he has tweaked the business school for not doing enough basic research.

He rejected the idea that Harvard exerted any "monolithic" political influence either on Washington or on students, and he said Harvard's influence on education was much more obvious. As proof, he swung an arm toward the law school and mentioned the case-study system. He spoke of the core curriculum program ("We'll have to see how history treats these things," he said with characteristic reserve), and he spoke of the radical changes in the medical school.

As for his personal influence, he said his powers inside Harvard were limited by the financial independence of the university's separate schools, but that he personally picked each school's dean. "That creates a certain kind of relationship between you," he pointed out. He also has veto power, in effect, over tenure decisions. And because each tenure decision is made with the confidential advice of an ad hoc committee of experts from outside the department and even outside Harvard, he knows a great deal about each department. There is, of course, power in such knowledge.

This system of appointments, by the way, which is meant to secure the best professors in the world, also downgrades the powers of departments and their protégés — including a lot of junior faculty — and in fact Harvard's junior teachers usually fail to get tenure.

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HARVARD

Continued from Page 45

tion in Vietnam. The spirit of interventionism has surfaced during the Reagan years, too.

Secretary of Defense Weinberger spent seven years at Harvard, at the college and then the law school, and he loved the place and the rigor and skepticism of his teachers. "They quite literally taught you how to think," he recalled from Washington the other day. He became a lover of reading at Harvard, and says he still thinks often of Thomas Wolfe's description, in "Of Time and the River," of a book-crazed romantic in the stacks of Widener trying to read every book in the library.

Although Weinberger remembers being stimulated to hear that the Boston Tea Party was "nothing but a bunch of ruffians hired by local merchants," he doesn't believe Harvard influenced his basic thoughts on military matters. "I entered a strong basic conservative," he said, an opponent of the New Deal, and he recalls having "ample opportunity" to express his views.

He left Harvard a conservative and is one today — although compared to some in the Administration, he has been an occasional moderate on the introduction of combat troops.

Harvard has exerted enormous influence not just over war and peace but over Government policy generally. There were the economics of the New Deal, for example. "The Keynesian revolution did not come directly to Washington," John Kenneth Galbraith recalled one day in the library of his house in Cambridge. "It came by Harvard. The original Keynesians in Washington were all Harvard people."

Going to Washington became a tradition, especially for younger Harvard people — graduate students and junior faculty. "A hundred years ago, or 80 years ago, young people would have spent a year on the Continent, in Europe," said John Dunlop, a Harvard economist who was President Ford's Secretary of Labor. But the Continental tour became the

(Continued on Page 49)

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HARVARD

Continued from Page 47

Washington tour, and "almost regardless of the political party in power." According to Dunlop, it is still considered respectable to go to Washington for a while, but "it is not respectable to stay there."

HARVARD PEOPLE have often been accused of snobbery and priggishness. Benjamin Franklin, for example — a Boston-born genius who did not go to Harvard — wrote in 1722 that Harvardians "learn little more than how to carry themselves handsomely, and enter a Room genteely (which might as well be acquired at a Dancing-school)," and that they graduate, after causing their parents much trouble and expense, "as great Blockheads as ever, only more proud and self-conceited."

It is at least arguable that Harvard has made major pedagogical missteps. Morison, one of countless admirers of Eliot's imperial presidency, nonetheless joined the conservative critics in lamenting the way Harvard dropped its Latin and Greek requirements for entering freshmen. Eliot's and Harvard's prestige (combined with the scientific spirit of the age) soon caused high schools across the country to drop the classics. Morison called the loss "the greatest educational crime of the century."

Donald Fleming, the historian, has written that the underlying cultural and political message of many of Harvard's famous humanists during Harvard's "golden age" under Eliot was nostalgic — pro-English, pro-aristocratic, hostile to immigration. Fleming also thinks Harvard's democratic admissions policies have been exaggerated and says Harvard's students still come disproportionately from the upper managerial classes of New England and the mid-Atlantic states. (Whatever their class, 55 percent of the class of '89 comes from these areas.)

Galbraith thinks Harvard's policy-minded professors tend to assume that the hypothetical "middle position" between extremes is usually the best or true position. They have, moreover, viewed public administration as potentially neutral — beyond the reach of values and ideologies. Galbraith thinks both such notions are pernicious.

Even Harvard's best friends note that its unsupervised, unstructured atmosphere causes

"I can't unwind in a high-pressure lounge, why should you?"

Leona M. Helmsley, President



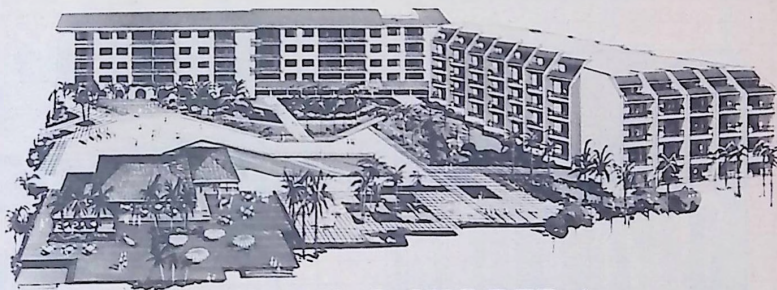
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some undergraduates to sink while their classmates swim. David Riesman, the sociologist, said one afternoon that the heady myth of Harvard's greatness "almost seizes some undergraduates and makes them less vibrant." He said, too: "I wish the students had more interesting ambitions. I keep telling them that the Peace Corps wouldn't really hurt their résumés."

Yet even given the drawbacks, Harvard has powerful charms. It may be vain at times, but its humor and seriousness are unsurpassed. So are the pith and energy of its public arguments, whether over human nature or South Africa or taking grants from the C.I.A. "It's one of the criticisms of Harvard that its stars do not have the coherence of constellations," the chemist Jeremy Knowles observed. In fact, Harvard is as disputatious as it was in Cotton Mather's day. But it does dispute splendidly. "We don't exist to solve problems," Henry Rosovsky said. "We exist just as much to raise problems."

It's amazing, when all is said, to consider a dinner for Harvard's Society of Fellows, one of the world's most exclusive scholarly associations,

which also supports promising young scholars. The last such dinner gathered together Walter Gilbert, the Nobel Prize-winning biologist, Willard Quine, whom some consider the most eminent living philosopher, a young biochemist-cum-artist named Dan Jay, and dozens of other extraordinary minds.

It's almost moving to hear pink-jowled Walter Cabot, president of the Harvard Management Company, which handles Harvard's gigantic endowment, direct a visitor's thoughts to the general drift of price-earnings ratios since 1870. (Time is money.) As for the future, Cabot is cautious: "I think the financial markets have a *chance* of being good to us."

It's gratifying to hear Riesman describe a meeting during the 1960's at which a Harvard alumnus asked president Pusey if admissions policies couldn't be changed to rid the school of protesters. "He was shamed by his fellow alumni," Riesman said proudly.

It was a pleasure, too, last spring, to join the annual dinner of the Signet Society, a 116-year-old literary club for undergraduates and professors. The guests sat back at their

tables in the Faculty Club — pale faces, red faces, elegant shocks of white hair, the half-childlike faces of adolescents, a colorful punk hairdo or two, and everyone in evening clothes — and listened silently to a string trio of superb undergraduate musicians.

Later, the Irish poet Seamus Heaney, Harvard's Boylston Professor of Rhetoric, recited some of his verses, which sounded as if Yeats had come back to life; and then, Helen Vendler, a professor of English, told everyone what Heaney meant. At one point, a great silver bowl of champagne went around the room, and hundreds of people sipped from it, as if nobody had heard of communicable diseases. And still later, at the Signet's clubhouse, the undergraduates got intelligently rowdy. They obviously felt, as such undergraduates do, that they were special, as they were.

And Heaney spoke the first lines of his poem for Harvard's 350th birthday party:

*A spirit moved. John Harvard
walked the yard.
The atom lay unsplit, the
west unwon,
The books stood open and
the gates unbarred.* ■

TEXAS

Continued from Page 25

spacious home, built during better times. The Sullivans are independent oil producers, long the spine of the Texas economy, and they are in deep trouble today. In a way, their story is a parable of the remarkable rise and fall of Texas, a symbol of a glorious but receding past.

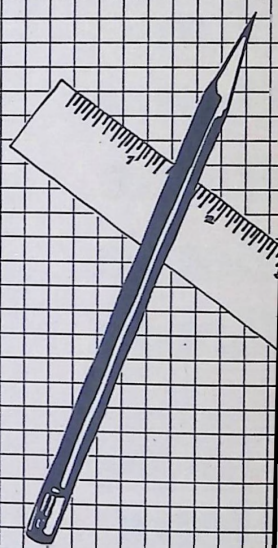
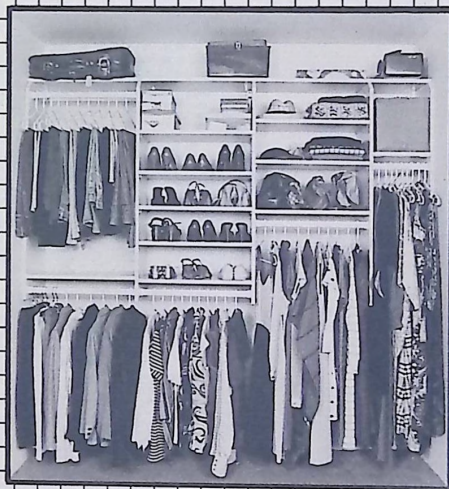
Like his father, Mr. Sullivan began as an oil-field roughneck in North Texas. In 1972, by a stroke of good luck and timing, the two bought some wells when the price of oil was \$3.50 a barrel. "I had to hump to make the payments to the bank then," he recalls. "I mean, it was close." Then, suddenly, things began to change. The Arab oil embargoes pushed the price up to \$5, \$7, \$10, ultimately nearly \$40 a barrel. Si Sullivan could hardly comprehend what was happening to him. "It was unbelievable how things changed. Was I excited? I couldn't believe it. When I had been used to working for \$1,000 a month and then get a \$10,000 check. Never in my wildest imagination had I

dreamed that I'd make \$10,000 in a month's time."

The payments eventually reached \$25,000 a month. Mr. Sullivan, the youngest of 11 children of a tenant farmer, quit her job as a bookkeeper. They paid off the original bank note, built a 2,350-square-foot brick-veneer home, joined the country club and bought more oil leases to satisfy what seemed to be a limitless world thirst for their product.

They also borrowed heavily to buy farmland, amassing 7½ acres. They were not exactly rich, but very comfortable. Mr. Sullivan's father, with memories of the Depression, urged him to put the money into certificates of deposit. "But oil was still going up, everything was rosy," Si Sullivan said. "Even if the farm didn't make its own way, would have some oil money put into it."

The dilemma of the independent producer is that he must constantly drill new wells; the great Texas fields have been so depleted that ne



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