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DYKE BROWN
ATHENIAN SCHOOL FOUNDER

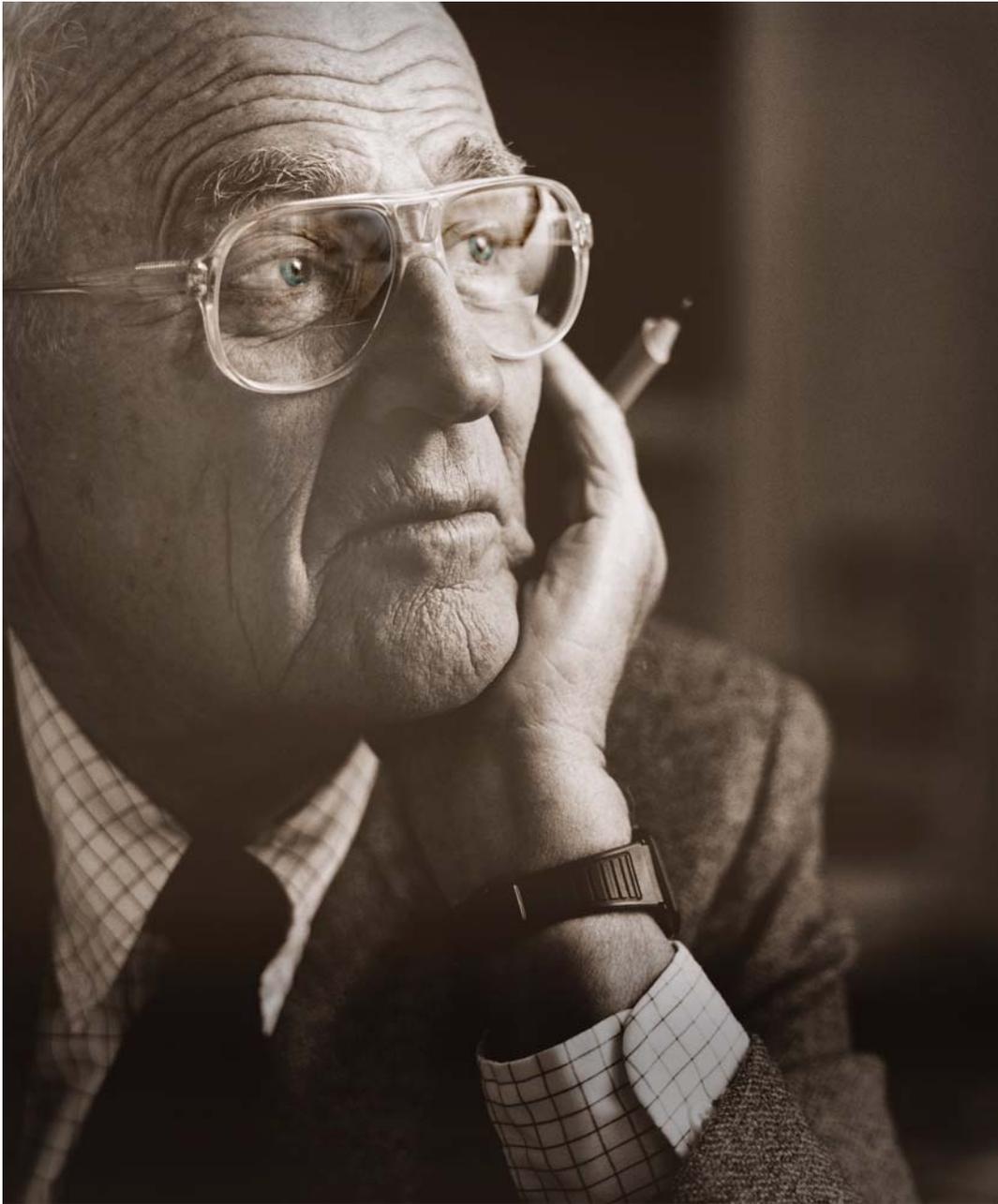
Interviews Conducted by
Suzanne Riess
in 2005

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Dyke Brown, founder, Athenian School
Photo by Arthur Bacon, 1980

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INTRODUCTION—Dyke Brown

Dyke Brown was born in 1915 in San Francisco. He had one brother, Gary, who was two years older. Dyke's mother, a graduate of UC Berkeley, was a creative and adventurous individual who later became well-known in the Bay Area as a professional photographer of mothers and children. Dyke's father was a businessman who went into business for himself in 1920.

Dyke attended Bay Area public schools, graduating from Piedmont High School in 1931 when he was sixteen years old. Prior to attending UC Berkeley, Dyke spent several months traveling in Europe with a boyhood friend and attended the Schule Schloss Salem in Germany for a few months. Meeting the school's director, respected educator, Kurt Hahn, and experiencing a completely different philosophy and regimen in education, deeply influenced Dyke when he went on to found The Athenian School.

Dyke returned from his travels in Europe to attend UC Berkeley as a music major. Midway through his studies, Dyke, influenced by notable professors in philosophy, ethics and social science, switched his major to Social Philosophy and immersed himself in the study of philosophy, politics and economics. In his senior year, Dyke applied for and won a coveted Rhodes Scholarship to Oxford University. He graduated Phi Beta Kappa from UC Berkeley in 1936 and received his B.A. degree with highest honors. Then, as a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford University from 1936 to 1938, Dyke went on to receive a B.A. and M.A. in Politics, Economics and Philosophy.

During his studies at Oxford, Dyke took a break to visit Florence, Italy, where he chanced to meet his future bride, Catherine Whiteley from Pennsylvania. After Oxford, Dyke attended Yale Law School, then returned to California to attend Boalt Law School for his second year. In his third year, Dyke returned to the East Coast to marry Kate and earn his LL.B. degree with honors from Yale. Fresh out of law school, Dyke was immediately hired as Assistant Dean and Assistant Professor of Law at Yale. As America stepped into WWII, Dyke was appointed flag lieutenant and aide to Admiral Jules James, commander of the Sixth Naval District in Charleston, South Carolina. From 1942-1945, Dyke was on active duty with the U.S. Navy.

After the war, Dyke returned to San Francisco, where he practiced law from 1946 until 1953, first for three years with the famed attorney John Francis Neylan and later at the firm of Cooley, Crowley and Gaither. While he worked in John Neylan's office, Dyke pursued his interest in various social goals, and chose to run for state assembly from the seventh congressional district. During the course of his campaign, which he later dropped so that the Democrats did not lose their own primary to a Republican incumbent, Dyke worked on the Citizens Committee for Brown. It was on this committee that Dyke worked with Rowan Gaither, another prominent San Francisco attorney. From 1949 to 1950, as a partner in Cooley, Crowley and Gaither, Dyke assisted Mr. Gaither in setting up a plan to expand the national scope of the Ford Foundation's grant programs. In that capacity, Dyke served as Assistant Director of the Study for the Ford Foundation on Policy and Program. In 1953, Dyke was elected a Vice President of the Ford Foundation, a position he held for the next ten years in New York. Kate and Dyke moved with their three children, Tish, Susan, and Christopher, from Berkeley, California to Scarsdale, New York. It was during these

years of living in Scarsdale that Dyke focused closer attention on education and was elected to serve for a few years on Scarsdale's Board of Education.

During his years with the Ford Foundation, Dyke traveled extensively in Europe, the Middle East and Asia in connection with the foundation's work in youth development and juvenile delinquency, and was primarily responsible for the Ford Foundation's Public Affairs Program, and the Program in Economic Development and Administration.

In 1962, Dyke left the Ford Foundation to found The Athenian School in Danville.

DYKE BROWN, FOUNDER OF THE ATHENIAN SCHOOL IN DANVILLE, CALIFORNIA, PASSES AWAY

DYKE BROWN (Franklin Moore Brown)

Born April 16, 1915, and passed away peacefully December 16, 2006 at St. Paul's Towers in Oakland, California.

Dyke Brown was born in San Francisco and graduated from Piedmont High School in 1931. Prior to attending UC Berkeley, Brown attended the Schule Schloss Salem in Germany. The school's director, respected educator, Kurt Hahn, embraced a humanistic philosophy of education and deeply influenced Brown in his founding of The Athenian School in 1965.

At UC Berkeley, Brown immersed himself in the study of philosophy, politics and economics. After graduating Phi Beta Kappa from UC Berkeley in 1936, Dyke attended Oxford University as a Rhodes Scholar, where he received a B.A. and M.A. in Politics, Economics and Philosophy.

During his studies at Oxford, Brown met his future bride, Catherine Whiteley (from York, Pennsylvania), while traveling in Italy. After earning a law degree with honors from Yale in 1941, he was immediately hired as Assistant Dean and Assistant Professor of Law at Yale. As America stepped into WWII, Brown was appointed flag lieutenant and aide to Admiral Jules James, commander of the Sixth Naval District in Charleston, South Carolina. From 1942-1945, he was on active duty with the U.S. Navy.

After the war, Dyke returned to San Francisco, where he practiced law from 1946 until 1953, first for three years with the prominent attorney John Francis Neylan and later at the firm of Cooley, Crowley and Gaither. From 1949 to 1950, as a partner in Cooley, Crowley and Gaither, Brown assisted Mr. Gaither in setting up a plan to expand the scope of the Ford Foundation's grant programs. In 1953, Brown was elected a Vice President of the Ford Foundation, a position he held for the next ten years in New York City. Living in Scarsdale, New York, Dyke focused closer attention on education and was elected to serve for a few years on Scarsdale's Board of Education.

During his years with the Ford Foundation, Dyke concentrated his work on youth development and juvenile delinquency, and was primarily responsible for the Ford Foundation's Public Affairs Program, as well as the Program in Economic Development and Administration.

In 1962, Dyke left the Ford Foundation and founded The Athenian School in Danville, California, which opened in 1965. Dyke was progressive in his vision of a school that emphasized both intellectual fitness and moral virtue. Far ahead of his time, he realized the importance of community service, international understanding, diversity, environmental stewardship and outdoor challenge—combined with rigorous intellectual inquiry—as integral parts of an ideal curriculum. Then, as now, Athenian inspired students to become life-long learners and to make a positive difference in the world.

After stepping down as Director of Athenian in 1977, Brown coordinated with the Hewlett Foundation to create the Child Development Project, which focused on pro-social development of youth. This program continues today.

Beyond Dyke's professional life, one of his greatest pleasures was summers spent at Echo Lake in a cabin built by his parents in the 1920's, first as a child, and then with his wife Kate, their three children and many friends and relatives. He loved to sail and swim, play the accordion for his grandchildren and tinker in his carpentry shop.

Dyke was pre-deceased by his wife, Kate, in 1996, after 56 years of marriage. They had three children: Tish Campbell (Jack) of Oakland, Susan Nebesar (Charles) of Danville, and Chris Brown (Elizabeth) of Boulder, Colorado. Grandchildren Eric Sprague, Ethan Sprague and Cullen Sprague; Darren Nebesar-Gross, Alex Nebesar, and Kevin Brown, and 6 great-grandchildren. He is also survived by his older brother, Gary.

An Evening of Remembrance is being planned for Friday, January 12, at 7:00 p.m. at The Athenian School in Danville, California, in the Kate and Dyke Brown Hall.

In lieu of flowers, contributions can be made in his name to either the Dyke Brown Endowed Scholarship Fund or the Kate Brown Endowed Scholarship Fund c/o The Athenian School, 2100 Mt. Diablo Scenic Blvd., Danville, California 94506-2002.

INTERVIEW WITH DYKE BROWN

Interview 1: March 7, 2005

##¹

Riess: Please tell me about your family, your parents.

Brown: Well, I was one of two. My brother is two years older than I am, and we had a very intact family. My father was a businessman, and in 1920 or so, he went into his own business, which he was with the rest of his life, which he spent the way a normal human being would.

My mother, who came originally from Spokane, came down to the University of California and was manager of the Theta house there as a way to get the money to pay for her room and board and things of that kind. But she was the more adventurous and creative of the two parents.

My brother was more like his father, and probably spent more time with Dad than I did, but my father was not a particularly interested person in children as such, or his grandchildren. [laughs] When he was offered a grandchild to put in his lap, he felt very uncomfortable. Anyhow, he didn't particularly like a lot of the things that my mother was interested in.

When she was a senior at Berkeley in 1910, she took some time out from her academic work to buy pieces of property, and she got a man to help her with that, and she would draw the plans for a house on the back of an envelope and give it to a constructor who knew how to make houses. She'd build them in Berkeley and then sell them. She liked that. Mind you, she hadn't even graduated from college, so it was a little early.

They were married in about that same time, and lived for a brief time in Berkeley. That's where they were when we were both born. Then, when we—well, first let me say about my mother: she did a number of things herself, and she felt the same way about anything that the two of us wanted to do. She was rarely if ever concerned about it, except when it came to the motorcycle. She thought that was kind of dangerous, but my brother was a proponent, and she approved of that.

Anything that we wanted to do, she would talk with us, and tell us about, individually or so forth, about what she thought about it, but it was always encouraging. I think a large part of whatever I got in my genes was affected by that, because it's nice to have a parent who cares about what you're doing. She was interested in music for both of us, and she gave both of us piano lessons. Then it came to the time when the expense was getting up, and she said to the two of us, "Now, which of you, if both of you or neither of you, really care about music and would like to continue with the piano?" My brother said, "I don't," and I said, "I do." So she continued that, and that was a very important element in my life, right up until the middle of college, because I went to Piedmont High School eventually to graduate, and then I went to Berkeley. I was there for four years.

1. The ## symbol indicates that a tape side or segment has begun. A guide to the tapes follows the table of contents.

When I first went to U.C., I practiced the piano for several hours a day and had the desire to be a symphony conductor, I thought. But to make a long story short, I had a wonderful teacher there who was as open as could be, and she said, “I think you will have a better enjoyment of music if you have it as an avocation. Halfway through college I’d become concerned about the world, and I decided to do something about it. That took care of the music thing.

Riess: That’s a marvelous mother. Did you have jobs around the house? Did you have to make some of the money that was involved in your education?

Brown: I had both. We always shared, even when my mother became a photographer, and I can fill that in in a little bit, after she gave up the house-building. Yes, we always did dishes, set the table, we didn’t cook very much; we swept up around the house and made our beds and all that. It was just taken as a natural, and I was very glad for it, because I later came to feel rather sorry for kids who were born into more affluent families, or later their families became more affluent, and they gave the children everything that the children wanted that money could buy, which was quite a few things. And that influenced the effect of a whole generation, and we’re still dealing with the problems which it’s created. My answer is yes, we both worked.

I worked for money during part of my time at Cal. I didn’t keep myself wholly supported there, but my parents had moved over to San Francisco, because she then had her studio over on—one of those streets—Grant Avenue in San Francisco. She concentrated on mothers and babies and children, and she spent twenty-five years or so doing that.

Riess: What’s her professional name?

Brown: Dorothy Moore. My father would come to the studio and say, “I’m Mr. Moore.” [laughter]

Riess: That was your father’s joke, yes?

Brown: Yes. Well, he was kidding.

Riess: That’s funny.

Brown: But she became a rather famous artist, photographer of mothers and children, and she was very good at it. Anyhow.

Riess: How much more do you really know about her drives and motivation? Was she political? I mean, was she a major suffragist, feminist person?

Brown: No, no. She was not a feminist in philosophy or practice, but she became one of the most successful—when she decided she wanted to become a photographer, she told us kids she’d pay us a nickel for every time we’d sit down there and let her take our pictures. And then she went over and rented a studio, and she had a hard time getting started, but she interned herself with some of the best photographers around, and she really learned the art. As a matter of fact, I helped her, too, in retouching—negatives I couldn’t do, but she retouched negatives. Some of the ladies preferred to have fewer wrinkles. I spotted prints for her and did that kind of thing.

Riess: So I think we need to get a little more sense of what your father brought to the table.

Brown: Well, I'll give you a story about him. He was a good father, and every once in a while, he did something with the kids. Not very often. But he was a very comfortable guy, and he wasn't a disciplinarian in any harsh sense at all, except I used to practice the piano, when I was going to be a symphony conductor, and he'd come home from work. I remember the time he said, "Dyke, have you got a piece of string?" I said, "Well, yeah, Dad, I think I have." He said, "Well, tie it around that music, would you?" [laughter] I mean, he was like that.

Riess: Were they both readers?

Brown: My mother was, more than my father. Dad liked to play poker, and he had a group that met every, I forget, Friday or Saturday, over in San Francisco at one of the hotels, just up in the block above the—I don't know what it's called now, but there was a very nice hotel there. They went down in the basement, and he liked that, playing poker, more than anything else. He smoked two packs of cigarettes a day, or more, ever since he was twenty-seven. He was doing fine for most of his life, but his father lived to be 100. I think he thought probably he'd get there too. But he got a little bit concerned about his health when he didn't feel quite right. In his early nineties he wasn't sure he wanted to continue. And my brother, he was fairly straightforward, he said, "Well, Dad, I'll get that pistol out if you want. It's still over there." [laughs] "No, no, I don't mean that!" But he did live to be ninety-five. He said, "They say something's wrong with my lungs. I don't know what it is. It's not the smoking." [laughs]

My brother took up some smoking, but he kind of gave it up. And I never did, and I was just as glad I didn't, when I saw what happened to you when you got to be this age if you had been smoking a lot. It's not helpful.

Riess: You said that your mother came down from Spokane, but your father was a Californian?

Brown: He was born in San Francisco. And I was born in San Francisco; so was Gary, my brother. My father's father lived down on 10th or 11th Street in Oakland, in one of those old, old houses which had a window that looked into a light shaft, you know? He did everything he wanted to do. First of all, they got a job for him through my father's great-aunt to supervise a property that had been taken over by the lender because the money hadn't been paid. Somebody had killed somebody, and my grandfather said, "Come on in now, and I'll tell you what we're going to do." He pretended—they thought he was a judge, that he could do that. And then he decided he wanted to go off to the Philippines and look for gold, and he went. His mother got a terminal illness at that time, and it didn't bother him any. He stayed on, he got a job on a transport ship carrying horses to the Philippines. He was the one who, he was the tender who took care of what they dropped on the deck and so forth. He was an incredible guy. He got a lot of experience, but he got it pretty much at the cost of some things and others. What they did was they sent the boys down to Alameda to the great-aunt's house to live.

But when they were doing that, she died, and we all went over to live in that house. I'm going to make this much too long.

Riess: Yes, and right. But that—I think already I know much more than I knew before, and I find it completely interesting. What did you do on Sundays?

Brown: We were sent, my brother and I initially, to Episcopal Sunday school in Alameda, and I forget who the lady was, but she said, “Now, here’s what you’ve really got to read and learn about,” and they were sections which dealt with being useful and helping other people, as well as the biblical things. When I finished there, I don’t know how long I was there, maybe a couple of years, she gave me a little prayer book which I have right here, which I show around to—see, this [St. Paul’s Towers] is an Episcopalian-sponsored organization that created these people, and I show them that I’m a card-carrying Episcopalian, although the next thing I did was, I went to a Unitarian Sunday school. All I remember from there is I swiped a nickel out of the box that you were supposed to put coins into. I didn’t learn anything.

But Reinhardt, Aurelia Reinhardt was—I don’t know whether she was officially something in the church, but she was the president of a college too.

Riess: Yes, at Mills, but she was a Unitarian?

Brown: I think that’s it—I came somewhere to get a brief acquaintanceship with her, which I liked.

My mother, unfortunately, died in the middle 1950s, when she was I guess maybe in her sixties. She was born in 1887, and my father was born in 1883, and he lived to be ninety-five. So he had twenty-five years or so after she had died. But we were in good relationships all through that.

Riess: Yes. So were they—your mother is obviously such an important person.

Brown: I was closer to her; my brother was closer to my father, I think, although we were all a very harmonious and happy family.

Riess: Yes. Did you consider yourself to be privileged? Where did you consider that you existed in the kind of stratum of things?

Brown: Well, I felt very fortunate. We suffered from the Depression, and my father’s business didn’t do very well. I was trying to help him figure out the finances and so forth. It held up; he put the business up for sale. But he liked it, and he had a place over in Marin County where the business had moved, and it had a little bar room with a bed in it. Every day, after lunch, he’d take a snooze there, and he liked that a lot. But when he put it on the market to be sold, he had to talk to people who were interested in buying it, and he’d ask them, he’d say, “Do you take care of a situation where you get stuck with somebody who really doesn’t work hard?” “Oh, yeah, we do that, we get rid of them.” He said, “Well, I’m that guy here, so I don’t think I want to sell it to you.” [laughter]

Riess: That’s funny. I think he sounds like he had—

Brown: He had a good sense of humor.

Riess: Yes, a good sense of humor.

So you had this varied high school experience, the difference—were you, in retrospect, could you see the difference between Alameda schools and Piedmont schools?

Brown: Well, maybe in some obvious sense, but during all of that time, I was working hard on my music, and I was taking organ lessons from a very fine organist, Wallace Sabin, who was the organist at the Palace of the Legion of Honor. And I regarded that as being a very fortunate thing that I could do that. So I decided to go to University High School through the—the family decided to sell—I can't remember all of these things too clearly—their house and move to San Francisco, because they were both working there. I picked the high school that took me near my organ teacher and near a church where I could stop off the streetcar and go in and practice.

But after a term of that, I was on the streetcar so much of the time and so forth, it wasn't really making a lot of sense, so some friends of ours said, "Well, why don't you go to Piedmont High School?" Well, we were living in a house on Broadway Terrace; it was Broadway Terrace at that time. We had friends who lived in Piedmont, and they said, "You play the flute, don't you?" I said, "Well, yeah, I've been trying to." They said, "They need a flute player in the orchestra at Piedmont High School." So I went over and I got admitted, although ordinarily I would never have been admitted to Piedmont High School, and I spent the last year and a half of high school there.

I couldn't say very much about the educational programs, because I hadn't really gotten into thinking about it.

Riess: A lot of kids would have a lot of trouble at that point in their kind of adolescent social life, development, just sort of changing schools. So that wasn't—it was easy for you to just move into a new situation like that?

Brown: Well, I had pretty good reasons for doing it. I had friends, but I didn't really relate myself to one of the groups which high schools had then, and still do. My feelings about what that does to youngsters at that age, you haven't seen a thing I wrote at that time, which by the way, I'd forgotten about all of these papers, and I have a gal who comes in half a day a week. She rummaged through an old carton and she brought up paper after paper, one of which is, "Can We Stop Victimizing Our Young?"

Riess: Yes, I've seen that.

Brown: You've seen that. Well, you know the theory, and what I thought about it. I have a—

Riess: But I'm thinking about your ability to, or your sort of ego, your intact ego, or whether there was some part of you that was scared and kind of skating on thin ice as you went from place to place?

Brown: I didn't feel that too much. [pause] I was pretty busy, you know, with all the things I was doing. When I went to Berkeley, I put down "music" as my major, and in the infinite wisdom that Berkeley has, they gave me as my counselor a home economics teacher. [laughs] When I applied later for a scholarship at Berkeley when money was getting a little low, Dean O'Brien, I was talking to him, and he said, "Do you want to know what your academic advisor said about you?" I said, "Sure." He said, "She said, 'He showed great

ingenuity in avoiding all the requirements for a junior certificate, to enable him to go into the upper years.” [laughing]

- Riess: What do you think your strengths were? Were they in writing or talking, or how do you think you worked your way around the system?
- Brown: Well, you know, I was able to pursue my self-interest with considerable interest to myself. I didn't have any clear ideas, and I don't even have them now, about what I wanted to come out of that career.
- Riess: But you are a very graceful, apparently, effortless writer who knows—
- Brown: Well, I don't mind writing. I don't think I'm particularly good at it, but I had to, and I worked hard over some of those articles, because I didn't know how I was going to use them, but I hoped I would be using them in some way that would be useful to somebody.
- Riess: Did you have—can you think of mentors in writing, people who really were helpful to you?
- Brown: I had one or two. When I changed my major midway through Cal, it was because I had really given up on music as anything other than an avocation, and I wanted to find out about society and learn all the things I hadn't learned about economics and how it ran and all the rest of it. I discovered this is the kind of thing that I like to do and still do. I found out that they had courses in the last two years of college at Berkeley that were called 199 courses. They were courses with a single teacher, and if you got his permission, that would give you all the credit. I started out with—because philosophy—my major was in philosophy, politics, and economics. But the philosophy was very important, and the ethics professor at Cal was the same one who taught my mother when she was there. Now, that's quite a—twenty-five years gap right there.
- Riess: Who was that?
- Brown: You know, when I started to get a little older, my memory started to play tricks on me. Whenever I ask my mind for a person that I knew as well as one of my family, I don't get it.
- Riess: That's okay. This will happen maybe many times, and we will just have that place where when you look at the—review it, you'll remember, or I'll be able to come up with someone who might have been that person. So don't worry.
- Brown: I'll think of it before we quit today. [Professor George Adams, tutor, 1935-36]
- Riess: Before we get into Berkeley, wasn't your trip to Germany in between your high school and your first Berkeley year?
- Brown: Yes, it was. It was, it was very important.
- Riess: How is it that you came to make that trip? You were sixteen years old.
- Brown: Yes. I think I turned sixteen.
- Riess: You went to Germany, you went to all of Europe. What was the story?

Brown: Well, my mother had a classmate, a good friend, and they were both Thetas at Berkeley, where my mother was working. Harriett Eliel and her husband Paul became not really parents, but kind of close to it, and I spent a lot of time with them, and learned from them. Paul Eliel had been at Stanford University, and then he went to work for the organization of businesses on the waterfront in San Francisco, because they were always having difficulties with the union, and getting grievance in the 1930s was very hard. His wife, Harriett Eliel, had gone up the ladder and was state president of the League of Women Voters. She was a very interesting person. She'd been on the Berkeley school board. She'd done all kinds of things like that. I thoroughly enjoyed her. As a matter of fact, one of her two sons was almost the identical age of me and was one of my closest friends all through our lives. He died a couple of years ago.

But anyhow, all of that was important. Harriett Eliel talked to my mother, as they were such good friends, and said, "Look, I've heard about a school in Germany that has a very unusual man running it named Kurt Hahn. Why don't we send our boys over and let them bicycle around France for the summer and do any other interesting things that they can find in Paris and so forth," which we did. I'm a good bicyclist, though I haven't done it for fifty years, but I can. [laughs] The school didn't start until October, so July, August, September, we spent all of that time just around and in Normandy. We'd put our bikes on a train, you know you can check them in France, and got off and rode them. I think we became pretty good bicyclists. And then we went down to Toulouse from the Loire. I mean, seeing the Loire Valley was really an interesting experience from my standpoint. I hadn't known anything much about France. And I hadn't grown to like the French particularly, but I certainly liked seeing some of those chateaux, and the way they lived there—

Reiss: And you had good French that you had—

Brown: No friends there, it was just Leonard—

Riess: I was wondering how good your French was.

Brown: Oh, no French. Things turned out so well. Leonard Eliel, my good friend, had been sent over to France a couple of summers or more, and he was practically a native speaker. I remember we stayed in small hotels and we lived on about two dollars a day. He'd made arrangements for a room there, I guess. As Leonard came in the fellow was calling up to the manager or something to say, in French, "We have an American," and Leonard was coming through the door and he heard it and said, "Deux Americains!" We just—

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Riess: Because of the flu, you were deported to a different house and—

Brown: Oh, yes. And [laughs] they said, "Now, tomorrow you're going out to ski." I wasn't asked if I wanted to go; I was told I was going out to ski. So I went out to ski, and I got pneumonia. I went down to the hospital in Freiburg, and I was six weeks there. That was at a time in the early 1930s when there were no antibiotics at all. They typically lost every third person. So I was very happy when I survived, and my family was upset. So we went down to spend a little time in Florence, Italy, to get some warm weather, and then Leonard went back and finished the year at school and had a very good year and I went home.

Riess: Okay. So let's hear about the school.

Brown: Salem? You want to know about Salem?

Riess: Sure. I mean, I take it that you wouldn't have started Athenian if you hadn't had these few months of schooling at Salem. Is that wrong?

Brown: I really can't answer. I don't know whether it came from that, although [Kurt] Hahn was very much involved. Hahn didn't really know me. He was an extraordinary man, but at the end of the first term, when I was going to go down and then go home, I don't know whether it had happened then or not, but anyhow, I got on the list and I came up, and I had been looking for a bed long enough for me to sleep in. He said, "Brown, I think you're one of the most spoiled young men I've ever seen, but I think the raw material is excellent." [laughter] Believe me, that stayed!

Riess: That's lovely. Was the school conducted in German?

Brown: To a certain extent, and I was struggling to get enough German to understand things. But Hahn also had a—he was half-British, almost, and he had a great respect for a number of the schools in England. And he had teachers there who had come from Eton or Harrow or some of the other places. That made it feasible for me to at least get some education when I was there.

Riess: Was it considered in today's terms to be experimental or progressive, or how would it be—

Brown: I think so. I think it would be, although it had a lot of the—some of the other things that were quite important. Hahn was the heart and soul of that school, and he was a very unusual man. Something bad had happened to his brain when he was young, and he couldn't go out in the sun. When he went outdoors, if there were any sun, he had to wear a hat that went down the back of his neck. I would say he was less interested in scholarly things than he was in what kind of human beings they were helping to develop there. He always was a serious man, and he didn't make jokes, but he talked very often about the Good Samaritan.

We all shared in the work of the school. It was at Salem, very near to Lake Constance down in the southwest corner of Germany. I remember having a job of rubbing down or brushing down horses that were there, or going out and cutting down trees and cutting up the wood for burning, because the only heat we had was in the little stoves. This was a Cistercian monastery dated from several hundred years back, and Prince Max of Baden lived in a major part of this, and gave this section of the school to Kurt Hahn to run a school in. Kurt Hahn had been the principal assistant to the German prime minister at the end of World War I. The prime minister—maybe it was the prince there, probably was—he wanted to have his son educated, and he asked Hahn, "Will you make that school a place for my son?" And he did.

All of these chores we all did, including the son of the prince.

Riess: So had the school been around? It was well established?

Brown: Not well, no. I think it had been around from the end of World War I until 1931 when I was there, and Hahn very quickly got the anger of the Hitler regime and had to leave and go to England, and opened a school at Rannoch, up towards Scotland.

Riess: What's the name of the place? Rannoch?

Brown: Rannoch is one of the other ones.

Dase: He did Gordonstoun first, I think, didn't he?

Brown: Yes, it was Gordonstoun, that's right.

Dase: Wasn't Rannoch kind of a spin-off like Schule Birklehof?

Brown: It was quite an estate, and a big building with a lot of rooms and stuff.

Riess: Okay, we'll fill that in. Did you send letters home when you were at the school that you have, by any chance?

Brown: I wrote letters home when Leonard and I were riding our bikes, and I have a copy of those, because my mother or my father put them in something and somewhere, I got copies of all of them.

Riess: I wonder if it extended to letters from school.

Brown: I can't remember whether it did or not.

Riess: That would be fun to have.

Brown: I'll see, if you want, if I can find them. I have a great deal of trouble finding anything these days. [laughs]

Riess: Well, I think they would be part of this story, the big story. And I wondered whether, other than Leonard, whether you kept up with any of your classmates from Salem?

Brown: Well, from Salem, a little bit for a short length of time, but that's not easy, because there weren't too many of them who had a command of English, and my German was never good enough, so I couldn't say that I had.

Riess: That's right, and then there was a war, right. I know your term the jigsaw, but was the school organized in any interesting ways so that there was mentoring?

Brown: It was a coeducational school, which right away was unusual.

Riess: I didn't realize that, actually, I assumed it was a boys' school.

Brown: Of course, I didn't need to be persuaded about that, I felt that was very important. Anyhow, the boys lived in one part of the castle and the girls in another. We were sort of spread around in it. I think I was impressed with the fact that you can run a boarding school as a coeducational thing, because when I got to founding, or asking certain people to be trustees

of Athenian, like Dr. Sproul, several of them were leading public citizens in San Francisco, and I can remember one Princeton graduate who said to me, “Dyke, you’re going to have Negroes at this school.” I said, “Yes, I think that’s essential.” “Okay.” He didn’t get a chance to argue it, because I wasn’t going to argue it with him. And same for coeducation, which Princeton is not, I don’t think, or wasn’t in his day.

Riess: No. I’m sure it wasn’t in his day.

Brown: So I think Salem had an effect on me.

Riess: Okay.

Dase: Were there any service projects at Salem?

Brown: Any service projects? Not really. [pause]

Dase: Are there ways that Hahn pushed you? Because I know that part of Outward Bound was kind of exposing people to challenge.

Brown: Yes. The school had certain other things that were slightly unusual. The whole student body got up every morning in time to get down and run—not a fast—but a 400-yard thing, and some of us were also engaged in jumping rope, and being asked to do this. And running a fifty-yard dash thing. This was Hahn on outdoors, and on some weekends we played Prisoner’s Base across a whole forest. [laughs] I want to tell you, that was a game! Anyhow.

Riess: Was this is to sort of engage the hormones?

Brown: No, I think Hahn felt it was important, physical activity, and keeping yourself in physical condition. I think he wasn’t a nut about it, but he certainly had us doing a lot of things, including the work. I was sufficiently influenced by that idea that when we opened at The Athenian School, everybody shared in dishwashing, including the faculty. It didn’t last long, [laughs] the faculty decided against it.

Riess: Why was this school—you said that it came to an end because Hitler—

Brown: It reopened after Hitler.

Riess: What did Hitler not like about this school?

Brown: [laughs] Oh god, there wasn’t anything he would have liked!

Riess: Well, I mean, actually, the emphasis on fitness sounds—in other words, what were the things that were odious to Hitler?

Brown: I never thought very much about this, but I suspect Hahn was Jewish.

Riess: Okay.

- Brown: But I think there were other good reasons too, because they were doing unconventional things.
- Riess: What?
- Brown: Well, running dashes, and rubbing down horses wasn't a part of the regular routine at most of the schools.
- Riess: Well, that's true.
- Brown: All of those were unusual, and I think they stayed with me. I think I really regretted the fact that the faculty just did not want to be involved in washing dishes, and I thought it was a great problem and an example that—never mind, we got other things going instead.
- Riess: Well, there's nothing about it that is sort of degenerate. It all sounds very healthy and sporty at the very least.
- Brown: Well, it was very businesslike, and there wasn't much fooling around. There weren't cliques of kids going around doing things like they would have been in an American school. They were ahead two years academically, too, of our way of running things.
- Riess: Were there other foreign students, other than yourself and Leonard?
- Brown: Yes, there were a couple of Americans. I suspect there were some others too, maybe from England. Hahn went very often to England, even before he moved over there and set up the school. He was sort of half-British.
- Riess: Is this the time, I mean, in your knowledge of the history of education, when there was a kind of blossoming of experimental private schools?
- Brown: I don't think so. We were right in the bottom of the Depression.
- Riess: Kurt Hahn also started the Outward Bound program? Or a version of the Outward Bound program?
- Brown: Hahn found out that a lot of the British businesses were taking younger people, and the younger ones weren't adapting to the conditions of the businesses in a very positive way as the older people did. So he went to them and set up Outward Bound as a training in reality, really, involving saving people off of the coast and that sort of thing. And that was Hahn at work on the projects to get the Good Samaritans among us. And then it was so intriguing to the schools that I think it transferred itself fairly early on to school environments, or set up its own schools in different parts of the world. Hahn was very much involved in this, and I remember when the Athenian School was about to open, in the fall getting a phone call from New York—it wasn't even person-to-person—and this voice says, [with German accent] "Brown, I want to see your school, this is Hahn!"

So he came out, and spent several days. He did that a second time too. He even sat in on some courses that really upset him. He said, [with accent] "It sounds like a psychological book," what they're talking about. But anyhow, he was really interested, and he had his eyes on the whole Pacific, as well as United States. But then in the later years of his life, he

wasn't able to do very much, because he had been hurt in an accident or hit by an automobile or something like that. He had gotten a dean at Harvard to be a co-partner in this business of setting up Hahn-type schools.

Riess: I have the transcript of the speech that he gave at Athenian.

Brown: And he hated to write. It took me a year to get him to write down what he told the Athenian School.

He just went and did things when he wanted to get something done. And he had fairly good and interesting students. Prince Charles went to Gordonstoun, I believe, and was the head boy there when I went to visit the school. He seated me next to him, so Charles allowed as how he thought coeducation, which Gordonstoun was not at that time, was the right way to go. I guess they clued him in and he took advantage of that.

Riess: How did you stay in touch with Hahn over the years? I mean, you continued to write to him as an old boy, or what?

Brown: No, he would never have written a letter back. I saw him when he wanted to see me. I had a pretty good idea of the things that he had done at that school. I didn't need very much elaboration about coeducation, or doing work, because they all did it there.

Riess: When you were at the Ford Foundation, was there any way in which you were able to help with his schools, financially?

Brown: No. We had no interest in younger people or their development at all until I sought and got permission to do something about a rather bad kind of juvenile delinquency going on in Chicago, and I got a grant for the youth organization there. But that was pretty unusual.

Riess: When Hahn said that you were spoiled, what did he mean? And were you spoiled?

Brown: Those are two questions.

Riess: Yes, that's right.

Brown: I had grown about six inches some time in my adolescence, and I found that the Germans weren't nearly that high. And I wanted to have a bed that I could sleep in. That was the only thing I can recall that would have prompted that. But I was glad he made it, because he made me think about a lot of things.

Riess: Can you remember a moment—really, these are early, formative moments—where someone said something to you that just seemed so insightful, so correct, that you felt seen? Like did your mother have these kinds of clear understandings of who you were?

Brown: Professor Adams was my philosophy teacher, I told you that. In the two last years, I had this type of a course, and I had two other students who were both friends of mine who joined my department of philosophy, politics, and economics. There was a great deal of substance which passed between us and Adams. You were asking me.

- Riess: Well, yes, I was asking you—in a way, it’s a question about mentors, or a question about huge turning points in life, when the person that you think you’ve been presenting to the world is suddenly understood by someone you admire, either—just someone who gets who you are. Like when Kurt Hahn said that you were spoiled, it made you think. So that’s interesting to me.
- Brown: You know, my memory is not as good for all of these things that happened. Where I have the paper, it’s helped a lot. Harriett Eliel, the mother of Leonard Eliel, my very close friend, and my sort of a substitute mother at times. She started a school on Bancroft Way above the campus on the way up to the I-House [International House], and my mother had become ill and sent me over to their house to live. So I went down to that school. Somebody there did give me kind of a Hahn-like comment about some of my behavior, and I’m trying to recall what it was. Oh, maybe I was just taking it for granted that I could do what I wanted to do there, whether anybody else wanted me to or not. But anyhow, it caused me to think about it.
- Riess: Well, yes, that’s just what I mean. Things like that. Okay. So then when you got back to—
- Brown: As a matter of fact—excuse me. That lady who did that wrote a book about the proper educating of children in the high school years like that, and I wonder if I’ve still got it. I don’t know that that would mean anything to you, but I may have it.
- Riess: So, Dyke, was there any question about where you might go to college? Could your family have afforded to send you to Harvard, Yale, or Stanford?
- Brown: No. I’m trying to think how they did, because I did go to Oxford, but I had a scholarship, so that education was not an expense to me. But then I came back to Yale Law School, and I think I got a loan the first year and a scholarship in my third year, because we ran out of money at the end of my first year, and I came back here and went to Boalt Hall in Berkeley for my second year of law, and then I went back to Yale for my third year.
- Riess: But for undergraduate, Berkeley was affordable and—
- Brown: Well, I lived at home, to begin with, and I had to drive a car to get there. My brother had a car which he let me use.
- Riess: So let’s hear about that first year at Berkeley. Was it the first year that you met Harry Kingman?
- Brown: Yes. I was told that I had a freshman counselor. This is before I got the home economics lady whom I never even met. I was trying to improve my swimming, and I was at the very bottom of the swimming team, and one afternoon when I was practicing, somebody put his hand on my shoulder as I was turning around to go up to the other end. He said, “My name is Harry Kingman, and I am your freshman counselor. Come over and see me at Stiles Hall.” I kept on swimming, and I did. The things that came about as a result of that were probably more important in my life than anything else. Did you know Harry Kingman?
- Riess: No, I didn’t know him, no. But I sort of know from the fifties what Stiles Hall stood for.

Brown: You could have a meeting there no matter what your political outlooks were, as long as you weren't planning action of some kind. You could talk about anything, and if the Communists wanted to come, they could, and they did. And Harry Kingman was a very strong supporter of things of that kind.

Riess: So you and Harry talked about a lot of stuff.

Brown: Well, when I went down to the first Asilomar conference, because Harry told me I should, they had a regional YM-YW conference for four or five days at every Christmas vacation. Do you remember Stanley Hunter? Or maybe his first name was different from that. He was a Presbyterian minister in Berkeley.

Riess: No.

Brown: Probably no longer there. He had a brother in Los Angeles. His brother was regarded as the man to whom all of the—[laughs] I'm not sure how to describe it—dopes who didn't know anything about what was going on in the world had to go, and he had a series of stories which were very moving. A lady who had worked all of her career in a department store down there, had retired and then she had a stroke, and she needed a wheelchair or something, and the company said, "Well, we're sorry, we don't give those out." And then there was the man who was working in the steel mill, who had a family, and he fell into the burning steel. No relief for his family. He really turned on the thumbscrews of what's just and unjust, and that had a big effect on me.

Riess: Yes. You hadn't thought about that kind of thing.

Brown: I was very well-informed, I read *Time Magazine*, on just general stuff, without regard to whether it related to a social issue or not. But I really went through quite a transformation. Because neither of my parents were interested or were doing activities of that kind. It's perfectly obvious that there were some injustices going on.

Riess: Yes. Now, what year was this that you went to Berkeley?

Brown: 1931 I graduated from Piedmont, and 1932 I started at Berkeley.

Riess: So we were in the midst of the Depression.

Brown: That's correct. You know, my father's business was getting down to the point where I said, "Dad, you're eating up your inventory."

Riess: You say he made you aware of social injustice.

Brown: Hunter did.

Riess: Yes. Or Kingman did?

Brown: Well, Harry was less of a lecturer, but he saw to it that I was talked to by the people who understood those problems.

Riess: Yes. And was that the reason for pulling together the Asilomar conferences?

Brown: Well, they dealt with all kinds of issues, and there was a certain social aspect to it, but it was a serious conference. It was there to do good, and what kind of good you needed depended on how dumb you were or how far you'd already progressed.

Riess: So, that then changed the direction of your courses?

Brown: It was then I started to sign up with professors like George Adams, a wonderful fellow like him who was not young and who taught a very good ethics course. He would be willing to take time to sit down with two or three people and really come to grips on some of these things. Oh, and you asked about writing. Benjamin Lehman—you know Ben Lehman?

Riess: Oh, yes.

Brown: I got a 199 course with Ben Lehman too. I wrote kinds of things that I think were way out of his intellectual realm, so he liked them. [laughing]

Riess: Like what?

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Riess: Tell me again about how you got into Ben Lehman's class. You said you got up early in the morning...

Brown: Oh, yes, to stand outside the door, so I could sign in before his seats were all taken. I carried that course on through.

Riess: And you were saying that he's really the person who taught you to write a paragraph.

Brown: He certainly had something to do with the basic mechanics of writing.

Riess: When you were made aware of social injustice, did that mean that you went out and did projects with the community?

Brown: No, I'll tell you what I did. I'd heard about the Social Problems Club, but I didn't know anything about it. But you know, they're Communists, and so forth. So what I did, I went around to various organizations like that and just listened to them, to find out what they were talking about and what they thought needed doing. And it was very helpful, and I'm glad I did that. I never forget the day, the evening, they got—what was his name? He was a chancellor at Berkeley for a long time. And they got him up there on the speaking platform and peppered him with questions and so forth. I'm a Democrat pretty much, and liberally oriented, but I thought that was terrible.

And I did the same thing. I just got a sense of what was going on around the campus. Also, I ran for office. I was elected junior men's representative, which put me on the executive committee there, and I got a lot more exposure to what was going on in the college and that sort of thing. I think all of those had some meat in them.

Riess: So then, your next educational foray is the Rhodes to Oxford.

Brown: Yes.

Riess: Was your program there all done with tutors, or lectures, or—

Brown: It was done with priority being given to the tutors, and when you were really working, you worked with your tutors and you didn't bother to go to lectures except when you were just getting general information. See, Oxford has about a dozen defined programs of study, the final thing of which was an exam—a set of exams—over several days in a week of three hours each, and you got maybe twenty questions, and you picked maybe three but not more than four. And that's how they tested you and told you whether you'd got a degree or whatever it was you thought were doing. I came out reasonably well on that.

Riess: So what were you starting to think about at Oxford? I know you were taking Modern Greats. But were you beginning to zero in on what you wanted to do—you thought law was the way to go?

Brown: No. I wasn't even sure I was going to go to law school.

Riess: What did you think you were going to do, or be?

Brown: Well, I picked Yale Law School because of all the law schools, it seemed to me it had the closest connection to the society in which the rules of the law were being applied, and spent more time on letting you know about that as a part of your education in law, and it was very good. Yale had that reputation. Also, if you were admitted at Yale, you were there for the full three years, if you could afford it. If you were admitted at Harvard, they told you take a look at the person on your right and the person on your left, because one of them wouldn't be there next year. Not a very cheery outlook—

Riess: I think I'd be interested in at what point you decided that law was really the way to tackle the problems that you saw.

Brown: I saw law from Yale as being the broadest possible legal outlook on the whole of society, and it was, and is. I got a job there when I graduated. Their assistant dean had to leave. See, the war had started, and they were having to shuffle people all around. So I worked there, and when the war was over, the dean very much wished me to come back, but I told him I didn't think I would want to try to teach law until I'd practiced it for a time, and that I was going to go back to San Francisco, and I did, and practiced there. But I'd hardly gotten acquainted with all of the firm when Rowan Gaither, the older partner who had been chair ran for Congress, or started to, and he was chairman of the Citizens for Brown. Then when I left Mr. Neylan's office, or was getting ready to leave, he invited me to come over and join their firm, so I did.

But none of that had to do specifically with problems, nor with the career. I was pretty sure I didn't want to spend my time wholly in law, but that whatever I would be doing would be helped by the fact that I did have a legal background.

Riess: Were you interested in your learning years in psychology and psychoanalysis?

Brown: My views of psychiatry and psychology changed gradually over the years. [laughs] I don't think I would have gone into that field.

- Riess: In your papers you're skirting around child psychology.
- Brown: Yes, no question about it.
- Riess: But it wasn't of sufficient interest at the time that you were going through your education. That wasn't where your mind was at that time at all.
- Brown: No. I slowly started to generate an interest in the law schools and how they were functioning before I decided I was going to go to a law school. The Yale method of conducting a class is the same method I used. I taught a course in law at The Athenian School to juniors and seniors who'd finished all their other requirements. But I narrowed it to the constitutional law dealing with the rights of individuals and the things that they're required to do, because that was a very important question to students.
- That really was quite an experience. And that started getting me interested in education more generally.
- Riess: You mean the law school, or that class that you were teaching?
- Brown: I'm trying to think. My memory is successfully cutting me off.
- Riess: Dyke, were you a very serious guy in those years? I'm thinking of how hard you seemed to be working, and how many things you seemed to be tackling, and you're still barely in your twenties, and you're concerned with social justice and—
- Brown: I was always like that. I still am. Because have you ever seen a book called *Successful Aging*?
- Riess: No, but I know that you're involved with this book.
- Brown: Well, I was thinking of at some point approaching the McCormick Foundation in Chicago, to do further things on pro-social, because I still regard that as one of the most serious things in our society. I could read you something of the writings—I sent you a draft of that, didn't I? You know that quotation from a child counselor who has done work in the East and in the Bronx and for family benefits and so forth, and then by another lay person, not a scientist, who's also written. They both agree that what we've learned recently in terms of the development of the brain and what the capacity of a child is when he's born, and what that is in relationship to what he's going to have when he gets older, is very, very real. And my interest now—well, I'll dig that sheet out and read it to you. I don't know that you're interested, but what it says is, if we're really going to make a difference it's probably true that the early years are the most important. I know one researcher who said at six months a child responds to the cries of another child. Children are born with ten times the number of potential brain cells than we ever knew. And whether or not those cells are used depends on... [laughs] I sat on a committee to a senator in a state legislature where the question was, "Should we require teaching of ethics in the elementary schools?" And I was far enough into what I was investigating about children to know that that was really probably not a thing that would do anything except bore children, if it even bored them. You don't teach ethics to elementary school children. And these little children, when they're just born, they're creating structures within their brain every time they have an experience, and the more times they have experiences in a particular area of the brain, the more permanent that

quality is going to be, and when they reach adolescence, the brain will have the potential for twice the number of cells as they go into adulthood. The cells that stay are the ones where the experiences have occurred, and the others are simply given away, they're thrown away, they die.

Riess: That's frightening, very depressing.

Brown: All right, but it's a tremendous opportunity—

Riess: Opportunity, that's right.

Brown: My main concern at the moment is trying to find out knowledge about the brain and how it's taking shape in a way that would not alienate parents and make them feel like somebody's trying to steal their child, so they're not going to tell how they are going to raise them. You know, it's like the Marshall Plan. The Marshall Plan was a new idea. Nobody knew what it was about, and then not knowing about it, they had very little interest in it. They promoted a way whereby the leading citizens in most of the major cities in the United States took this on as an educational requirement for the people in their communities, and it became wholly accepted and really prevented the Soviet Union from getting a greater hold on the western European countries than they would have had, had that not occurred.

And I think the same thing applies here with little kids.

Riess: I think that's great. A couple of times in your writings, you've gotten close to saying, "We could just take kids and put them in kibbutzes, and we could—"

Brown: But that's not a practical thing to try.

Riess: But I mean, I can sense your desperation in some of those situations, to just get kids out of situations where they're not thriving or even getting one iota of good—

Brown: Well, if our total society hadn't deteriorated so, particularly with respect to caring for other people, and defined everything in terms of money, when they pass one of the reform laws for the Enron Corporation and somebody asks the head of that, "Well, what are you going to do about all this?" "Oh," he says, "we'll take a good look at it and see how we can get around it." I mean, that's basically the way they think. I think that's a very threatening thing to the society.

Riess: So in a way, he's the guy I should be interviewing, this Enron guy, and I should find out what his experience with his parents and his education was that makes him such a derelict—

Brown: He's in the main stream. [laughs] He didn't have to have special parenting for that. They gave it to him. But I can't think of that book—there's a wonderful book. Excuse me—I've got to go and get that book, because I think it's one of the best things I've ever seen. He sat down to write, and this is what he wrote. [leafing through book]

Riess: *Heroes of History*. [Wil Durant]

Brown: What it does is, it takes society from about 10,000 years B.C. on up through well, through the Reformation and the Renaissance. Is this anything you want to hear about?

Riess: Oh, yes.

Brown: [laughs] We have so many things to talk about. We've got an oversupply of material to talk about.

Brown: When I was thinking about starting a school, I thought, Well, I've got to get a name, what will I get? And Kate and I had been in Greece and we'd admired the country so much that I thought, Why don't I call it The Athenian School? And a lot of people thought, What are you doing, teaching Greek? [laughs] I said, "No." But just the mere fact that people will say, "Why did you call it The Athenian School?" gave me a chance to tell them what the philosophy of the school was. Well, in his book Durant takes all these people who were the key people in the societies, including the Athenian society. He takes me to a stage that I didn't know ever existed. They had the same thing occur to them as a society that we're having right now—with the focus and center on "me-first," and, "money for me," and, "I want to be head of the army," and, "let's go and fight the Spartans," it is really extremely perceptive. Somebody somewhat related to Durant found this manuscript that had been sitting around for twenty years and it's just come out.

Interview 2: March 14, 2005

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Riess: How did you meet Katherine?

Brown: [laughs] I picked her up at a second-class pension in Florence, Italy.

Riess: A second-class pension in Florence, Italy?

Brown: Yes. I can give you the specifics if you want.

Riess: A little bit, sure, yes.

Brown: I was at Oxford, and it was Oxford's vacation time. Another friend of mine named Bruce from Berkeley who was also at Oxford and I made reservations in Italy, including one at a pension in Florence on our way to Rome. There, in Florence, we got off the train and the place that supposedly had our reservations was overbooked, and they sent a horse carriage over to take us to another strictly Italian place. We went over there and got in as dinner was ending. It wasn't a large place and there was a small group of American girls, maybe three or four, and several more chaperones than that surrounding them. We watched them, as you always do when you're in a foreign country and see some attractive American girls.

I was watching them, and one of the girls did a very neat thing. She took the skin off an orange in one cut. [laughs] You know, that's not a thing many people can do. And she folded her napkin in a beautiful design and all that, just the sort of thing as we were talking about it. This pension was on several floors, and there was a living room on the floor below with a piano in it, and I'd gone down after dinner and was just sitting there fooling around at a Chopin piece. When I stopped fiddling and looked up, there was the—my—you know, I have a conviction that there is a direct wiring place from your limbic brain to your eyes which sends tears, not when you're sad but when you're recalling a feeling of some kind with emotion, they haven't established it yet but I think they will. And anyhow, I assume it's there, and sometimes that happens to me.

There was one of the girls sitting on the end of the piano bench. So we visited a little bit, and we discovered that the girls were going on to Rome. It was Easter time. Well, Bruce and I turned up in Rome too. [laughs] She asked her head lady, who was a very good but very conservative and fairly strong person, if she could invite me to come over for tea or something like that. They were all going out to see Rome. She said yes, but that we mustn't go out of the pension. We decided we'd go out to one of the hotels there that had nice tea dancing, which we did three days in a row. It turned into a very warm friendship.

When I came back to the U.S. She lived in Pennsylvania, and I was invited down to spend some time with her family. They had a summer place up in the Poconos. Anyhow, we became very well acquainted. At that time I was very much concerned about what was happening in our society, and I'd joined the Left Book Club. I was wearing a membership thing—you're going to get more than you want on this—[laughs]

Riess: Okay. Good.

Dase: [enters] How are you?

Brown: I've been describing how I happened to meet Kate, the girl I married. I may have told you that.

Dase: I know it, but I'd love to hear it, keep going.

Riess: Tell us about the Left Book Club.

Brown: Well, I gave her *The Problems of the Distressed Areas*, a sure way to win your way to a lady's heart. The title of the book was *The Problems of the Distressed Areas*. She had been admitted to college, I think it was at Bennington, but this was in the spring. She decided she was going to go down and volunteer at a settlement house in New York City which was a place on the Lower East Side for poor people who came in to the country.

I had come back to the United States to go to law school at Yale, so we were within an hour or two of each other, and we regularly saw each other every other week. That went on for a couple of years. We decided that we wanted to get married, and we called up our family and gave them two dates: one four weeks away and one five weeks. [with emotion] I've never really gotten over my guilt about doing that, because her family followed the conservative habits, but they were very nice about it, and to just make a long story short, we got married.

Riess: Did she come from what you would think of as a similar background?

Brown: Yes, in one sense it was, because they were a family which didn't mind their children traveling around.

Riess: Strong women?

Brown: There were six girls, two boys—eight in this Presbyterian family, and I think there was no way they could run it without a fairly supportive attitude toward all of these things. And you know, on two phone calls, I think her mother said, "Tell me what Dyke's family name is." [laughter] We knew we were going to get it. So we did. That's the main part of it, but it lasted fifty-six years.

Riess: Yes, yes. I wonder if you remember how much the two of you talked about what your dream was and what her life was going to be like?

Brown: Well, I didn't really know very much about it then. All I knew was that I was shifting from having two years majoring in conducting and music at Berkeley to an integrated social studies program from the industrial revolution on at Oxford. They had then about twelve programs that were completely worked out, and you took either two years or three years, at the end of which you took exams over several days time, long ones. But essay ones more than anything else. I picked a college at Oxford that had G. D. H. Cole, who I knew was one of the better British social scientists who had written a great deal on change and all of that.

Of course, at Oxford, you have two ways of getting the subject matter. One is there are professors in economics and all the rest of it, and they're regarded as very good, but the tutors in the colleges say, "Look, this term we're going to work, no lectures." We'd have

our tutorial every week or every other week, and I had it with another American who was there doing the same thing. That was a real education for me, because I can remember when Cole said, “Well, now, next week we’re going to deal with Rousseau.” Anyway, he gave us about six titles of books, which we were supposed to peruse and learn the essence of and write a paper on for the following week.

That was such a different way of going at it than most American places that I knew that it really was a very, very important part of my life. And then going, and picking Yale Law School to go to, because it is the one law school which I think still likes to connect the law with the problems or functions of government or whatever. So that you have some idea about why you’re learning this and what the problems are that have to be dealt with. I think that was a very important thing to me in terms of educating in high school as well as before and after, with more relationship—using experiences which were possible for the students to do things that are involved with the problem itself, or the functioning itself. And that became a very important part of my way of thinking.

Yale was a very important learning experience for me, because of the way in which they handled things. I admired—the classes were reasonably small, they went right to the—and the faculty from the first year on were the best, some of the best in the field of teaching law. And I remember the dean starting out in our first course, and he hypothesizes a situation, and he calls on one of the students to react to it. As more often than not, the student picks it up as his thing and explains why it’s right, and then the dean stops and says to some other student, “That’s all crazy, isn’t it?” and they just—[laughs] they really give them a workout.

Riess: Tricky.

Brown: I used that method when I taught. See, I was at the law school at Yale doing my last year when December 7th came along, and they had some real changes that had to be made in a hurry, and I got appointed to the faculty as assistant dean of the school for a limited period of time. I found I was using this same method of teaching. What you do is you put something out there that’s a real problem, and you ask the students, “What do you do to solve it?” The law obviously has solved it. “How would you solve it?” Something of that sort. And in my course, which I taught at Athenian School to students in the eleventh and twelfth grades who had already pretty well covered their required courses and who were doing well academically, I narrowed it down—I used full length cases. The students didn’t want the cases in the law books that were shortened cases. They wanted the full thing. I required them to do a brief, they learned how to make a brief, and I read all of their briefs. Then we had a good point of view, and I ran right into a lot of the things that were happening at that time in the youth culture: namely, the reaction of many of them to the ways in which the society was punishing them and their anger at a lot of this, and why did they have to do this and why did they have to do that?

I would use a case, an easy one to begin with, in which the city had denied a person the right to have meetings or whatever, and then we’d look at that in some detail from a legal standpoint.

Riess: The right to have—?

Brown: To have demonstrations and things of their own that they wanted—and that Chicago Seven event, and the judgments that were handed out. I raised those issues with them. (This is probably going into much more than you want.)

Riess: Well—

Brown: They were of a view, many of them, that there was no reason why these things had to happen? Why do we have police doing this? Why do we pay police to do this? We can make our society run. So I accept that, and I tell them, Well, let's look at the law on that and find out. We went into it, and we got a group of cases, and there are some fascinating cases that deal with this subject. The net effect of it over time was that a good many of them became a good deal more conservative. They agreed we couldn't have volunteer police, we couldn't have police who weren't paid. The police have to have pay, and they have to have a function to do. I narrowed the full-length cases. I dealt only with the cases that related to the rights of individuals in our society and the constitutional protections which they have and the protections which they don't have. I even had them abducting me, taking me up to the top of Mount Diablo because of something that was unjust or unfair in the school. But it really made them think about it.

[to Dase] Are we still doing things like that? Because I haven't kept at all up with what the school has been doing. Are there opportunities that we're taking advantage of to do that sort of thing?

Dase: Yes. I mean, maybe not in the legal—well, although there is—

Brown: No, I don't mean in legal, I mean in anything.

Dase: Where they're immersing. Yes, we'll show you. We'll do that when you come in April.

Riess: So you got married in 1940. You were a married student.

Brown: Yes, yes. There were others—

Riess: Was Katherine working?

Brown: She had a job at the YWCA, but she decided that she didn't want to do that, and she gave it up, and she didn't work again ever, I don't think. [laughter] I mean, she had a full life. We both roller-skated to law school and things of that kind.

Riess: Okay. You said that war was declared. Had you finished law school?

Brown: No, I had not, and I did finish out the year. I can't remember exactly. They gave me those functions after December, maybe in January, I think. I never made a record of it; all I remember is I had a lot of interviewing to do of students and—

Riess: Oh, as assistant dean, right.

Brown: Yes.

Riess: Okay. We'll move on. The Navy Supply Corps School at Harvard, just what was that?

Brown: Well, it was very much a Navy Supply Corps School. Harvard was just the physical place in which they held it, and it was only for several months, and then we were given assignments. They gave them alphabetically, in the morning they started out, the B's were quite close to the top, and after one or two that were sent out to Guadalcanal, where we got into real problems with the Japanese. My assignment was to Bermuda. [laughter] A classmate of mine from law school had a job as aide to the admiral. He was this flag lieutenant, and he hated it. Without saying anything to me or to the admiral in charge, he got himself transferred, and then he went in and said, "And I've got just the right person for you, Admiral James. He's this guy Brown down in supply corps." So I got taken out of that and put into the same job that he had, and had that for the next four years, including when the admiral was hoping he'd get a fighting assignment. He'd gotten recognition for sinking a submarine in World War I, but he was kind of old and he wasn't in Admiral King's good graces, so they made him commandant of the Sixth Naval District and the Charleston Navy Yard in South Carolina. I went along as a married person with my wife down there.

Within a year, Admiral James was notified that he was not going to get a combat job, but he was going to go down and be in charge of all the U.S. Navy in the Mediterranean, and would I go along with him? I said, "I just got enough credits under the law to go home, and I'm going to go home and see my family." It wasn't easy, but it ended the navy service.

Riess: And that's when you got the job, then, with [John Francis] Neylan?

Brown: Yes.

Riess: You did an interview in 1980 with Patricia Reynolds, and in that interview you said that Neylan was a person like you. And since Neylan is kind of seen as a complex historical character, I wondered if you would tell me how you got started with Neylan and what you learned from that, and how you did get along with him.

Brown: We got along fine, although we disagreed 100 percent. He—I was trying to think. You know, I should have written some of these things down so I could remember them. But he thought of me in his own terms when he was my age, and he had been appointed director of finance for the State of California. So he said, "Go ahead and do it." He had hired me because he had had quite a powerful law firm. His daughter Jane, who was a friend of mine, and who was engaged to be married to another lawyer, and that engagement broke up. And when that happened Mr. Neylan decided that he wasn't going to try to have a law firm again, but he said to me, "You can stay as long as you want." We talked a lot. He loved to talk about things. He was kind of a—I don't know why I compared myself with him. I mean, he was so superior in so many ways to anything I ever even thought of. You know, he'd go into a courtroom, and people just turned to watch him and see what he was going to do. He was that kind of a person—powerful personality, a very good lawyer, and he was William Randolph Hearst's personal lawyer at the top of his career.

Riess: So could you call him a role model? Were you still looking for role models?

Brown: Well, I never thought I could ever be the kind of a lawyer that he was, but I think it was at this point that I started to run for Congress, and he was very positive about that and told me all about his own experience when he was the finance director for the State of California.

Riess: I just think of you as a sponge, and so what did you absorb, and what of Neylan is in you?

Brown: Well, those are two very different things. I admired what he had done incredibly, because he was very powerful in the best sense of gentlemanly way—I mean, people looked up to him, and for me to say I was like Neylan is beyond my imagination. What I got from him was his description of many of the problems that he was concerned about, and we became pretty good friends.

Riess: Social injustice, that sort of thing?

Brown: Well, it included a lot of things. One of the main things as I recall was how he felt about the fact that Robert Gordon Sproul had not told the trustees before the meeting at which he was recommending that the university deny the loyalty oath that was being imposed on everybody. Neylan was very upset about that, because he'd been a strong supporter of Dr. Sproul, and he thought that he'd done something very awkward in not letting the board know before he made that decision. Then it led to Neylan's description of Sproul's wife, who was a lovely lady, and he had a tremendous regard for her. The discussions were about personal stuff like that. He wasn't telling me anything in particular about the law, and his views on political things were so at the opposite end of the spectrum. He knew that mine were different than his, but he felt I had some similarity to him in what I was trying to do in running for Congress. I think that's what it may have been that caused that remark.

Riess: You said you ran for Congress in pursuit of various social goals. Can you be more specific about your platform, briefly?

Brown: My platform got interrupted, because the Republicans had in general been winning that seat, and a man named [John] Allen, who was connected with the *Oakland Tribune*, or his family was the incumbent there. I was a Democrat, and I thought a good deal of President Roosevelt and the kinds of things that he did I liked. I thought there was a potential interest in the Seventh Congressional District, which is the one that went out into the west of Oakland and before I knew it I was running for office.

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Riess: A decision to go into politics seems like a really major life decision.

Brown: Sure, it was. But my ignorance was such that it didn't take very long before I realized I'd made a mistake.

Riess: Yes. Let's say that it was a clear shot at the seat. Were you really thinking of yourself as having a career in politics?

Brown: I think I might have, but an unrealistic one, because I didn't have the money to live on, or even to finance a campaign. [laughs] I did one thing, I didn't know how it would come out. Kate's father was a relatively conservative person and quite a wealthy man, and I asked him if he would lend me \$10,000 to run my campaign. And he said, "No." I think he had more sense than I had. And after I had announced my candidacy, there wasn't an hour of the day or the night when I didn't have phone calls. I mean, I had three children, and I almost never saw them. I decided on a number of reasons, but the practical one was money: I had to earn a living. If I was going to be a congressman, I'd have to get there first by getting on a platform that was sufficient to put my whole family on. I knew that wasn't going to happen.

At that same time, we had a Committee for Brown, and the chairman of it, due to a mutual friend, was Rowan Gaither, who was a tremendously capable and well-known person who during the war had been at MIT. When the Ford Foundation trustees were looking for a person to be president of the Ford Foundation, they went to the man who had been president of the Studebaker Motor Company, Paul Hoffman. Paul was so interested, we thought, and I think we were right, in becoming secretary of state that he supported Eisenhower and spent most of his time making speeches at various places while he was supposed to be starting to run the Ford Foundation. So the Ford Foundation trustees called a meeting without him present in that spring, and they appointed Rowan to be president for a year, and Rowan asked me to be one of his assistants. We both had an appointment in New York which we thought would go for a year, and then they'd be able to work out who they really wanted. Well, Rowan did wonderfully well, and his appointment extended, and actually for ten years we were both officers of the Ford Foundation. Then he very tragically got brain cancer, and had to resign. His successor was a very successful educator who'd been in charge of a business school and so forth.

He and I did not see eye to eye about things in the Foundation, and so I told him that I was going to be leaving to start a high school, a college preparatory school in California, which I did.

Riess: You were on the board of education in Scarsdale—well, that started later, that's 1959.

Brown: Are you sure that's later?

Riess: I thought board of education, Scarsdale, 1959 to 1962. It's very much at the end of your foundation years, but maybe we can fill that in later, because I'm interested in how important that was. Scarsdale certainly has always had a great reputation for its schools.

Brown: Well, two of our three children went there, and one of them went to another college. Anyhow, I thought a great deal of the Scarsdale schools and the Scarsdale school board, and that experience was a very important one for me.

Riess: So your children started off in public schools?

Brown: You know, they went to Anna Head, the one who just talked to me on the phone. That's a private school. But I don't know where Susan went to begin with. I was basically a public school product for all of my life except the last part.

Riess: Well, let's talk a little bit about Scarsdale High School, though. Were your girls—let me back up. How would you know how your kids were doing? For instance, the dinner table conversation with your children, who were all close in age.

Brown: About two, a little over two years apart.

Riess: Yes. So how did you and Kate do dinner table conversations, and how did you find out how your kids were doing? How did you know?

Brown: Well, I think one of the poorest things in that stage of my life was the fact that I was so heavily involved in the building of what turned out to be wonderful opportunities in a career such as to be an officer of the Ford Foundation and responsible for an enormous

amount of money, and the grants, that I did not involve the kids in the way that I probably could have if I'd really tried hard. I felt very bad about that in later years, because we didn't have a lot of conversation about what I was doing, and I don't think they even knew a lot of the time.

- Riess: It definitely happens, and how did you know what they were doing?
- Brown: Well, of course, I kept in fairly close touch with that. We had some questions about schools that arose. I remember we went into those in some detail.
- Riess: You remember what? I didn't hear you.
- Brown: Well, I think that Tish went through three grades at the Anna Head School, and then where did she go?
- Dase: One of them went to Verde Valley, in Arizona.
- Riess: But that's when they were older, isn't it?
- Brown: That's a high school. That was a high school experience. And they were in the grade school at Scarsdale.
- Riess: So just generally, maybe this was something that was more Katherine's bailiwick?
- Brown: It certainly was Katherine's. I didn't tell you the rest of what happened after I got out of the congressional race in California. The chairman of Citizens for Brown was Rowan Gaither, and when he became aware of the fact that I was leaving Mr. Neylan's office, he invited me to become a member of their firm, and I did. I went over to Cooley, Crowley, Gaither and that was fine. Then Rowan got a phone call from Henry Ford saying he'd like to talk to him about doing a study for the Ford Foundation. Rowan found out that the head of MIT was a trustee of the Ford Foundation, and when they were deciding who they were going to hire to replace Hoffman with, that trustee from MIT said, "Why do we get such a senior person as..." (it was a person who was doing all kinds of public jobs, and was in his sixties or seventies). "Why don't we get a young man? He'll get a young man anyway to do it, and we could work more directly and so forth." Some of them said, "Like who?" He said, "Like Rowan Gaither."

So they made a consulting arrangement with Rowan, and I was a part of it too, that we would give them a certain amount of time over the next year or two to transfer anything that we learned during the study we made. The foundation suddenly got very wealthy because of the end of the war, and the fact that in the 1930s some smart guy put all of the voting stock in the hands and names of the Ford family so that 90 percent of the stock that got all of the dividends and so forth was put in a public Foundation. That was when the Ford Foundation was created. So anyhow, we were invited to give them, oh, I don't know, half or more of our time, as a start. I was commuting down to Pasadena, because when Hoffman accepted the presidency of the Ford Foundation, he said, "On condition that the offices are near my home in Pasadena." So I was commuting every week. That is one of the reasons why I didn't have much conversation with the kids.

Then when we became more directly involved in the Foundation—I think we didn't start out with the permanent jobs that we had, but we did after a year or two. They wanted Rowan to stay as president, and I guess me along with him. That's when we shifted over, and that's when what had been a year or two at the most, we had thought, turned into ten years. My family moved back to Scarsdale then, and the schools and all that. You know, I haven't thought about that part of my life for so long.

Riess: How did you know how to put together your study together? You're a great information-gatherer. You often in your papers will refer to having talked to so-and-so. I mean.

Brown: The study that we did for the Ford trustees?

Riess: Yes.

Brown: Well, we set up a committee, and we recruited outstanding people, many of them from the university world, to be members of that committee, and to take responsibility for assessing what would money mean to their field, and give us the details. I actually wrote the final report for that, representing all of their views. It worked. It was like a college education all over again, because one of the people they wanted was a political scientist, I guess he was at Harvard. I don't know whether he had to give up his job there or not. But it was not difficult to get an appointment to talk to those people, and when they became aware of what it was about, they were generally quite responsive. That report was the net of six or seven committees made up by the members of that committee. I got a friend of mine to help in the writing of it too—anyhow, I don't know if that answers your question.

Riess: And the end of the report was that you recommended that the areas that the Ford Foundation should work on were the functioning of a democratic society at home, war and peace, strength of the economy, education, and understanding human behavior.

Brown: Well, that describes the content of the report. It was divided into those various subjects.

Riess: And you were in charge of grants in education, training for public service, law, and public law.

Brown: Yes.

Riess: And so still, this is kind of a new field.

Brown: Yes, and it didn't start out really being involved with those things, because the foundation was making about a million dollars a day. They had only one gentleman in his later sixties as their staff.

Riess: That's amazing!

Brown: Yes. Well, it was amazing to me. Then when I was given one day's notice and \$150 million to give to all the nonprofit private hospitals in the United States within thirty days, I discovered that I had a quite different kind of a job. And that's what we had to do to begin with. We had to get rid of money in reasonable ways. If we'd had more time, we'd have done it better, but I don't think we did too badly. We lucked out on the health thing because how do you select out which ones to give and how much do you give them, and all of that?

All of those questions had to be answered. We found the American Hospital Association had kept a record of the number of days service by every hospital in the United States—fortunately for us, because that was a good measure of their relative financial needs. We made a minimum grant of \$10,000 to every one of the hospitals at least, and then the others were computed with a maximum of \$250,000, but based on those figures that we had on the days services they had rendered in each year.

Riess: That's quite interesting. But you were not dispensing money for education immediately.

Brown: No, not a bit. [laughs] I had another person hired who was helping me on just the things that I was doing to get rid of money. We ran into congressional questions about our work. They were beginning to wonder whether or not this kind of freedom ought to exist, or whether there ought to be more governmental regulations on spending of money. And they did pass some things which required that amounts be spent that bore some relevance to their actual income, and that had to be spent during the year and all of that. We went down to Washington for hearings, and I remember going down and listening to some of the congressmen talking about this, who were doing a lot of things other than making foundation grants.

Riess: Well, yes, so they worried about undue influence from—?

Brown: Oh, I don't know. Congress it seems to me gets excited whenever it sees money.

Riess: [laughs] There were no strings attached in the hospital money?

Brown: No, no. Hospitals are basically responsible financially, because they have to be. I mean, they can't do it any other way. They don't always do it right, but they were regarded by us as reliable as far as money spending.

Riess: So I think that my mission at this point is to get you kind of drifting into education, giving money away for education, thinking about education. That's why I started out with that Scarsdale Board of Education question and wanting to get your impressions of Scarsdale schools and see whether they were a model or a non-model.

Brown: I remember being appalled at the resistance we ran into, on the Scarsdale School Board, because they had a union representing the teachers. There are some things that unions and teachers don't like, and one of them is for anybody else to determine the salaries and the salary raises that they're going to have. Somebody among my early faculty at the Athenian School, asked me what would I have done if I found that a union had decided it wanted to take on my school to be one of its customers? I said I'd doubt if I would have started the school, because they really get into the meat of things. And I'm afraid that, in many respects, they now run schools in the state. You know, it's a very, very touchy thing. I'm very much in favor of unions in general. But I think it's quite possible for them to become as interested in their money and profits that they're making and everything the way they like it as they are in representing the teachers.

Riess: Tenure is also a troubling thing.

Brown: Yes. One of the things that in Scarsdale they were going to do was make grants to teachers who were in their view doing extraordinarily good jobs, and this was just dynamite as far as the union was concerned. They wouldn't touch it.

Riess: They were going to make them what?

Brown: They didn't want the people who were on the boards of schools being able to step up or lift someone particularly good out of line and give them extra compensation. I mean, that's the heart of what the teachers are interested in, and if it's given to the union, you have a different reaction, and you know, it's not a good one, in all respects—

Riess: Why did you get on the school board in 1959? Was it because of these issues, or what?

Brown: Somebody asked me to. I've forgotten who.

Anyhow, I admired the schools and the board, and this particular person was on some college faculty. Also, I thought it was an interesting opportunity to find out a lot more about the insides of a school. I don't know that I was thinking about anything in that area. I don't think I was at that point.

Riess: The year was 1959.

Brown: Well, I had to be, then. That was when I first started thinking about it seriously.

You know, to the extent that this oral history is meant to be based on the facts of what happened, this is the article that you said you had seen. [shows Athenian brochure to Riess]

Riess: Yes.

Brown: That is really me. It may go well beyond anything you think is appropriate for an oral history. In the first pages there's a statement from Dr. Sproul—mind you, this was drafted and pictures and all of the statements about the courses were created several years before the school began. In a way, it's kind of a—I don't know, but we used it a great deal. I was frequently with individuals who were curious about the school because they had children and wanted to know more about it. If they found that I would come and talk to them about it, they loved that. And down in the bottom of the second page... Here, this is a pretty good statement of how I really felt. [reading] "First, concern for intellectual fitness," and so forth. "Second, closely linked to it, concern for the personal and civic development of each individual for the fitness of his body and his character, for his commitment to humane values, and for the development of his capacity to assume the responsibilities of adult citizenship and leadership." I couldn't say it any better today. [with emotion]

Dase: Nor could I.

Brown: And it became a part of Athenian really even before it got started, because I used it when I went to meet with people like Fuller Brawner, another very potent San Franciscan in all kinds of causes. I had written him a piece of paper about what was in that place you were just reading. And Fuller didn't waste any words. He attended Princeton, and they didn't have women then, (I don't know if they do now.) He asked me a couple of questions. He said, "Do you think it's a good idea to have coeducational education." [laughing] Well, I

had my own statement, very positively, on that. And then he said, “And you’re going to have minorities at the school, right? Is that a good thing?” I said, “Yes, it’s very important.” All of that was committed in my mind, and I hadn’t realized that I had reached that point several years before the school opened. There are other places where those purposes are stated, too, and they’re all pretty much the same. I think I got stuck in a rut. “We’ve got to have good citizens as well as capable people.”

Riess: Well, you had been seeing the world that way, I think, ever since your Harry Kingman days.

Brown: There’s no question that it started there.

Riess: Yes.

Brown: I didn’t know what it meant then, for me personally. I didn’t have any idea.

Riess: Yes. Scarsdale was not a particularly integrated community.

Brown: Would you think they were integrated if the real estate people wouldn’t show a house to a Negro? [laughs] Because that was the rule there of the real estate profession. I didn’t think that was very good. I mean, those were affluent kids. That article over there is one, but there’s another even more—

Riess: You refer to this recent article in the Merrill Lynch Advisor on “Raising Wealthy Kids.”

Brown: Yes, but there’s a more important one around—oh, I know, it’s the book called—I have it in there if you want to look at it—it’s written by an advisor to parents in Berkeley and in a school like Scarsdale, if you don’t have any of the minorities, or you put the girls in this category if you want to, too, because they got into problems without having adequate science and math teaching—I don’t think you can really get educated. I mean, it leaves out such important things in the society that you should know about and have, hopefully, some interest in doing a useful thing here and there, in addition to your own career.

Riess: How did you expose your own children to a more diverse society?

Brown: Well, they had jobs, for one thing. I mean, we gave them some spending money, but if they wanted more than the rather modest amount, they had to earn it. I’m trying to think. They got involved in some of the organizations. Susan went to a conference. My problem is, you know, I don’t really remember all of these things as well as I would like.

Riess: Who discovered Verde Valley? Was it your daughter, or had you heard about it?

Brown: How did I first learn about Verde Valley? [pause] You know, that’s a very important question, and I don’t have the immediate answer. But I met Hamilton Warren, who had the idea for it, and went ahead and did it, and down in the backwaters of Arizona, that’s an incredible thing to do. I was really struck with that, and they were involved in work in the school, as well as on issues outside the school. I mean, Tish had a horse to take care of, and brush down. They shared in the work, and I thought sharing in the work was a very important thing. I started the Athenian School that way, and it included the faculty washing dishes after every meal. [laughs] They finally got me on that; they just wouldn’t do it.

- Riess: Was the Ford Foundation maybe giving money to Verde Valley?
- Brown: No, no. Somehow or other—I think maybe we knew some parents who sent their children there.
- Riess: One of your children went to Oakwood in Poughkeepsie.
- Brown: Yes. That was Susan, and she was Quaker—initially she was in Scarsdale High School, but she didn't really like it, and she didn't like the fact that the social conversation there was all about things, but not about a lot of the things that she was interested in. And that's why she decided to find another place, and she went to Oakwood, which was a Quaker school, and had a good deal more outreach. She did a lot of things that were outside the normal class, which I was glad for.
- Riess: Quaker—there are a lot of interesting Quaker programs.
- Brown: Oh, that's another thing. Chris went to a summer camp, a Quaker summer camp, and that had quite an important effect upon him. It was called Plymouth something, I still get their letters. He found that was very important and went back several summers.
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- Brown: [discussing affluent children] —no conception about caring and doing for others, because they've had absolute freedom to do anything they wanted to do. And that's a change, the first change in several hundred thousand years. I mean, farm families automatically had work to be done by the children, and they were learning all the time about this sort of thing. That's all gone.
- Riess: What's the birth order of your kids?
- Brown: Oh, Tish, Susan, and Chris, each two and a half years apart.
- Riess: Another thing about Scarsdale is it's much more of a Jewish community than you had been living in here, and I wondered if there was anything about that, anything that you learned or that was substantially different.
- Brown: Well, it became clearly apparent. We didn't know when we went there, and it would not have made a major amount of difference to us if we had. But you know, Tish's attitude about it was, "I had a good time with that dancer," and then telling me way later that he was Negro. I mean, we had never really had a problem about minorities that I can think of. Well, we don't have a concept. I have a good friend who seems to pin everything that she doesn't like on people who are Jewish, and we've never been that way in our family. It's not been a great big issue. The kids have had Jewish friends and so forth, but it's never meant anything.
- Riess: Have you ever thought about why that is?
- Brown: I think primarily just because neither Kate nor I had any particular feelings about these things. I mean, I've had a lot of friends, Jewish and non-Jewish, some of each were

wonderful people. And I've never rubbed up against any difficulty in financial or business matters with people who are obviously Jewish and so forth; it's never happened to me.

Riess: And after all, Kate was from the East Coast and you're from the West Coast, so it's not just that you're sort of so imbued with California openness compared to—

Brown: I think my mother was the same way. I mean, it's just never been a part of our way of thinking about life, that we never regarded it as important. I mean, I'd be offended by any person who did some rude thing to me, and if he were Jewish, that's one thing, and if he were not Jewish, that's another thing, but they aren't any different.

Riess: When you were in Scarsdale, did you join social clubs, country clubs, or want that kind of connection with people?

Brown: No. There was a kind of a country club thing there, but again, I'm not remembering very well. But it wasn't a source of any particular interest, as far as we were concerned. Oh, I did join the University Club in New York, so I could swim and they have a rather strict rule, I discovered later, because I got on the admissions committee, and they would not consider a Jewish candidate. And I didn't like that, and I got off that committee.

Riess: So the Quaker values, neither you nor Kate were Quaker, but you—

Brown: But we did a lot of things. Kate's family [Whiteleys] went up to a summer house. Really, it wasn't a cabin, it was a very nice home in the Poconos.

Riess: Her family did?

Brown: Yes. And I went up there to stay with them a number of times. There was an inn there, the Buck Hill Falls Inn, and from comments that were later made, I sort of realized there was a Jewish connection of some kind, and that led some people to have attitudes about it. I don't think the Whiteley family had any of these things. Because it certainly was not an issue in Kate's life. I think we were just very lucky. I mean, I think kids really grow up with a lot of the feelings that are deeply in the minds of their parents, which become exhibited one way or another, and they tend to accept those without thinking.

Riess: And so that's where the luck comes, that your parents didn't give you any reason to judge—

Brown: Never heard a comment from them that had to do with it. I think we were very fortunate in that regard. And then the organizations that I found interesting, like going over to Stiles Hall and all of that. I mean, they were not all Communists, but they had no objection whatsoever to the Communists meeting in the building, providing they weren't planning actions of one kind or another, which I thought was a pretty good policy.

Riess: So what were some of the other influences there in the fifties on you? Your work, obviously, for the Ford Foundation. To be in the position of looking over the whole culture and social network of the country and making decisions about where there's need and where money can help is such a powerful kind of experience.

Brown: It's powerful, but it's restrained too, by the nature of the board of trustees and their feelings about these various things. And while the program staff and the officers had a large number of different projects to work on, that was never an issue in them as far as I could see. And they gave us some leeway. I mean, my concern was that they had no programs relating to the development of young people, and juvenile delinquency was being very publicized. But that was really the social science of human behavior. It was a new thing, and one of our other officers had been heavily involved in it. It was a very good thing. As research has gone on, the changes which have occurred in our knowledge about the brain which a child has when it is born—I may have already held forth on this; if I haven't, I certainly will before I get done. Did I give you a sheet of paper on which I wrote down some views on a possible opportunity for developing better citizenship?

Riess: No.

Brown: I decided that before I could really go ahead in the present society and with the present political structure of our society, I would have a great deal of difficulty, because what you can do in a society depends to a considerable extent on the degree to which the kinds of things that you care about are incorporated in some part of the society's outlook. And if you don't have that, and if money is the main thing, as it's becoming in this society, you're in a very difficult situation. Foundations are not going to be too attracted unless there is a significant potential supportive group in the society.

You know, we've had a whole generation here where the kids are, if you take these books¹ as any indicator, have lacked introduction to the needs of other people, and caring about them as one part of their lives and their enrichment, and a necessary element if you're going to be useful in what you do as a democratic citizen.

Now, I'm telling you this because this is on my mind right now, and one of the things I decided. In the one major grant that I had been responsible for I took a year off to find out about what we knew about pro-social development. The grant's focus was on fostering caring, and it ended up doing this—and it's still doing it, it's been doing it for more than a dozen years—in the elementary schools. We have quite significant research about what does work at that level, and what doesn't work. But to get a foundation to be interested in doing that in the direction I think it would have to go, let me get you my sheet of paper and you can see why I think it's a problem.

Riess: Yes. Before I leave today, I want to understand the circumstances under which you decided to move along from the Ford Foundation to starting the Athenian School. That seems like an extremely high-risk decision that you would have had to have talked over with your wife and family, and really thrashed around for a long time.

Brown: No question of it. I was fully aware of that, and that's one of the reasons that I did it. [laughs] Because I felt I had had more than an ordinary amount of good luck in the opportunities that arose for me in moving through the law firms, and then to the Ford Foundation. I had really never had anything hard in the way of opposition or to do. I didn't want to go through life without having done something inherently difficult to do. And I

1. American Mania: When More is Not Enough, by Peter Whybrow; and The Epidemic: The Rot of American Culture, Absentee and Permissive Parenting, and the Resultant Plague of Joyless, Selfish Children, by Robert Shaw.

also didn't like the new president of the Ford Foundation. He said, "Dyke, why do you care about all these kids? They're at the bottom of the barrel." Well, that helped make up my mind for me. I guess he told me this before I went in and told him finally that I was going to be leaving to start a new school out in California. He wasn't a bit sorry. I think he thought I was a pain in the neck, being concerned about these kids who were at the bottom of the ladder, and why anybody should do anything about them. You know, that's unfortunately not an uncommon attitude.

Riess: I guess he sort of helped crystallize your feeling that it was a good thing to do.

Brown: Oh, yes, and you know, it wasn't easy to persuade him that. The first grant we made was to an outfit of a boy's club in Chicago, which had in it a boy, I guess probably an adolescent at least, who loved to have military drills. He liked everybody to have the equivalent of a gun and go "column right, column left" and all the rest of it. But he attracted a large number of the kids who were otherwise usually difficult within the community. So I recommended it, and we decided to give them a grant in order that they could do more of this kind of thing, that struck us as very good. Well, that was one of the few things that we did of that sort.

Riess: So the last couple of years of your work with the Ford Foundation, you were looking at where the money was going and you had a chance to really meet a lot of kids—did you meet a lot of kids?

Brown: No.

Riess: No hands-on experience?

Brown: Not very much so, no.

Riess: So it was more theoretical?

Brown: Well, more based on what I learned from talking to people or reading. I didn't get out there and do "columns right" with that guy in Chicago, for instance. I never went to even see it. But that wasn't unusual, because a proposal that gets to that level has gone through two or three staff people who've done a lot of work on it. Then when you make a grant, that's the end of it. You have nothing to do with the approved grant. You go to another proposal and it's the same thing. I got tired of doing it—it's boring. And you never are a party to the thing that you got excited about enough that you recommended money for it. And that's one reason I wanted to get out and have a test.

Riess: Who were you bouncing your ideas off in the late fifties, and when did you started thinking about this?

Brown: Well, I came out and talked to the officials in the California Association of Independent Schools or something like that. They said nice things about some of the ideas I had, but they all said basically the same thing, "You know, there're so many people like you who do this, and in a year it's dead. Don't place too much hopes in having the thing survive."

Riess: How about heads of other private schools on the East Coast? Did you know any of them?

Brown: Well, I had learned as much as I needed to know about places like—is it Bennington? Yes.

Riess: Well, Bennington is where Katherine went.

Brown: Yes, and then she dropped out. But I had gone to a number of different schools and colleges as a part of my regular duties there, and I always talked to my closest friends about things like this. And many of them were positive.

Interview 3: March 16, 2005

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- Riess: You say, “Fifteen years ago, I was sitting at my desk in Scarsdale, thinking over my first draft of some ideas for a new school. I should really say dreaming about, because at that point it certainly was very much a dream.” [from *The Athenian*, 10th anniversary issue, spring 1975] Why don’t you just sort of roll on?
- Brown: [laughs] All right, I will. I remember it very well, because the first person I decided to talk to, Bob Ratcliff, was a longtime friend, and we went to high school at the same time, and to Cal, and he also became the architect for the school. What I wanted him to start thinking about then, knowing that I would ask him to do that eventually, would be finding a site for the school. We had, oh, quite a long time of thinking and searching for a site, and it ran all the way from down north of Los Angeles up to, oh, places up in Solano County and that area. Bob was an immeasurable help in that process.
- Riess: You got in touch with him from Scarsdale? You picked up the phone—
- Brown: No, no, I was out here.
- Riess: We have you sitting at your desk in Scarsdale, drafting some ideas for a new school. I’d like to hear a little bit more about that, and as we were saying last time, who you were bouncing those ideas off. You had a big advisory board. Were you starting to create that backbone of advisors?
- Brown: I was thinking about this, what I should say to you. Prior to the time I thought I would really explore this further, namely, my conversation with Bob Ratcliff. I talked to a lot of people in many kinds of contexts at schools that I’d heard about, to find out how they did things.

In picking board members, e.g. Fuller Brawner, I gave the invited candidates he read the papers that I had written and which described the things that I wanted to do: the fact that I wanted to have various minorities, and to have foreign students, I wanted it to be basically boarding and no cars, I didn’t want much television, etc. The only two questions I got were the ones I mentioned to you, “You say the school will be coeducational. Is that a good idea?” [laughs] “Is having minorities a good idea?” You can imagine my reply. “Yes.”

But see, those decisions were made by me, and they were made by me not as a result of any particular person or persons, but of the whole experiences that I had had all the way through going to Oxford, because that basic way of approaching the formation of a campus was so good and so education-fruitful that when I was later asked if I would endorse the plan for the University of California campus down at Santa Cruz, I was very happy to do so. The first chancellor of that, or the head of it, had also been a student at Oxford and wanted similar things. That’s about the extent that I went to in getting ideas from other people.

- Riess: What about the Kurt Hahn part of the influence?

Brown: Well, what I liked about Kurt Hahn was not what he said, but what he had done. Although I did make, and I will continue to make, quite a thing of his emphasis on the Good Samaritan. Because when he got something that he liked, he would say, describe it, and describe his reasons for that. He was not a scholarly person at all. I mean, if I copied his scholarly ideas, we wouldn't have had much of a program, as far as substance was concerned. But his other ideas, and the involvement of students in physical activities—I mean, it wasn't because he told it to me, it was because I had done it. That was true for most of the ideas that I had before my board was formed.

But when the board was formed, they had to not only know that this was going to be happening, they had to be supportive of it.

Riess: You had two things. You had your national advisory board and your trustees.

Brown: The National Advisory Board never functioned as a board. The trustees are the ones. The national advisory board were just people who were willing to have their names used, and we never used it as an agency for any particular purpose.

Riess: Oh, that's interesting. I thought perhaps—I mean, it's a grand list.

Brown: Well, these people were either friends of mine or they were interested in the school. One of them and his wife had a son, and they thought they would like to enroll him at the Athenian School when it opened, and we got into considerable discussion of it. The mother, said, "You don't really want to have those students in the kitchen doing dishes, do you?" I said, "Yes." Well, it turned out that their son was one year short of being able to come to the Athenian School when it opened, and so we avoided the problem.

It came up again. The Outward Bound that we had was a very excellent experience, in the same way as what Hahn had at Salem. They were an excellent experience for the young people. There were quite a few of Athenian parents or students who at one time or another said, "We don't believe we want to go on that program." We had to decide whether we were going to require it for graduation or not. We decided that we would. It provoked quite a discussion among the trustees, and one trustee at least felt that it should not be required.

Riess: In general, what were their concerns—were they at risk by doing this?

Brown: No, they went out very much like a regular Outward Bound program, and they had to learn how to rappel over a cliff—you know, some things like that.

Riess: So was it the dangers that the parents had a problem with?

Brown: You could feel that that was probably true, because in one or two of the other Outward Bound chapters, they did have some casualties. We never did. We had some people who got injuriess of one kind or another, but I just held my breath that we would never have a fatality, because that would be a basis for undermining the requirement. We never did, but we got into some very scary situations—and you've had some too, haven't you (speaking to Dase)?

Dase: Yes, but not for fifteen years. I just spent four hours on the phone this week getting a student off the current course.

- Brown: You know, that was a tough one, and I thought there was no way to do it except our way.
- Dase: And the students are unanimous in saying it should be required for graduation. Every senior graduating for the last ten years has said they feel that way—after they’ve done it, after they’ve completed it.
- Brown: After they’d completed it, and they were still alive and still whole.
- Riess: Well, it’s apparent when they apply for admission that this is part of what they’re going to do, isn’t it?
- Brown: Well, it’s there if they see it. I mean, we don’t take them aside and say, “Now, look, you may not like this, but if you want to graduate, you’re going to have to do a couple of things, one of which is completing this course. Another is a service project of some kind, where you do something for people other than yourselves, either in the school or in the community or in the world,” and so forth. And you know, that’s very important, I think.
- Riess: So the national advisory board—I’m loathe to dispense with them so quickly, because it’s such an interesting group of people—I’ve got the list of them here. Were they helpful in funding or publicizing in some way?
- Brown: I’ll have to go back and look. Oh, Remsen Bird was the president of Occidental, and he said, “I never had to ask anyone for money.” He explained to me how he did it. It was that sort of thing. Well, Leonard Eliel was my very closest friend. Harry Frelinghuysen—these are all people that I knew. Larry Gould was president of, Carleton College, one of the very good liberal arts colleges in the Midwest. Najeeb Halaby did all kinds of things. He was a very close personal friend. Ed Heller was really interested in this. I had known his parents somewhat. Harold Howe we hired as the superintendent of schools in Scarsdale when I was on the board there, and he didn’t qualify for it. He was quite an unusual person, and he had been Secretary of Education or something like that in one of the cabinets down in Washington. We had to arrange for him to take some courses for a year in order to qualify technically in New York to be superintendent of schools. It’s ridiculous, but it was true.
- Some of these people I didn’t know that well.
- Riess: And these were people that you reviewed your ideas with before you got started on the school?
- Brown: No, I think what I really did was told them what I was going to do, and that I’d like to have a national advisory board, and would they be interested in being on it? I didn’t go to them and say, “Would you like to be on the board of a school that would do this and that and the other thing?” I mean, they just had to like it or not.
- Riess: Right. So then to go down to your board of trustees, what are the connections there, and how did they—
- Brown: By the way, the name, Browner should be Brawler [spells]. You might want to correct that on this list.
- Riess: Okay.

Brown: They were friends or persons very much interested in the idea, like Henry McIntyre's wife was from a wealthy family, and she gave us some substantial financial help.

Riess: Well, your first and most important board member was Robert Gordon Sproul.

Brown: No. He was part of the publicity of the school. He was older, and as a matter of fact, he eventually got—

Riess: The Alzheimer's disease.

Brown: Alzheimer's, yes. And he functioned beautifully at the beginning, when he got into something, but he would be interested in some broad question, and not in the particulars of the school. Mrs. Ernest Mendenhall was similar. She was on the board of the school in Marin County, and Mrs. Stuart Rawlings was very active. Lawton Shurtleff was a classmate of mine and very much interested, because he had a couple of sons who he thought might be interested in doing something in education. So there was usually a personal reason for these people being on the board, and it was more of a use of their name than anything else. Fuller Brawner and Mortimer Fleishhacker were two of the most active adults in the San Francisco community when it came to good projects. I mean, they really went to work for them. I felt very fortunate to have them.

Riess: Maybe this says something about your administrative style, that you didn't want to get a whole bunch of people that you had to be too answerable to.

Brown: No, I didn't feel answerable to any of these people, except where that came up, "You don't really want the students washing the dishes, do you?" I said, "Yes."

Riess: So in putting together the faculty, then, the first person was William Schwarz, and then the other four names that are always mentioned are Harrison Hoblitzelle—

Brown: Hoblitzelle, whom I had known for a long time, and who was very much interested in education.

Riess: And did he come from a prep school background?

Brown: I think he did. Gosh, I don't remember the details. He didn't last very long at the school.

Riess: I mean, to start a school, what do you have to have in the first couple of years in terms of faculty?

Brown: You don't have to legally have anything. I mean, you could do whatever you want, pretty much. At least in those days.

Riess: Yes, but what did you feel that you had to promise the parents?

Brown: Well, I wanted to have a sufficient faculty to have a ratio, oh, about one to eight or one to ten, which is pretty good. We're still very good about size. But I wanted to also have very good people, and I had the help of one of the people who worked for Harvard in its graduate school of education in placements of people, and I could get some very good information about their capabilities. But the main thing I wanted was people who would be

willing to be involved in a twenty-four-hour-a-day school, because our curriculum was everything that happened at the school. I guess it's still kind of that way, isn't it? And that makes a difference.

Riess: Who were some of the other people?

Brown: There were seven, I think, maybe even eleven, I'm not quite sure. But we laid out a program only for the ninth and tenth grades. Or did we do just the ninth grade the first year? I think we did just the ninth, and then we did the tenth, and they went on to the eleventh—

Riess: It says here that when you opened in 1965, you had sixty-five ninth and tenth graders.

Brown: Yes. Well, maybe it was ninth and tenth. My memory isn't too good on those details. We had to offer the courses that would normally be taken but that was not too difficult. We would seek the further qualities in addition to their capability in the discipline that we wanted them to teach.

Riess: Did you feel that in hiring faculty, that they had to understand some of the Oxford school system, the Kurt Hahn thing? Did they have to be totally enlisted in the philosophy?

Brown: Sure. They came out for an interview, and we even asked them to teach a course. I don't know if they still do that. But you know, the best way to find out some things about them is to find out from the students. No, the faculty is the life blood of that institution, and if you didn't have that, or if that changed, that would change the character of the school, because it reflects very much what—am I not correct on that, Eleanor?

Dase: Absolutely. You're absolutely correct.

Riess: Did you find that the people that you were recruiting had just a natural affinity to this, or did they have to kind of be educated?

Brown: They were delighted, if they were the kind of people we wanted. I mean, they shared the same feeling about the importance of the human side of education, and if they hadn't, I don't think they would have stuck around very long. I mean, they'd have come out and talked and gone home. And it was very important from our standpoint that they had those feelings, and we had to learn whether or not they had them. That became fairly obvious. And if they didn't, we didn't hire them. After we had that split in the first year, the ones who weren't entirely comfortable in our kind of an environment left—well, it was kind of mutual. They were just as willing to go on to another school, and we were just as willing to have them go, and the replacements were persons who had the total attitude of support for the sort of things we were doing.

Riess: What could you promise the faculty, in terms of tenured position or—what could you promise them?

Brown: I promised them that we would decide well before the end of the year whether they were coming back the next year, and this understanding didn't present difficult problems, because if they didn't like it, they didn't want to stay; and if they didn't like it, they weren't

supporting some of the things that we thought were very important. That was the selection process.

Riess: Did you go back East to recruit faculty?

Brown: No, not really. I mean, they would have wanted to see the school too.

Riess: I mean, I wondered if you advertised in some kind of education bulletins, or how you advertised?

Brown: Well, we did it through the personnel people, like the gal at Harvard Graduate School of Education, who was doing that all the time. She got a sense of what we were, and that helped us greatly. We had similar kinds of information in the hands of other placement personnel.

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Brown: We talked last week I think, or did we, about the fact that one of the reasons that I decided to leave the Ford Foundation was I didn't feel the same harmony with the president of it that I had had with my law partner [Rowan Gaither]—

Riess: Yes.

Brown: He said to me, "Dyke, why do you care about all of these kids at the bottom of the sink?" Well, I decided about that time I wasn't going to return. The weight of what I was taking on didn't really hit me until the board was fairly complete, and it was then up to me to get the whole operation going. I had a period, it lasted about six months, when my self-confidence in this was kind of wavery, and I was inhibited. I gradually, I guess, got over it, because I had to.

Riess: Does it mean that you just sort of were immobilized?

Brown: I didn't find myself going out and doing things as easily. I'd been invited to go down to a group meeting in Los Angeles of parents, and I thought a lot about it, but I decided there was no reason why I couldn't manage okay. So I sort of created my self-confidence out of taking on the problems, I guess.

Riess: Yes, yes. Was it debilitating enough that you had to get some help about it?

Brown: No, I did it by myself.

Riess: But this would be one of those times when it would be very important to have the support of family.

Brown: Oh, well, of course I had that, completely.

Riess: Was that—let's see, financially were you able to take time out?

Brown: I had not expected to be a paid employee of the school until after it got going. I never had intended to do that, because it's a hard thing to get the financing going for a school. We

were able, with our own resources, to pretty well take care of our minimal living expenses. I wasn't under any worry about that. It was really just realizing that I was going to be responsible for some of these things, and I'd better get going on them.

You were asking me about particular people. I talked with my friends earlier, but when I got to the point of action, I didn't have any particular friends who were terribly knowledgeable or experienced. Some of them were. But I pretty well had to run myself. And it worked all right. It created a little bit of a question mark with some of the faculty early on, because they didn't know exactly what I thought about many things and what I was planning or hoping I could do, and maybe I couldn't do.

Did you read my article on "Can We Go on Victimized Our Young"? What did you feel about the analysis of the problems which the students came with, from the society and from their families?

Riess: I thought that that was very accurate, and also very appropriate to that era. You started a school at a difficult time.

Brown: I picked the worst possible time. And that is a very, very major obstacle in terms of education—and we're still facing this in many ways in some schools. I think our school was fortunate in its philosophy, because it met that in a sense fairly directly, and you're [Dase] a better commenter on that than I, but the general impression I have is that most of the students there felt in the years that came after that first year at Athenian that as difficult as it was, it was an incredibly valuable experience [with emotion]. And they were glad for it. I don't think you would have had that reaction unless the school had had a philosophy which encompassed their views of life in a school. I think that's one of the very positive things about Athenian, I hope. I'm sure there have been students who didn't like it and who opted out, because it didn't do what they thought it would. I mean, that always happens.

Riess: So in that first year, when things were tough, did that mean that you would use something like an assembly to actually address issues?

Brown: Only to the extent that I thought it was necessary.

Riess: I mean, I guess one of the things that would be great would be if the students really understood what the school was all about, but if there were any confusion about where this was all going, then that would just exacerbate the confusion.

Brown: Well, I think there was more confusion in the first year. For instance, I wanted to have the whole student body be a choir and sing. Our music teacher was very much in favor of that. The calendar was set in such a way that on Friday, that happened. But where there were students who didn't like being told anything that they had to do, or for some reason didn't like that, or attending meals, or things of that kind, they had the capacity to stay away. We lost the chorus. We couldn't sing without the singers. There were enough of them who didn't want to come and didn't.

Dase: It's still true. It's a wonderful, natural tension that can't help but exist between adults and teens when you're staunchly individualistic and devoted to community values, and helping to make sure that all the adults and all the students understand that very natural, incredible opportunity, but also very natural tension that occurs, when both of those are coexisting.

Brown: And the things that you have to consider and do in order to get to the point where the students can think. All of the research that has been done on that project that was financed by the Hewlett Foundation has stacks of papers from some of the best-trained social scientists that we could get, and it's so simple and so clear, that if the students feel that the school cares about them, it works.

Dase: It does. And they need to feel empowered, as they're discovering who they are. But they also then need to understand that they don't make all the decisions.

Brown: No. But to get them to do that, and not encounter the violence that you meet when they simply reject it, you know, because you can't teach a student who feels that way. And that's what worries me about the public schools, because there are a few that do understand this, and accordingly, their students come to like it. I have one perfect example of that, a school in Indiana that wanted to undertake this program. But you know, maybe I'm repeating something, did I tell you the story about the graduate student at Cal, the girl who did a doctoral dissertation on one of the schools that had a perfect order here in Oakland?

Riess: I don't think so. Do you think so?

Brown: Have I ever told you that? [laughs] It's a pretty good story.

So she wanted to find out how this worked. She went, and the classes and the meetings and so forth were beautiful. Everything was harmonious, the people were polite, and so forth. But she learned that after a meeting was over, if anything that occurred that she hadn't liked, she invited Johnny or Janie, whoever it was, to have a little talk with her in the private room. And she brought out a great big strap and really gave her a beating! It was that difficult.

Riess: And parents probably loved the school.

Brown: Well, I don't know that they even knew. But anyone who was interested in education wouldn't have thought of that as being a very successful program. Anyhow, we don't have that.

Riess: Well, it's all so difficult. I'm thinking about all the things that are difficult. You'll have to talk about all the things that are easy and work well, but after all, what was the population of kids that you were getting in terms of range of normal behavior, good kids/bad kids/rotten apples? The first, in 1965.

Brown: It's a lot better now, because they know more about what the school is, and they have more confidence that it's going to be what they thought it ought to be. But I had quite a number who didn't, and they didn't mind taking it up in meetings with all of the students, when we were talking about these things. And they'd talk about, "You know, Brown thinks this," and so forth. They could reject me in a minute if they didn't like it. We had to deal with all of that.

Riess: Well, in that first year, were you, as a new school, a new possibility for parents of difficult kids, were you getting a good number of difficult kids?

Brown: Yes, and if they were too difficult, and we could generally find that out, we'd have to tell them that we didn't have the personnel to handle the kid's problems.

Riess: What did you offer in the way of counseling, kind of one-on-one relationships with your students.

Brown: Well, the faculty dealt at some length with the question of whether or not we would have grades. That raised all kinds of problems, because we didn't want it to be a mechanical operation that didn't seem to deal with the child as a human being. So every report, I don't know if it's still that way or not, it may well be, but the teachers became counselors, and wrote in the grade report the results of their discussions with the child about things that apparently were difficult or—I mean, it became a human process, rather than just a, "You're a three and not a one."

Riess: Would they talk about behavioral problems.

Brown: I don't know exactly how that is now, but the students can, after they've been there for a while, have some part to play in the selection of the person who is their faculty counselor?

Dase: They still choose their advisor.

Brown: That's a very important difference.

Riess: That is, rather than just having them assigned, they choose them.

Brown: Yes. But we had to have grades, because some of them are going to go to other places, and they would need them for admissions and that sort of thing. Which we tried to minimize. We got a whole range of colleges chosen by them in the first two years of the school. They didn't all want to go to Harvard and Yale, as I remember. Some of them wanted to go to a community college. We tried to get them out of the habit of listening only to their parents. When I have a chance to talk to the students, I ask them, "Who did you talk to about where you wanted to go to college?" Some of them have gotten pretty much into the fact that they're individual human beings and they'd better think about this for themselves.

Riess: Well, that's a big job of a high school, the college admissions end of it, and helping the kids go through that. Was that something that you offered?

Brown: We certainly did.

Riess: And who took that on? Each faculty member, or someone—

Brown: Do we have a special person?

Dase: Now we have two. I don't know about your original years, but I know in those early years, you did have somebody who helped with the college process. There was John Galloway, who was there a while, so you did have somebody facilitate that.

But Dyke, talk a little bit, because the students that graduated those first couple of years were very bright, creative, and I hear them now still tell stories about, in addition to their

school work, creating plays at night, putting on plays all the time, using their creative energy.

Brown: We had an enormous number of plays that first year.

Dase: Exactly. So at night they'd stay up all night writing plays and then putting them on, and then you had the very creative Tim Holm, who did the hang glider. So you had some people that were creative scientifically, and they would just immerse themselves in those projects.

Brown: I was very happy about that, because that was one of the desires of the school, to let the students develop their selves and their own creative capacities and so forth, and if you had an environment where that wasn't possible, that's one thing. But as I mentioned, we had plays going on all the time.

Riess: And did that happen—do you think it had to do with the size of the school then, or the living arrangements, or what—

Brown: I think as much as anything, it was with the gal who did the plays and who wanted the students to be involved in that sort of thing. We tried to, at least I tried, I think, I didn't want them to listen only to their parents who said the only place to go was all of the popular colleges where most parents want their kids to go. We wanted them to get a chance, and very early on in the history of the school we had at least eighty different colleges that they'd gone to. Which I think showed their involvement to some extent in how the choices were made.

Riess: It sounds very solid. Yes.

Brown: But that's the the thing about public education that worries me is where are you going to find the teachers who will do this? You can't teach it more than to a certain extent, and most schools of education don't even want to teach it. They're caught in all of the things that unions stand for. I remember when I was on the school board at Scarsdale, and we wanted to give some recognition financially to teachers who were doing well before the formal appointment or things changed. And boy, we got a response from the union and the teachers which was so fierce. They wouldn't let us. And that was when someone on the faculty of Athenian said—I think it was Tom Swope—"If you were going to start the school now, would you start it in the same way? And suppose a union came, what would you do?" I said, "I don't think I'd have started it." I don't know how public education is going to get over this. This is the secret weapon that's going to make education real. But how are you going to change a whole system?

There are a few people who are working on different things that sort of run that way, but it's not a thing that many schools of education do very much about.

Riess: Yes, you always know it's the exception that proves the rule, because we're always reading about the one isolated exceptional experience.

Brown: Yes.

Riess: Your motivation in all of this was to replenish good citizens and leaders—I mean, when you came into thinking about The Athenian School and the Athenian model, how did you

hold that up there? I mean, did you have to keep using those words and talking in that way, or what?

Brown: Well, several years before the school opened, we wrote down what it stood for, and the paragraphs on that page, “A message from Dyke Brown, Director, on the goals of the Athenian School,” [from the opening brochure] is as valid to me now as it was then before the school ever had gotten halfway started.

Riess: You have such wonderful ideas about education. I guess maybe another way of asking this is, in the position of running this whole school, how close were you able to be to the individual students and teachers. How hands-on?

Brown: Well, they all got a copy of this.

Riess: Not position papers—no, I’m talking about you. You’re running this school.

Brown: Yes, well, I ran it according to those things, insofar as I could. I ran into problems. I think the faculty knew pretty well the things that we cared about, and we wanted them because of those things as well as their academic work in the classes. Isn’t that true? And that makes a whole difference.

Dase: But you were actively engaged. Just by living there, you were eating meals with them, you were—you’re very light in being when you’re immersed in it.

Brown: I only stumbled onto problems where someone didn’t like requiring students to go on an Outward Bound, or they didn’t want to, or a parent didn’t, although I had very few things that really presented an issue.

Riess: Private school teachers are kind of a self-selected group. They are people who wouldn’t want to be teaching in the public school system.

Brown: I’m sure that’s true for many.

Riess: There’s also this idea of private school teachers as the ones who haven’t really gotten the background in education. They haven’t taken the education classes, so they’re kind of an in-between population.

Brown: [laughs] I don’t see it that way. I don’t know what to say.

Riess: To teach in the public school system, you have to have certain credentials. And in private schools?

Brown: And that’s what the teachers generally aim at, and those are sometimes frivolous or unimportant or not good—not doing what I would like to see them do, if they’d try to touch it at all. I think it’s a major problem, and I don’t think it’s solved by the president’s plan of, what does he say, every child...?

Riess: No Child Left Behind?

Brown: No Child Left Behind. Now, what he's doing is teaching them how to take true-false exams. The teachers are responding to that by not teaching them the things they ought to, but to tell them how to take a true-false exam. It's just an unfortunate chapter.

Riess: Yes.

Dase: I think on those early years, because I think this would really help Suzanne, you might talk a little bit about the houses and why you had them put the classrooms attached to the houses where faculty lived, because it relates to a role of the faculty.

Brown: Right. Well, they were there, and it didn't cost any money. But it was nice to have them there. I mean, it meant that they were part of the life of the school. It wasn't just a formal thing that you went someplace else to do. I mean, the whole atmosphere of the school kind of supports that, and putting them in there, putting girls in a dormitory in a garage is not the ordinary way that you take care of them. But they had a close relationship to the faculty member who lived there. I mean, it made us more of a community.

Riess: Accreditation. When does that come along in the life of a school, and was there anything that was problematic about Athenian?

Brown: Are we accredited? Have we been accredited every year?

Dase: Every six years.

Brown: Has that been a problem at all? I don't think it has.

Riess: It's apparently a fairly laborious process.

Brown: Yes, it is. I remember our spending a lot of time getting the kinds of information that they wanted. Maybe we just had good committees or something, but I don't think they ever felt we weren't involved in education.

Riess: I told you when I arrived the other time that I had read Bob Baldwin's book about College Preparatory School, and so I have a bunch of little questions that came up just regarding private prep schools. He talked about accreditation. He talked about problems with a lot of teachers that were much too permissive there, so I'm going to throw these things out as issues that you might relate to. One of the things that he said was a problem was that teachers were often so young and that they were trying to make the kids like them more than they should have wanted to be liked, that there's a big fuzzy area about authority. Was this a problem that you remember ever having to address?

Brown: If there was any problem that I saw, it was that we had to restrain ourselves from taking advantage of the willingness of the students who really wanted to work.

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We're very fortunate because we both [Dase and Brown] feel very much the same about these issues, and if she wants to do it, it's generally the same thing I want to do. But I'm not any part of the official organization. When I left I was asked to be a member of the board, and I declined. The reason was that the school at Verde Valley, where two of my kids went,

the guy who founded the school, he's one of the people that I talked with a lot about how to run a school. He decided to retire, but his house was on the campus, and he continued to live on the campus. They went through three headmasters who couldn't stand that, because they never thought they were in charge, and they weren't. I mean, if people wanted something, they'd go and see the guy who founded the school. They lost three headmasters before they realized that and changed it, and made it clearly a job with the responsibilities in the head, and not in the former founder of the school. I didn't want to get into that position.

Riess: Well, I was thinking that your reason to found the school, in a way, was almost—I want you to correct me if I'm wrong—was to experiment with an educational alternative to a system which you thought was failing. This was an experiment for you.

Brown: Well, I would not use that word. I didn't know these things when I started, and it took the first year to educate me in the hard way, that I had a lot of things there that I didn't realize in that article that I wrote, "Can We Go On Victimizing Our Young?" That came from, I don't know, 1974 or something like that. I did not think of the school as an experiment.

Riess: That came along in 1970 I think.

Brown: Did it? Well, anyhow, five years, I realized what was—what I had to deal with. This turns into a real criticism of society, as far as the ruining of children is concerned.

Riess: Yes, there's a lot of anger in that paper, too.

Brown: Well, I feel that, because I think the women who found a career and had gotten educated for it and wanted a job, they've managed it in different ways. A few of them have just said they weren't going to even start their career until their children were a certain young age, because they realized that they wouldn't be there. But they came out with the formula, "Well, I come home every night, and I have, oh, at least twenty minutes or so that I give entirely to my child." Well, you know what that is. [laughs] That's not very much of a relationship. And parents are so important, and if they turn the children loose, the children go and find their own friends and people with whom they like to be, and like to do. And that's been exploited by the advertising of business firms, when they discovered that half of their admissions to movies came from kids eighteen or younger. I mean, we have a built-in vice in our system which perpetuates this and perpetuates the sort of wild autonomy of kids who don't get adequate parenting otherwise, or early enough.

Riess: I have to ask you, Dyke, why do you have so much confidence in parents?

Brown: Well, because they're stuck. I mean, our society sticks with parents. I think in a sense, it's right. The kids are going to be like their parents, and if their parents are bad on many of these things, the kids are going to be that way, and by the time they're adolescents, that's the time they'll bring a gun and shoot somebody. You know?

Riess: Yes.

Brown: It's dreadful, but I think most parents feel that if beating them over the back is necessary, that's what they're going to get, because that's how they learn. Well, you know, they do learn, but they learn something entirely different. They learn to distrust adults. And we

need to understand that, which is going to be my next research topic, (if I live long enough to do something about it). I'd like you to read a paper "Potentiality for Strengthening American Character."

Riess: Yes, you said you were going to get it out, and we dissuaded you last time, so I haven't seen it, I'm sure.

Brown: I will attach a copy to this interview. It says, in effect, that we know now from the research that things happen to children because of the size of their brain. It is much larger than we realized when they are born. Selection of brain cells that are going to be permanent comes from the experiences that children have, many of which are necessarily parent experiences. But they're far from being adequate to the entire task. When the child reaches adolescence he may have twice as many brain cells as he can use. The ones that he hasn't used will just be lost—discarded. Therefore, parenting now encompasses the experiences that begin to shape those brain cells. They aren't learned by lectures on ethics, but by everything that a parent does, and children do. If the parents are loving and fairly reasonable about it and not overly permissive, the child gets qualities that are going to stay with him the rest of his or her life. And if we don't take advantage of that opportunity, or if we allow it to be diluted and diminished by substitute parents who don't care about the children in the same way, or groups in the early years, which can be very good but can be equally bad, you know, we're going to have a real problem.

My concern is to bring together a group of the scientists who have reached the point where they realize that this is going on. It's not a widespread thing, but there are several very good books about it, and I can't understand them, they're so complicated. But what's going on, I believe, is that the difference between experience and biology are diminished, almost exterminated, because these things all happen and ingrain themselves in the child's development in the section of the cells that become functional in the brain, and you know, it all works in response to these things. They're very important with respect to the potential caring possibilities that these children develop, and you can't—it needs to be continued throughout their youth and not just in their infancy, but all the way through adolescence, and maybe even beyond that. But it's got to start early, I think, because it's happening whether you start it or not, it's going to happen. And if the parents happen to be missing or not there or abusive or something, it's going to have happened. And when some of them get to be nine, ten or eleven, they're going to take a gun and shoot somebody, if they've really been abused.

Riess: The population of students at Athenian, the early students—let me see. You didn't have a chapel at the school, did you?

Brown: No. We were not religiously related. Everybody who wanted to come was eligible.

Riess: Did you have any all-school time when there was an assembly and—

Brown: Oh, we have assemblies all the time.

Riess: And were assemblies, were they dealing with these, with big questions? Would they deal with the big words like ethics or something like that, or was it all supposed to be learned by—

Brown: Well, in a practical sense, they were. I mean, they didn't talk about ethics so much as, "Do I have to be there for breakfast?" Questions of their life.

Riess: How did you use the assemblies, though, as a kind of forum for the message of the school?

Brown: Well, I thought that the students would want to have someone from their own group as a leader. I was entirely wrong. They didn't want anybody chosen by the students or anybody else. So I said, "I'll continue the chairmanship of these meetings for a very limited time, and after that, it's going to be up to you." It took a long time to work, but it finally did work out, and they do have their people involved in some of the responsibilities of the community and so forth, more than I know. I'm sorry that Eleanor is gone, because she could tell you this in more detail.

Riess: Yes, but I think Eleanor and I are both interested in the kind of model that was created then. Would assemblies be a place for general discussion of school problems?

Brown: Well, we tried to make it as free as possible. Anything that you thought was important and you wanted to raise, you could, but don't waste our time. They pinpointed a lot of the issues, and the faculty members pinpointed a lot of the issues. I mean, it was a very democratic process. Not that we did exactly what the students wanted, because we weren't always in a position to do that, or didn't want to. I spent a long, long time before I was happy with the thought that we had to make the Outward Bound thing a requirement for graduation, and doing community service a requirement for graduation. They were doing it, sort of, you know. When you're required to do it, it's different from when you do it because you feel you want to because that's what the community stands for.

Riess: You have written some really excellent papers, such as "Can We Go on Victimizing Our Young." Would your faculty all have read that paper? In other words, who did you write that paper for, and how did you disseminate your ideas?

Brown: I didn't make any effort to disseminate them at all, except to a few friends who were interested in it. And I'm sure the faculty were able to get a copy and read it if they wanted, but I don't recall specifically.

Riess: So you didn't put these things into like a journal of educational thought or—

Brown: No, I just did them up individually. And I forgot I had them. I really was surprised.

Riess: How come you—let me see. My arching question here is that, yes, you were doing the school, but you also really had a big vision about education, and these issues were important to you, so how come you didn't go national and—?

Brown: Well, let me explain. I never wanted to start a school or run a school. It was not of any interest to me at all. The only reason that I did it was that I felt that at that younger age, the environment in the school could be made such that it would do many of the things that were not being done in schools and ought to be done. And when I got to that point, I really felt that it was a broader problem I had—I didn't want to tie my life into running a school. I had no interest at all in it. And I really set out to do something more extensive than that. Very early on, the Hewlett Foundation, through Bill Hewlett, and Roger Heyns who became president, asked me if I would—I'm repeating things I've told you already, I

think—willing to consult with them about some of my ideas and what sort of grants might help reach it, which was very much my interest. But I said I would require a year to find out enough to think that I would know something about what ought to be done. It was called “An Interim Report,” in 1979 or 1980?

- Riess: I’m trying to reconcile your devotion to the issues of educating kids with the modest stage on which you operated. I guess you’re saying that the Hewlett Foundation was the larger stage, then.
- Brown: Well, it was the only one that even knew that I was alive. As far as getting those things published, I would have loved to have been able to do it, I didn’t think I could.
- Riess: Like the *Saturday Review* would be a perfect publication.
- Brown: But I had no knowledge about that at all, and no connections, no way to do it, and I had to live, and I wanted to have my own career. I couldn’t do it just going around to try to get things published. Eventually, maybe they will be, and that’s one reason I’d like to get them copyrighted.
- Riess: Well, they’re very interesting and very finished works. They seem to have been written very easily.
- Brown: Oh, there was a lot of hard work that went into those. I gave a copy to one of the ladies here. We had talked a little bit about it and she wanted to read it, and then she said something I never really thought about—well, I had thought about, but I had thought about negatively. She said flattering things about it, and she said, “And you know, you foresaw it. This is the problem today.” [with emotion] I hadn’t really thought of it as being as significant now as it was then, but I have a feeling that it probably is in general, and what I am trying to do now. The paper that I was going to show you and will attach was one which I sent—I had a friend who was in public relations, and she was very much interested in what I was interested in doing. I said, “I need to get some advice from somebody who is a professional in the field. How should I set up the way of getting this information in a forum that would be understood and accepted by parents, and not rejected by them as somebody trying to butt into their business.”
- Riess: Yes, interesting, yes.
- Brown: Yes. It’s now been several weeks, and I’ve told her that I haven’t had any replies from him. She was going to find out if he really didn’t want to do it, or he was so busy, or it was too hard, or whatever it was. But I think that’s an essential step. I didn’t provide any money for it in the Hewlett project that we’ve talked about, and it is a very, very slow process. So that would be my priority, to begin with.
- Riess: Did you, over the fifteen years or so, did you keep getting feedback from the students as they graduated that helped reshape Athenian?
- Brown: Well, most of what I got was how they talked about what they thought of the Athenian School when they came back to their reunions, or talked to me about it, and it was so positive that I figured, why monkey with it?

- Riess: Yes.
- Brown: And you've heard Eleanor. I really think it's a godsend that Eleanor is the head of the school, and that we both agree as much as we do.
- Riess: Yes, you've had a few heads of school in between, haven't you?
- Brown: Yes, and they've been differing.
- Riess: The first one was Steve Davenport.
- Brown: Yes. Steve is now on the board of the school. He's a good person. He's been working at a different level, but he's interested in these same ideas.
- Riess: And then Sam Eliot.
- Brown: I don't even remember him.
- Riess: He was there for five years.
- Brown: Really?
- Riess: 1987 to 1992, at least that's what I have.
- Brown: Well, I may have gotten out of touch with the school to the point that I never even met him.
- Riess: That is so interesting, that the school's philosophy is as strong and clear enough that it hasn't gotten watered down.
- Brown: This is the luckiest thing that could have happened to us. And maybe there's some sense in it, because if they were interested in these things too, they would be more interested in being at a school like that than they would at a school that was not like that.
- Riess: Yes. Eleanor had been a faculty member before she was head of school.
- Brown: Oh, for years. She was a math teacher. I was far gone when she was selected, and I never even knew about it until it happened, and I never even knew what a wonderful choice it was until Eleanor and I got to know each other. But we're both of pretty much the same view. Well, we are in our feelings, in any case, but you know, the job that she had, and anyone would have had there, is a very tough job. And the growth of the school has been incredible, far beyond anything I thought it ought to have. It's 450 students now, and I thought 150 was as many as we should have. We got a small grant from the Ford Foundation to form an organization it set up on school organization, and we have a master plan that we've never been able to follow. It anticipated having three or four campuses, and we haven't had enough acreage there to do that. But I thought no school should be larger than—well, over 200 at the most. Because Exeter has the same number of faculty per students for a very large enrollment. We had about 65 when we opened, and it changes. The number doesn't carry that informality and that human relationship when you get to numbers of Exeter's size.

- Riess: What would you say is the cutoff point?
- Brown: As far as I could tell, Bennington and some of the schools that had this kind of an atmosphere could successfully go up to 150 to maybe 200, but probably no more than that, in my opinion.
- Riess: And then the teacher-student ratio has to be at least eight or seven?
- Brown: Well, it's better, but I don't think we're at that ratio still. And I think the more important part is the overall atmosphere and program of the schools. Then people work within that, even if there are fewer faculty. Financing is always difficult for schools like ours.
- Riess: You have more day students now, don't you?
- Brown: Even day students had to pay a lot. Boarding students, you know, you're up at the same price as the most expensive colleges. And there's no way you can get to people unless you do that. And I think tastes just changed. You would have to talk to [Eleanor] or someone who knows a lot more about this than I do, but I don't think there's the same interest in boarding schools as there was before. We continue to have a boarding department because we couldn't manage a lot of the students from abroad if we didn't, and I think we make some sort of arrangements for them during the short vacations.
- Riess: The middle school was added in the late 1980s.
- Brown: That was after I left. Which I think was a good thing. My real feeling has been that we should begin our program down at the time a child is born or soon thereafter.
- Riess: Now of maybe 300 students, there are only thirty-five or so that are boarding, the rest are day students.
- Brown: Yes.
- Riess: That's a huge change.
- Brown: Oh, no question about it, but it was forced by circumstances. I don't think we could have stayed in business if we hadn't.
- Riess: But if they're day students, they go back to the television sets and everything.
- Brown: They bring cars to school, they go into town for lunch, there are all kinds of things—there are TV sets all over the place. I deplore these, but that is part of the makeup.
- Riess: The issue of the cost of the school, was there some plan for scholarship?
- Brown: Yes. We set up a policy, which we were never able fully to realize, of having at least a quarter of the student body having scholarships. I don't think we're quite that high, but we do have some. My second daughter, Susan, has been very important as a trustee of the school, and you can learn a lot from her about that.

- Riess: In the early years, that was the way you maintained the racial integration, was through the scholarships?
- Brown: We just did the best we could. We got as much scholarship money as we could. We tried to take as many good students who had to have scholarships as we could. But the financial limit was there.
- Riess: But is that how you got black students, because they were scholarship students?
- Brown: Not only that. There was no organization in existence when the school started which helped bring to our attention students of that sort. But the ABC, A Better Chance program started then, and that worked out wonderfully from our standpoint, because we began to get excellent students. And it doesn't make any sense to integrate a school with students who aren't able to work at the same levels. If half of them are at the bottom and half are at the top, your education is going to suffer.
- Riess: Yes. And did you have an integrated faculty?
- Brown: For quite a while the head of the first campus was a Negro. I don't know that we went out of our way to find any—and of course, I wasn't there all that long. I couldn't tell you whether now we have an integrated faculty.
- Riess: We were talking about faculty earlier. Munzer Afifi was on your faculty at the beginning. Where was he from?
- Brown: Well, I think he came from Lebanon or someplace like that. But I had a gal who was interested and on our board for a time. She was also on the board of the school where Munzer was a teacher. He was one of the best math teachers they'd ever had. So we got him from there, and he was a wonderful faculty member. But we couldn't pay him as much as some of the public schools could, and they got him. But he was a real personality. Everybody knew and liked Munzer.
- Riess: One of the things you offered, of course, was a house—
- Brown: Oh, sure, yes, and that was part of their salary. But still, we weren't competitive—I'm not sure if Munzer had other reasons. He may have had other reasons. But he was with us for quite a long time, and then he left.
- Riess: I wonder if your faculty thought that Mt. Diablo was really remote from the rest of the world.
- Brown: Oh, I really don't know. Because we took advantage of a lot of things in the cities. When I got the campus, I wanted to have something that was sufficiently natural and big enough, so that nature didn't leave the lives of these kids. And to some extent, that's been true.

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- Riess: Yes, okay, well then let's go with medium-size ideas. So it's all daunting to think about actually getting the school open physically, and financially, and I know you weren't able to open it in the year that you expected to.
- Brown: No, we didn't. We were a year late.
- Riess: But just how did you get your mind around getting this thing on the ground? Can you remember some specifics?
- Brown: Sure. That one was a pretty vivid thing. We were going to open in 1964, but we weren't far enough along in organization or site acquisition or anything to make that date. In August of 1964, we had a very important meeting of the board, and it took almost a year to get buildings under construction. We had nowhere near the money we needed to embark upon that. Lawton Shurtleff, one of the trustees, came up with the bright idea—we had a five-year plan for construction starting with the seven or eight houses for faculty members, and with a couple of the dormitories. He said, "Why don't we set ourselves a goal of raising \$100,000 every year for the next five years? If the school falls short in any year, those of us on the board who want to, can become guarantors of the difference between whatever we get and the \$100,000," it will be lent by them with no specific repayment date, but the understanding that it was to be repaid.
- Well, as it turned out, four of the five years, we made our \$100,000, and the other—I've forgotten how much it was down, but it was not a great amount. But in any event, we all felt good enough about this as it provided the necessary money for funding the first buildings, the Main Hall, and the Reinhardt dormitory. Reinhardt was the maiden name of Lawton Shurtleff's wife's family. I think they still call it the Reinhardt dorm, but it doesn't have any students in it at all now, it has offices. The Main Hall was not intended to have any offices, but we crammed them in for the first year, and you know, it was tight, but it worked.
- Riess: So Shurtleff was speaking for the trustees when he came up with that idea?
- Brown: Yes, he was one of the trustees and he probably knew more about practical things and had been very successful in his own businesses. He was interested. He had two sons, and they had an interest in education that he thought he wanted to get familiar with what we were doing as a background for something that might happen in his own family.
- Riess: How did you know the cost of things? Did you already have a budget?
- Brown: I have a long memorandum of all of the costs, I haven't looked at a copy for twenty years, but I had it, yes.
- Riess: But you gathered that from other schools?
- Brown: Yes, it wasn't too hard to find out most of the problems about that, and fixing the fees, too, for the school.

We got pretty close to the opening date, which was I guess in September of 1965, and we had no electricity and the beds hadn't come. There was nothing but dirt, if you see it, you'll get a quite different impression of how it looked when the students arrived. We decided we were simply going to go ahead no matter what, and we got some temporary electricity put in, and we rented some beds, and anyhow, we got started. We had lots of things that happened that were less than perfect, but that's the way it is when you start a school.

Dase: Was Reinhardt dormitory open that first year?

Brown: Yes, yes. No, maybe it wasn't. We put the kids basically in the garages of the seven houses. That seemed to work all right.

Riess: How did the kids like that?

Brown: Well, at the time, they were reflecting all of the young generation's criticism of adults on lots of things, and that could include the school when they felt that way about it. But later on, after they had graduated and came back, I asked a number of the members of that class how they felt about it. They said they wouldn't have missed it for anything!

Riess: In that first student group, did you have anyone who came from really far and wide, or where were they from?

Brown: Well, obviously, a good many students came from California, but they came from quite a number of other states, and I've forgotten how many foreign countries were represented, but it began with significant representations from minorities in this country, and from Japan and from the Middle East. The facts could all be run down on that, but I don't have them in my own mind. I just know that's how it was.

Riess: Bob Ratcliff, was he an old Berkeley friend of yours?

Brown: Yes. Bob and I have known each other since we were small, and we both went to Piedmont High School.

Riess: How influential were his ideas for why the school should be on your—

Brown: Well, I will tell you something I've never been publicly stated, and I don't know any reason why to do it now, but he went ahead with his concept of the types of buildings which we should have, and he and I never had a chance to talk very much about it. It was a very busy time, I can tell you. But what he had were buildings of cement and metal frame and concrete. I said, "I'm sorry, Bob, I didn't say that what I really loved was the sort of thing you did in the Men's Faculty Club and your father, the redwood and the beams and all the rest of it. Would you be upset if we didn't do it your way but we went back and used the models that you have which are equally good of a different kind?" Because it was a nice country setting. You haven't seen it yet, but we had a nice piece of land that went right into the park, Mt. Diablo State Park, and it was wonderful to have that there. I think it had a definite effect on at least keeping nature somewhere in the minds of the kids, even though they were spending some time going into the city or into the university, or over to concerts and stuff of that sort. I think they appreciated it.

Riess: And so you got the design you wanted. Yes.

Brown: But it was a very simple design, as you'll see.

Riess: [pause] The piece of land, and then the current history of Blackhawk. What was the status of that land when you got the site for the school, and what was the expectation of development in that area in general?

Brown: We were really the first people that ever got into a conversation with the owners who had bought the ranch, a fellow from Florida who'd been very successful down there, and then later went on up to Seattle and I think did something similar to what he'd done in Florida. Can't even remember his name. But I'm trying to think of how to answer your question.

Riess: Well, was it a piece of land that was on the market?

Brown: No. It was a 6,000-acre ranch, the main building on the ranch had been the home of the owner. It was a beautiful place, and they were going to rent to us the area around that house, which saved us all the cost of building. And then they came to us and said, "Would you do us a favor and take some land out on the west side," the most beautiful side of the location of the whole property, really, at least from our standpoint. And so we graciously conceded that we would. We had quite a considerable amount of discussion, because they wanted nearly \$2,000 an acre for land—which half or a quarter acre now would sell for so much that it just makes it seem ridiculous. And it also intrigued the head of—what's the name of the corporation that owned the land?

Dase: Castle and Cook?

Brown: Yes, Castle and Cook. He later sent his son to the school, and we entered into a contract at that price, but with spacing and so forth so that we weren't overwhelmed with payments. They made some nice gifts and concessions, especially after the head man got interested in the school, and sending his son there, so we were just very lucky on that.

Anyhow, so we went out, and literally I walked what became the boundaries of the school. It was about 120 acres, and they seemed quite agreeable on it. They weren't as happy giving us the flat land up where the entrance to the campus now is, but we reached a compromise, and we drew the line on the top of the hill there. They felt that they might need that for putting on an office in connection with the development of the property later, and so forth.

Dase: Is that why there's a little triangular piece that belongs to Hidden Oaks, that was deeded to Hidden Oaks. And they're now deeding it to us, the school. But did they hold onto a piece of that corner for a reason?

Brown: Tell me where the corner was.

Dase: Right where you turn left to go onto Mt. Diablo.

Brown: Well, you see, they had—I don't know, something like, oh, 100 feet or so up the road, and then it became that wide a strip of land that went all the way along the road, up to where they had their entrance to their property.

Dase: So they felt they needed to hold onto that.

- Brown: I think they felt that they might need that in one or two of their things.
- Riess: So by “they,” you mean Castle and Cook?
- Brown: Yes, Castle and Cook. Or it was their subsidiary, but it was Castle and Cook basically.
- Riess: So Blackhawk was already in the works?
- Brown: Well, it had sold quite some time before to this fellow from Florida—
- Dase: Behring? Is it Behring, Kenneth Behring?
- Brown: Behring, that’s right, good for you, yes. He had his own ideas about development, and he wanted to take full advantage of the buildings per acre or houses per acre that he was allowed under the law, but he decided that he wanted to put those all in the flatter areas, and leave where it goes up steep and it’s not so cheap for building or development. He didn’t want to do anything with those. Well, of course, from my standpoint, that was beautiful. What it meant is we would see almost nothing of their buildings. And later on, you know out by the strip which they have, you come onto our property, and it went down to a very deep valley, and we never were quite sure what we could do with it. But they came to us when they found out that they had to get a lot of land fill out of the areas that they were digging for various purposes, and they had to get rid of it. They said, “Would you do us the favor of letting us put this on your property someplace?” I said, “Yes, you can fill up the valley up there.” And out of that came a good playing field and a lot of room for us.
- Dase: It’s now a beautiful baseball diamond, beautiful softball diamond, and it might add three tennis courts. It’s that big a landfill area.
- Brown: Well, at first, they had not wanted us to have any of the flat land down there, but they changed to give us this other land, and I’m glad that we got it.
- Riess: Were your dealings with you, or was there some one of the trustees that was the kind of real estate guy?
- Brown: Well, there was mostly me. But on the land and the building and stuff, Lawton Shurtleff was the guy with the greatest background and experience. The only problem was, he and I saw the school differently, and he eventually left the board.
- Riess: You had a huge decision to make and unless you absolutely trusted the people you were dealing with on the other side of the negotiation—
- Brown: Well, we didn’t have concerns on that score, because that is, in my judgment, a quite reputable company, and we could deal with them on an honest basis.
- Riess: And the land, I mean water and issues of slumping and flooding, you must have had some structural engineer?
- Brown: Well, I’m sure that that was true.

- Riess: How did you get the word out to get that first class of students? I've seen publicity that came out in the *Christian Science Monitor* and the *New York Times*—
- Brown: There was a function held specifically for getting the word out. It was held in the board room of a bank in San Francisco, I forget the name of it. But we had a little help in setting a thing like that up. We had a young lady who had done a lot of publicity and knew a fair amount about how to do such a function. And it really worked out pretty well, and that was the place where Sproul made that famous statement.
- Riess: Did you take out ads in the *New York Times* or in their education supplement?
- Brown: No, no. They were on the press release list, obviously, and I don't know if they had a representative there, but I think they sought the picture or two which they had. But I thought just getting mentioned in the *New York Times* and one other newspaper there was for us a very fortunate element.
- Riess: If you had been able, of course you were able at the time, to just ask that first class how they heard about Athenian, and how they decided to come—
- Brown: Well, in addition to the brochure, which had the description of a full school and how it functioned from day to day and all that, I'm sure you've looked at that.
- Riess: I have.
- Brown: I mean, this was an easy thing, and lovely picture of that property, to make available. What I was doing in all of those two years was asking the adults who were interested in one reason or another for the school, including some of them of sending their own youngsters to the school, if they would have a meeting in their home, at which I would speak, and I would show a movie of the school, twenty-three-minute movie. I could do it in my sleep. Actually, it was a pretty good song and dance—they even clapped at the end. The word of mouth spread, and a great many of our future students came from people who got acquainted with us in one of those evenings. I don't know how many hundred or more of those I might have done, but that gave us a fairly good take-off.
- Riess: Yes.
- Brown: I had trouble getting minorities. I think I told you before that we really didn't get onto that successfully until that ABC program, A Better Chance, and they would look specifically for able minority youngsters who needed to go to a high school and then on to college. That worked very well for us.
- Riess: By being the person and the personality who really sold the school in the first couple of years, did that mean then that you had parents calling you all the time? I mean, there must have been an astounding amount of responsibility for you, because they came because you were so convincing, I'll bet.
- Brown: Well, you know, that was an asset, and I seemed to get along all right with it. We had a number of different positions, even with the beginning faculty: a dean of students and all of the academic details and things of that kind. I mean, I didn't try to handle those.

- Riess: But the parents, wouldn't they want to talk with you? Or the students want you?
- Brown: Sometimes. I don't recall too much of that.
- Riess: How available were you? You had a house on campus?
- Brown: We had a house. It was one of the seven first houses that were built, and we lived there. Not all of the faculty, but a good many of them—you asked about Munzer Afifi, and a thought just went through my mind. He had a couple of daughters and a couple of sons, but they got into their house, and they had to cook their food on an outdoor barbecue kind of thing, and their son sat down in the coals [laughs], a very unfortunate experience! I mean, we had lots of crazy things like that that happened that were very real.
- Riess: Okay, so I'll ask one more time, were you welcoming to all these students who might come pounding on your door, or would you be inclined to tell them to go see the dean of students, or what?
- Brown: Well, we only had sixty-five or so, and they had plenty to do, and they all had their own counselor from among the faculty. They were in a dormitory where they had also a faculty member living. It doesn't stick in my mind that I was hard-pressed—I was tired, I have never been more tired in my life. But we all survived.
- Dase: Dyke, what was the relationship between the mandala, the drawing of the mandala, and the conversations you had with the families when you went into their homes? Was there any connection that you cited when you went into the homes to talk to the families?
- Brown: No.
- Dase: Because you did so much work on that butcher paper of your design of the curriculum.
- Brown: Well, that was for the faculty. I didn't seem to have too much trouble in getting the basic ideas of the school over in a fairly simple form. There were some people, I suspect, who didn't like all of the things that were going on. Well, I think I told you about the man who had a son at Thacher School and he wanted to transfer him up to our school. Fortunately for us, he was a year behind, and he couldn't come. His mother, after she'd been shown around the campus and the kitchen and where the faculty and the students both worked together to wash the dishes, she said, "You don't really want the students to be doing that, do you?" So I don't know what I said, but I didn't tell her that we were going to change it.
- Riess: The students were doing the cooking too?
- Brown: Yes, we had a regular kitchen, and we had a good pair who just loved that school, a man and his wife, who did the cooking [Ruth and Hans Preuss]. We set up a schedule whereby all of the students took part in dish washing, and all of the faculty did. The faculty eventually got tired of that and it quit. Who was it that was telling me that they had a school where this was still a regular part of the program? The idea was that adults do work, and the children should too, and it seemed to work.
- Riess: So did the kids ever say, "No, we won't do this"?

- Brown: They never said no, but I think I told you how they sabotaged the chorus that I wanted the whole school to have every week, singing. They just didn't come. We weren't going to go out and get a bullwhip and make them do things we wanted them to do.
- Riess: Why did you think the chorus was a component that you needed?
- Brown: Well, not all of the students would have an opportunity to get anything at all in the musical form, although there were some there that were really very good musicians in one way or another. But I think music is such an important part of life and of the feelings of the places where you are, you know, to be singing with a group that has the whole school there, I thought that was one of the better socialization processes that we would have.
- Riess: Were there regular campus dances?
- Brown: I don't think we did very much of that, although I'm sure it went on. I can't really remember, but I suspect that there were social events with dancing and things like that that the students planned.
- Riess: So students would plan that?
- Brown: No, I told you the difficulty we had in getting the students to even consider electing someone other than themselves to be the chairman of the meetings that we were having. They just wouldn't do it. So I told them I would do it for a limited number of weeks, I don't know, four, five, and after that, it would be up to them. That produced the most interesting kind of thing. There wasn't any interest at all in individuals or the whole group in getting control of this enterprise. They simply didn't want somebody else to have the control of it, over them. Eventually, they agreed to elect a person for a week. [laughs] We went all the way through that, but they eventually assimilated what is a reasonable form of selection and operation, and they had a great deal to do with it, which I think is very important.
- Riess: You're talking about the student government structure? Nobody wanted to be the president of the student council?
- Brown: Well, you're putting it in a broader context. We hadn't gotten to that specifically, but we did in due course. We wanted to have meetings every so often, and I didn't want to keep on sitting there like I was the one who was going to run it. They were going to be involved in it, they were going to have to elect or design how we get someone who's going to do that, and it really gave them a terrible problem. Because they didn't want anybody to be selected by somebody other than them personally to have responsibility for them. You know, that's how they were.
- Riess: That's how they were, and you're also saying that was a function of the sixties, seventies?
- Brown: Yes, that's when a lot of that began. I mean, a lot of the present people characterize that as being the beginning of our troubles.
- Riess: So whoever was teaching political science or civics or something must have had some work cut out for them explaining democratic institutions.

Brown: Well, we stayed away from the traditional type of political science course. My course on law, at the request of the students, studied full-length opinions, not just the casebook ones that the law students got. The students wanted to deal with the whole process. They worked so hard, and they learned how to take a case, and how to write a brief, and how to state the issues, and then we'd have discussions on them. And some of the other courses I'm sure got over into the things that are probably involved in political science or government, but we didn't place a lot of strength on traditional things, although we encompassed a great many of them. When teachers came over, as they often did, to visit the school—

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Riess: I lost that last couple of minutes. You were saying that teachers who came to visit the school couldn't understand you could—I'm sorry that it was off the tape—so would you mind repeating that?

Brown: They were absolutely startled to find out that teachers could have the authority that our teachers had for designing their courses and the materials for reading and studying. I mean, it didn't seem to me to be unusual [laughs] but it did to them.

Riess: That's interesting. So you did have visits from public school teachers?

Brown: Yes, and private, if they came.

Riess: But there was interest out there. People were hearing about the school?

Brown: Yes. We weren't deluged with people who bothered us, but the teachers from the public schools that came and got a little bit of an idea of how we ran the curriculum and so forth, were really quite startled. This exposure might not have done them a favor. Kathy, my very good friend here, was working in Richmond school district for thirty years, and what she has to say about the kinds of people who were looking for teaching jobs in those places, or a great many of them, is not very complimentary. "They were delighted to have the free time, and the heck with the substantive questions about what they should do or not do."

Dase: Dyke, were the students competitive in that first year?

Brown: With each other?

Dase: Yes. Was there, because the school doesn't engender competition among students at all, or between them.

Brown: I don't recall at all, but I do recall their getting interested in something, and then there was no end to the energy that they had.

Dase: But, it's that inner drive, not to be better than somebody else.

Brown: Yes, yes, no, no, That's the difference between good education and not good education, in my view.

Riess: But it would almost be a matter of reeducation, because they had come out of the traditional competitive environments.

Brown: Well, yes, but high school was a wholly new experience for them. They didn't seem to have preconceived notions that it was going to be like ABC.

Riess: Were they coming to Athenian because you could almost guarantee them a straight shot at college that they might not have been able to get otherwise?

Brown: No. I don't think that was ever a major subject for discussion. I don't know whether they had problems with some of their families, but they took a great deal of that responsibility onto themselves. I don't know whether you would agree with that or not, Eleanor, but when I am able to talk to a graduate of the Athenian School or someone who's in a class and is going to be graduating, if I ask him, "Do your parents give you any help on this?" I generally get an answer which says, "Well, yeah, if we need their help," but I don't hear, "They've selected Princeton, Yale, and Harvard, and they say that that's the place we've got to get to, and so that's what we're trying to get into." I've never met a student who was burdened by that. There are some, I'm sure.

Dase: There are some now. Yes. And I think that's just societal pressure now.

Brown: Oh, is that so?

Dase: There are some, yes. The demographics are that there are more students graduating from high school now than ever before. Colleges are diversifying. So the chances of getting into some of those places have decreased. So there are some parents, putting pressure on their students. That's the constant tension that we have, to say to the parents that the goal of college placement is to find a *correct* match between student and school.

Brown: When I discovered that they were going fairly early on in the school to eighty different colleges, I felt pretty good about it.

Dase: Yes, yes. Because they go all over the place.

Brown: They still do, don't they?

Dase: Yes. But societal pressure is different now than it was.

Brown: Well, I'm sorry to hear that, but I'm not surprised, because there's a lot of societal pressure which is not in the same direction as this, as Athenian's.

That might have been on the minds of some of them, but I think there were other reasons. I mean, when Berkeley public schools opted for integration, and they put all the minority and other students together in classes where there were students who were functioning at a top academic level, and students who could hardly write a simple essay. You know, that was a real brake on education—against education, and a goodly number of parents put their students into private schools as a result of this, which I think I would have done if I'd been caught in that situation. I mean, how can you teach a class where you have students of such widely different abilities and preparations that you can do all of them in the same class?

Riess: Actually, that's a question I would love to have put to you forty years ago, because I bet you could have figured it out.

Brown: Oh, I don't know that I have any particular solution for it.

Riess: Somebody must have thought that that was going to work.

Brown: Well, a lot of people thought that simply integrating these people was the most important thing of all, and I don't think that's true. I have my own solution to it, which is to get them houses in the same real estate developments, so that they will live alongside of other majority people, and you know, be friends. And I think I mentioned to you a book which I've come across, and that it's almost horrifying, the description of what goes on now with the type of very successful capitalist ethic, which is driving these people to the point where they have minimal personal relationships with anybody else, and the feeling about the society and its future course if this goes on. And I have that feeling too.

Riess: Well, I think one of the things that happened was that people moved from Berkeley over the hills, to Orinda.

Brown: That's probably true.

Riess: Do you think of the population at Athenian your first couple of years, as kids who had been taken out of the public schools by their parents, or were they kids who wanted to be out of those free-for-all schools?

Brown: Well, I think we'd have to correlate that with when Berkeley went on the total integration basis. But I don't think we were under any particular rigidity about that sort of thing.

Riess: Okay. Some of the other traditions of Athenian: was there an honor code?

Brown: We didn't as a staff or faculty attempt to write up things of that kind to inflict upon the students. I think the students had their own feelings about things of that kind. I don't know how it is now, but dishonesty is not positive for a school, or for a student body.

Riess: If there were cases of cheating on an exam, how were they handled? Were they handled by their peers?

Brown: Their peers were involved to a certain extent, but Eleanor can probably tell you more about how these things are handled now.

Dase: There were infractions with drugs, I'm sure. Was there a discipline committee? Or did the dean of students take care of it all?

Brown: You know, after the first year, we had Ed Ellis as dean of students, and I think he was the moving spirit of all of that. I think he was basically liked by the students. They knew he was a fair person. But you know, if somebody was really working on a drug in a serious way, that person should have been moved along. I was even upset by the fact that we didn't have or make any suggestion about how their hair should be grown, and what lengths it should go to, and all the rest of it. It was a little bit shocking to me to find out how many different ways they could think of to grow their hair. Well, you know, why not, if they want to?

Riess: How about a dress code?

Brown: I suppose we expected them to run around with clothes on, although I remember once when a group of them decided to run through the morning meeting with their clothes off. [laughs]

Dase: That was when streaking—

Brown: That's not fatal.

Riess: How about smoking? Cigarette smoking?

Brown: Well, I didn't like it, and there were a fair number who were smoking, so I invited them to come up to my house and smoke up there. I would give them other things to take care of their tastes or whatever. But I wanted to see if we could keep them out of that kind of a habit, and I remember when we caught another student who'd been smoking, and he said to me, "Mr. Brown, you take care of your smoking and I'll take care of mine." [laughter]

Riess: So that wouldn't be cause for expulsion, smoking?

Brown: Oh, I suppose you could think of it as being bad enough, and the person having real negative results, but good lordy, if we tried to monitor all those details of their lives, I don't know, whether we'd have a school or what we'd have. Did I mention to you the meeting I had with the lady in the elevator here one day? I think I may have. That it's like other students who have come to me after they've left the school. Anyhow, I just got in the little elevator to go down two floors, and she asked me as she got out, "Aren't you Dyke Brown?" I said, "Yes." She said, "Well, I went to your school." And then she explained to me how, through the influence I suspect of a counselor or another adult at the school, she began to think about doing something in a religion. She said, "And my family was not religious, and they didn't care what I did about something like that. And you know, I am now extremely happy, thanks to the Athenian School." [with emotion]

So there are ways in which these little things can happen and make them feel good.

Riess: That counselor system sounds like it was very important.

Brown: Yes. Well, that was very important, and that they got a counselor with whom they're hopefully in some rapport. And I guess they don't all get that.

Riess: I asked you about whether the students came to you with their complaints and questions and things, but what were your other lines of communication with faculty, for instance? Did you have a systematic meeting time?

Brown: Oh, we talked—any one of them—see, we didn't have that many. If any one of them wanted to talk to me about anything, they could, and did. In the first year, or second or third year, there was a man on faculty who had been involved at Tufts in some programs of getting students acquainted with public affairs. We offered him a job, and he wanted to come and live with us, and said he would bring his wife. And he came. Well, it was later determined that it was not his wife, and I felt this was kind of unpleasant, and individual faculty members came to me and said, "You cannot punish him for this, you've got to let him finish this year out." I think they were right. Anyhow, I did let him finish the year out, and then we didn't rehire him.

- Riess: Were your salaries commensurate with other private schools?
- Brown: Oh, I think so, but you'd have to get somebody who is more familiar with the facts and the details of it. Of course, we provided housing, and food for a good many of them, and I don't know, what would you say about our salaries now?
- Dase: They are competitive with other independent schools. And independent schools have caught up with the public schools, but the East Bay schools would not be as high as the San Francisco urban schools, Marin, or the peninsula. They're making progress, but they're still way below other professions.
- Brown: It's really terrible.
- Dase: And it's almost impossible to attract a faculty member to move to the Bay Area unless they can live on campus. It would be unrealistic to expect anybody to move to this area otherwise.
- Brown: It's just too expensive.
- Dase: They couldn't begin to afford to live here.
- Riess: And who negotiated? Did you negotiate the salaries, or were the salaries negotiated with the board of trustees?
- Brown: No, no. The board didn't get into that kind of detail. Although we reported to them. I think the academic dean had quite a role to play in this, because I couldn't be doing everything, and this was a detail that takes careful handling.
- Riess: Did you ever have any kind of uprisings among the faculty, demanding higher salaries, or demanding this or that?
- Brown: No. I had a minority of the faculty I gave you some reports on that last time, and their view of what they felt most important for the school to do was different from what I and the majority of the faculty felt, I mean, that business of planning for a student participation in a parade was about as far as anyone had ever challenged the school, and it had its consequences.
- Riess: I don't know whether I asked you before whether there's a tenure system in the private schools. Were you offering tenure?
- Brown: No, no. Never even occurred to me. Well, I say that flippantly: the employment contracts were renewed each year, and at the beginning, it was the time at which we decided whether individuals were our kind of teacher or not. And then, I don't know whether you still do this, but I remember that when a new candidate had been recommended by the lady who helped the graduates of the Harvard Graduate School of Education, we would not only get acquainted with them and bring them out, but we would ask them maybe to teach a class for a time, or do other things, so that we could really get an idea of what kind of people they were, as far as the kids were concerned.
- Dase: Did the students participate in choosing faculty?

Brown: Yes.

Dase: Still do.

Brown: Well, that's really where the secret weapon of education lies, and I'm just amazed that no more education-wide reforms of this kind have yet to appear.

Riess: How did the students have a voice in who was hired or who stayed? Were there evaluations, a standard evaluation at the end of each course or something?

Brown: Well, you've kind of formalized it from my recollection of how it did work.

Riess: How did it work?

Brown: Well, I think it was just handled on an individual basis. When the time came for extending his contract, we probably talked with the various faculty members, and I don't know. What do you do now?

Dase: It's probably more formal by nature now than it was for you.

Riess: I'm pursuing something perhaps I misunderstood, but I thought that you were agreeing that the students had something to do with determining whether a person was rehired, and I'm asking how the students—did the students fill out evaluations of their own teachers, or what?

Brown: This is more detail than I have any memory of.

Dase: Traditionally, and I think it did start with the early years, at the end of a course, the students fill out classroom evaluations, and those go directly to the teacher after they've submitted all of their grades, at the end of the academic year. They wouldn't have a say whether the teacher was going to be continuing the next year, although if you got a lot of negative comments from those, you would look into it. But it wouldn't be the students directly.

Brown: No, formally, I don't think that would work.

Dase: But in the hiring process, the students interview the candidates. They set up their own questions, their own interview team, and they do the interviewing—they know they're not going to make the decision, but they know that their input is going to be valued immensely.

Brown: I think it went in that way when I was there.

Dase: Every candidate teaches a sample class. Even if it's summer, you get students there, and have a class that occurs, as well as a formal interview with the student interview team. And I think that's from the beginning years of the school.

Riess: So you remember that, the student interview teams, yes.

Brown: You're listening to a better authority on it than I am.

- Riess: Well, one of the things that I take from this is the amount of time that an Athenian student really gave to the governing of the school and to the faculty selections.
- Brown: I would never put it in those kinds of terms, but I would do as I did with respect to the establishment of a community meeting in the selection of someone. Let them work on that process, and then let them do the things that they think are important coming out of that, and if there are things that are serious and make sense, the adults are going to listen to them, but not with a formal system with writing out forms and all that.
- Riess: Yes, okay. I noticed that several of your earliest faculty people were from Friends schools. I wondered whether the accepted traditions of Friends schools were automatically compatible with what you were thinking of.
- Brown: Well, there was a similarity of spirit between what most of the Friends schools were doing and what we were doing, so it was easy to talk about mutual interests.
- Riess: What would be an example that I could understand of the similarity of spirit?
- Brown: Well, Kate and I both had a high regard for the Quakers, and she was a volunteer and worked at their national office down in Philadelphia or someplace. I had visited a number of Quaker schools, and actually, I think the guy who was head of the first campus came from a Quaker school in Philadelphia before he went on to the art college at Broadway and College. I don't know how to answer it really, except that I went out of my way to get a sense of what they do at schools that I thought were interesting things. We weren't very formal about it, but I think if we came on a good idea, we'd see if it made sense for us. The Quaker schools to me seemed to have a much more human interest in the people with whom they were working than many other places that were working in education or whatever. Not that others didn't too, but they're almost generally characterized that way.
- Riess: There's no reason that you should know this, but it makes me curious about whether there is a national kind of curriculum for Quaker schools. Do they think alike from Quaker school to Quaker school?
- Brown: My impression would be that they wouldn't, but I don't really know. I mean, I think they had their own individualities, but all of them had a pretty good human base.
- Dase: Very committed to process. That it's not always the product but it's the process.
- Brown: Yes, that's a good point.
- Dase: Sort of lots of committees and lots of talking things out. It's a lot more time.
- Brown: But there's nothing that is more important for the human relationships between those people than having it.
- Dase: Exactly. And for teenagers.
- Brown: Yes. And they don't always have this.

- Riess: Well, it sounds like a school where you would learn to articulate, and stand up and speak your piece, which is something I never did in high school, and I would love to have learned that. I would love to have had to have done that. Was there a lot of public speaking that grew out of the curriculum?
- Brown: I don't think particularly so. We didn't send messengers out into the community or that sort of thing.
- Riess: Well, I don't mean that, I mean—rhetoric classes, and just standing in front of the classroom and performing, learning how to do that.
- Brown: Oh, I can remember students doing that and performing, sometimes critically.
- Dase: In all of your morning meetings—all of the morning meetings are student-run.
- Riess: We've talked a little bit about music, and a little bit about the outdoor program. What about the arts?
- Brown: Just as important as music.
- Riess: And what kind of art programs did you offer?
- Brown: Well, we had lots of things going on. I'm not sure I could describe it adequately, but I remember the teachers who we had, and they were vigorously involved in their own programs. (To Dase) Who do we have as art teachers now?
- Dase: There is a lot in the visual arts, and you had that man, Carmen Divivi, wasn't he an artist?
- Brown: Yeah, Carmen Divivi!
- Dase: And you had a lot of drama, because I can remember alums talking about doing all their own productions from those early years. In addition to formal plays, putting on all their own plays. That's what they did at night, they said some of them stayed up all night writing plays.
- Brown: Carmen Divivi didn't like what we were doing wholly, as I remember.
- Dase: I don't know anything about it, just the name popped up.
- Brown: I inevitably had to give priority to a lot of tasks which related to the building of the additional dormitories and the physical structure and its functioning and all that. I didn't have the liberty of just sitting in my office and talking to students and faculty, although I did a certain amount of it.
- Dase: But you had to do so much of the other.
- Riess: Your paper, "Can We Go on Victimizing Our Young?" as you say, you live in the midst of a hundred-odd teenage boys and girls, and you talked about how it's more trying than anything you anticipated. And in a way, you really sound pretty angry at a lot of points in this paper.

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- Riess: You felt those feelings.
- Brown: I think it comes through in those articles to a certain extent. If I could wave a wand, I would wave it in the direction of a major change in our high school education, and probably below and above that. Because it's just missing, and it's become a bore or even a dislike to a lot of students, and many of the students are not finding the connections between what they're being asked to do and what they think about in life. I'm still angry.
- Riess: Well, when you were thinking about it out there at the school, were you joined in your concern by the faculty? Did they see it the same way?
- Brown: When I was writing a piece like that, "Can We Go on Victimizing Our Young," I wrote it as my own thoughts. I'm sure we may well have had discussions or reactions, but I didn't circulate that around to the whole faculty or anything like that. I mean, these were very strong personal views, and they're still there.
- Riess: Were there ways that you involved yourself with developing the curriculum—I mean, I know that the experiential rather than just the traditional classroom approach? Did you participate with the faculty in working through their curricula?
- Brown: I deliberately decided that that was not something that I should do, because I saw what happened in Verde Valley. I think I told you this before, maybe. When the head who founded the school with his own ideas and so forth, retired and they hired other heads, he moved back into the house that he owned on the campus, and three headmasters in turn tried leading while he was living on campus and gave up. I wasn't interested in running a school just for the fun of running a school. I was trying to find out what happened to the development of the young people in that school and how much potential there was for growth and, therefore, social characteristics and so forth. So that's quite different than having a fixation about running a school, which I didn't have.
- Dase: Just a follow-up question: the person that you hired as an academic dean was probably somebody that you knew was going to be compatible with the belief in the mandala and the experiential aspects of the students' growth. And so you probably hired somebody to whom you could delegate, and then stepped out of the way.
- Brown: I made some major mistakes in that. You remember the dean we had the first year?
- Dase: No, and I think you've mentioned that story. I can't help but think that you're minimizing your role. I am sure they knew what your ideals were, and that those ideals were important to permeate the curriculum and the program.
- Brown: I don't think I had any reluctance about talking about those.
- Dase: Exactly—well, and look what's on the paper [mandala].
- Brown: We sat down on that and pored over it, and they got more of a kick out of that, and interested in it. I wasn't going to save it, but they rescued it and put it on the wall. So I don't know, it must have had some effect.

- Riess: Let's get this mandala and look at it.
- Brown: That piece of paper you just put down, Eleanor, has a quote taken off of the big chart, and it's much easier to read. In a way, it's a better statement, easier to read than those things are.
- Riess: Well, this says, "Statements taken from a large chart on the Athenian School, developed around 1972," and the large chart is called familiarly the mandala. That's the term that the school has come to use.
- Brown: I've never used that.
- Dase: It's just a more formal name for our matrix.
- Riess: And Eleanor, is this like dogma for the school, or what is this?
- Dase: No, I don't think it's dogma, but I think it's assumed. So for example, if somebody is asking about it, there's arts—understanding self and others, there's a sector here that has that. And so if you look, self-insight, insight in relationships with others, development of emotional maturity, self-confidence, ability to direct self—that's a huge driving force of what the school tries to do with students, that discovery of self, and then down here, Dyke has it, it's interesting, he has bull sessions: "Vietnam"—is that Vietnam?—"seminar."
- Brown: Maybe.
- Dase: Looks like it. "Counseling sessions, formal and informal." "Project community sessions," so lots of community service. And then down there—"literature and poetry, relevant to society." "Outward Bound." "Central committee." "Dormitory life." So all of those emerge, and that's still very much the same.
- Riess: How did you put this together, Dyke?
- Brown: We were just sitting working there—what I wanted to do was to give a specific overall example of how we were considering many things beyond the traditional curriculum. This circles, one set of them, it's got the names of the disciplines which fall within that area. And one of these sections is describing the ways in which courses are used for the furtherance of that objective, and then an enormous amount of things are described which are just life activities, but which are furthering the same purpose. There are seven different groups of courses that I figured we needed.
- Riess: And the seven groups that you have on this paper are psychology—social psychology, and literature is encompassed under social psychology.
- Dase: Right, understanding of self and others is under that heading.
- Brown: Right. The name of each one of these is in a little box there.
- Riess: Physical education, outdoor education, mountaineering.
- Brown: Because we sent them up to Death Valley, where it's hot, and then they had to go up to the top of the mountains where it's freezing, and they had to be able to hike, and they had to be

able to get along with ailments. My granddaughter hurt her foot when she went on Outward Bound in one of the first few days of the hiking, and the patrol leader said, “Oh, that’s all right, it’ll be all right.” Her father is a doctor, and when she got back, he had her x-rayed and she’d broken her foot. [with emotion] You know, that’s quite something.

- Riess: Yes. Actually, did you have any disabled students in the early days?
- Brown: I think we did. To remember them specifically—you know, that’s terrible, my memory just doesn’t help me.
- Riess: And now?
- Dase: It’s a challenge because of the physical terrain. But we have had small numbers that have done amazingly well. We had a student who had very serious physical challenges who insisted on going. We said, “Oh, no, you’re excused from the wilderness course, you do not need to go,” and he said, “Oh, but I am going to go.” So they designed parts of it for him to do.
- Brown: That’s great.
- Dase: But the hope is, I mean, even if a student is injured in a basketball game, they can’t get around campus very easily, it’s so spread out. So golf carts help, but it’s a challenging campus for students with physical challenges.
- Riess: Yes. And in any kind of upgrading, you have to correct that
- Dase: We do, oh absolutely, absolutely. Yes. And we would love to have more. I mean, I think it would be great. Absolutely.
- Brown: It’s good for the other students too—
- Dase: Oh! It’s wonderful. And they get along beautifully, those that we’ve had.
- Riess: Big section of religion, ethics, aesthetics, literature, poetry, art, design, music, drama, dance. And how does that play out?
- Dase: Aesthetic and spiritual capabilities. Understanding and appreciation of the arts and of the role of spiritual values and human life.
- Brown: I’m going to try to get this thing copyrighted, I hope I’ll succeed.
- Dase: Understanding of nature—see, but the whole thing is the relationship here, it’s of self, and then of society. So it all ties in to that thesis of yours, Dyke, or at least I see it as that thesis of yours that is, if you gain confidence in yourself and awareness of self, then you have the confidence of reaching out as a pro-social human being to society, to other men, to mankind, to nature.
- Brown: Yes. And these are things which you rarely find in the formal program of a public high school. I mean, they don’t even talk about those things.

- Riess: Yes. Well, just the very shape of this is kind of anathema to the usual linear thinking.
- Dase: Right, but if you saw the curriculum guide, it would be much more linear now, because of course, it has to adhere to the University of California. But within any of those—I mean, the wilderness course, or within the seminar system, your literature course wouldn't be junior English. It would be poetry of the century, or where they talk about the themes of focus here.
- Riess: How does, where does this “yoga-meditation” business come in?
- Dase: It only comes in now instead of regular P.E. classes. The P.E.'s are life physical education. So a student can opt to do yoga as their P.E. class. Otherwise, the only place, and it wouldn't be yoga, where that would come in would be when we have the whole school come together twice a year, and usually there's a moment of quiet during that time. When 9/11 happened, the whole school came together and had five minutes of silence, rather than a minute. Because there are so many different views that when you can't engage in a discussion, you respond I think with respect for each person. So I don't know—you must have had much more moments, many more moments of quiet in those early years.
- Brown: Oh, I think we had a little. [laughs] I think quiet's a good thing.
- Dase: But the nature too, I think just the setting of the campus is so powerful, not so much when the students are there but when they come back. When an alum comes back. Just last week somebody came back, and they said, “I feel like I'm home.” You know, there's something about that campus that just draws you.
- Brown: Well, all the things that happened there included many meaningful things for an individual, and that's the heart of education.
- Riess: You tried to give them a more gritty experience by having the San Francisco campus?
- Brown: Yes, that really worked, but that's pretty hard, and took money, and was not easy.
- Dase: When did you decide to sell that Urban Center?
- Riess: First, how did it begin? [laughs]
- Dase: Okay, sorry.
- Brown: It began by my hiring a guy from Stanford who was really very good, (or maybe he was from Harvard.) We got a house, and we invited the students who wanted to take a term or more there to write out what it was they wanted to do. I think we helped them and they got help from other people too, in getting into a bank, or whatever type of organization it was that they wanted to understand more fully. I mean, it's kind of a pioneering field. I met the president of Pomona the other day at lunch here with one of our residents [who] has been a strong supporter, and he came up with his wife, and we were talking about this, and I described some of the things that we had tried at The Athenian School, including my course on the constitution and all of that. I said I sometimes had feelings that I was stealing time from very important things by including these other programs, and I didn't know how far the school ought to go in doing that. And yet I had some examples of the tremendous

effect on students—the one who went out and worked in the public defender’s office and so forth.

But I asked him, the president of Pomona, what he thought about this idea, and how far an educational institution should go in making this available. I think he indicated what would probably be the feeling of most heads of colleges or universities. He said, “Well, we got a bigger car to go into Los Angeles, which is a long way away, and it’s hard for the kids to go to, but now they can get there more early.” But you know, it’s that sort of thing that is feasible. Maybe it’s not feasible to do as much of it now, but we’re still doing some, aren’t we, at Athenian? Yes. Well, I hope it continues.

Dase: But I sure wish we’d held on to that Urban Center. Do you remember what you paid for that home?

Brown: No. The guy that I hired was all set to work there the next fall, but he double-crossed me on very short notice and took a position at Harvard. And that really knocked us out, because we didn’t have anybody to substitute for him. We only had about one or so good years there, I think. Maybe more, but it never had a chance to go as far, and I don’t know—

Dase: Then did the board decide to sell that piece of property?

Brown: Well, I always took up anything of that major proportion with the board, but I think I must have proposed that we get rid of it, that we couldn’t handle it.

Dase: Yes. Well, each of those major enterprises is a huge expense.

Brown: Yes, no question about it.

Riess: What other sorts of field trip things could you put together? You had the wilderness experience and the San Francisco campus.

Brown: Did I give you a copy of my paper on using experience to enhance learning? That’s got all the examples of what we tried and what we thought about trying, as of that time, anyway.

Riess: I was actually wondering, did the whole school get a trip to Paris, or the like?

Brown: Well, we took quite a number of students to Washington at one point. But—and we sent some up to an island in between Siberia and Alaska. We sent them down to dig in some place down in Mexico. I mean, I thought those were quite adventurous.

Dase: They were.

Brown: We had them up digging with the guy who took his boat into Drake’s Bay and ran it aground? Anyhow, we had a program up there, because that’s a fairly well documented event.

Riess: You mean where the coin was found?

Brown: No, no, where the boat actually came in and grounded itself, and then what went on, and I thought it was a wonderful thing to get a whole lesson in history, because it brought them all together.

Riess: This is sort of a fun question—if you had had like another hundred thousand dollars, what programs would you have wanted to do, what other things would you have very much wished to have done at Athenian? Let's give you a million, two million.

Brown: Well, I never think that way really. [laughter]

Dase: But you do, because what do you want more than anything? Still now?

Brown: Well, right now, I would get a large enough grant to ask several of the better schools of education in the country to develop a program based on what education ought to be for these youngsters. And there are teachers working on this, and they do know how to do it. And in Japan, for example, you see a marvelous example of this. This is done by the national government, which the teachers are all a part of, and they're all paid very well, and they're highly respected. And if a teacher says something to a mother, she listens. And if I could do one thing, it would be to try to create that type of a situation someplace with a school of education and other high schools which would want to have teachers prepare. It would be a big undertaking and it would take a long time, but that's what I would do.

Riess: Yes.

Brown: And I don't have enough years left to do that, so I'll just have to write what I think should be done.

Riess: Which you'll do very well, and I can see that that's where your heart is. But I was wondering if there was anything in the early, the first decade, where you were really stymied by lack of money.

Brown: Well, we were always stymied to a certain extent, because we were never able to give as many scholarships as we said we would. And that's still a real problem. I mean, money is a problem in the private school business. My daughter Susan has been very active in the Athenian board, in recruiting board members and in also getting the funds needed to do some of the things that they want to do.

Riess: Because board members have the deep pockets.

Brown: Not all my board members have deep pockets, but some of them do.

Riess: Have you gotten a good degree of involvement from Blackhawk now, in the school?

Brown: From Blackhawk?

Riess: Yes, I mean, it's such a local and well-heeled community.

Brown: Oh, well, we've had quite a number of families who have applied, and maybe sent their kids to Athenian.

- Riess: And so have they become a strong part of the board?
- Dase: They have been, but they're not a dominant part. The board is about a third alumni, about a third parents of alumni—so some of those are from Blackhawk; they're from all over the Bay Area. And then about a third current parents. Actually we have a strong number from Diablo, the country club, from which you got students originally. We have quite a strong student population coming from there.
- Riess: What do you mean, "the country club from which you got students originally?"
- Dase: The Diablo Country Club is right across the street—a very old community. It was the only residential area in Danville, an unincorporated area.
- Brown: Don't you live there now?
- Dase: No, I live on campus, but the post office is there—it's all one and the same. It's a social residential geographic area all defined.
- Brown: Oh, I thought maybe you had moved when I saw your address.
- Dase: No.
- Riess: So families from Diablo sent their children to Athenian?
- Dase: Going to those coffee gatherings, Dyke actually got families living in Diablo to board their students, because they knew they wanted the experience. That's how convincing you were.
- Brown: Yes. We had a lot of suspicion that we were going to be a pain to them to begin with, and bringing all of these funny-colored people back to live across the street from them. But it turned out all right.
- Dase: But yes, the Blackhawk Country Club community does send us students now. The goal I think for the school is to make sure there's always a compatibility between the family and the school, and that they're sending their children there for this set of values.
- Riess: That's very true. So how do you do that?
- Dase: You articulate it over and over again.
- Riess: Your brochures do?
- Dase: Yes, hopefully. I mean, we still have one. It's different than that first one, but hopefully it really embodies the mission statement. The open houses are very different than others. We still go to homes every year, just because that's what Dyke did but we don't go to 100. We got to one in each of the major areas.
- Brown: That's good.
- Dase: And we have anybody who's interested come, so that you could have more personal conversation. So, of course, the competition for and the thoughts about college are first and

foremost with today's families, but this kind of education actually prepares them, not just for college, but it really prepares them for life, and college is just on that path for a fulfilling life.

Brown: That's curious, but they really have life all of this time, don't they? [laughter]

Riess: That's really quite marvelous. We can't have her [Dase] summing things up, though; we have to have you summing things up.

Brown: Well, I can't do it anywhere near the way she can do it.

Dase: What did you hope most for every student who graduated from Athenian, Dyke, when you were there?

Brown: What did I hope most? Well, I guess I wanted them to get on the path to doing whatever was typed out in that thing, and understand that that's what was happening, and that it was the intention of the school to create conditions and bring together faculty people who would help that to happen. And you know, the project which I originally proposed at the request of the Hewlett Foundation, and that Eric Schaps is now the head of, and it's been going for, oh, my gosh, twenty years nearly, but their research is clear on one thing, and that is that the key to involving the students and their own lives in what the goals of the school are. It's the factor that makes for a success, and that is whether the students and the teachers care about what's happening, and where the students feel that they care about them, there's no end to what they'll do. [with emotion]

I felt like I had to hold down some of these students in the first year who were working in my law course, they were just working so hard. They were reading all the cases and they had to brief those cases. I read their work and gave them corrections on it, and then we discussed it, and they decided that they wouldn't take me up and hide me up on the top of Mt. Diablo in order to get something that they wanted at the school.

Riess: [laughs] Yes, that sounds like it was a great and memorable class. Did somebody continue that?

Brown: It really takes a lawyer, I think.

Dase: Our librarian is an attorney, before he became a librarian. It's not quite the same class, but it touches on some of those same things, they do a lot of cases.

Brown: Well, I look forward to getting acquainted with him, because I'm going to be very much interested in the growing archive that I'm going to give to the school.

Dase: We'll ask him to come for lunch that day.

Brown: Okay.

Riess: Does Dyke come back and speak at the school periodically?

Dase: Dyke's coming. He's not speaking, but he's coming. He likes to come.

- Brown: I like to come, but I don't like to make speeches. I don't mind getting up and saying something occasionally.
- Riess: Dyke, would you read this statement which you say would be the answer to my question, "The Role of the Athenian School."
- Brown: I would put in parallel with this, a part of what's said in the thing, "A message from Dyke Brown, Director, Goals of the Athenian School." It has a little biography of me, but it also takes up, "This is the kind of person our nation and the world needs, and this is the goal of The Athenian School. It is not enough to be concerned with the scholarly excellence of our students alone. The values and purposes to which their well-trained minds will be committed are of equal importance. The major decisions and actions of their lives will be based on—[end of session] [quote continues:] ideals and goals which take fundamental form during adolescence. As one member of our Advisory Board has said, 'In judging a school, I would want to know first what its graduates care most about ... for what a school values, its students will tend to believe is important.'"

Dyke Brown's Mandala

In organizing the ideas that he wanted to incorporate in a new school, Dyke used a structure that came to be called "the Mandala." As a circle with levels radiating out from the center, it intuitively conveyed the interrelated nature of the wide range of what he wanted to incorporate into the educational experience – as wide a range, really, as that of the human experience. He added to the diagram over time, and eventually had a quite large sheet of paper that left him room to add new embellishments as they came to him.

For purposes of this book, we were able to obtain a photocopy of the Mandala at a 18" by 24" size, and much of the writing on it verges on unreadable. Nevertheless, this diagram is Athenian's equivalent of the "drawing on the napkin" – the place where the ideas that formed Athenian were first laid down in writing in one place. We felt we had to try and include it in the book. Reproduction (as you can see) has been problematic, but you can see the form of it. After squinting hard and scratching my head a lot, I think I have deciphered most of the writing on it, and I present it below.

The Mandala is divided into seven sections, each representing an understanding that Dyke wanted to be sure that Athenian addressed. Many particulars are addressed by scheduled classes, but Dyke realized that other experiences were possible in the Athenian environment, were important to achieve his aims, and should be thought of and planned for, so those are listed too. The most prominent of these outside-the-classroom experiences to emerge over time is the Athenian Wilderness Experience, whose initial predecessor was the Outward Bound program, which Athenian utilized from 1969 to 1974, at which time AWE started.

Rather than present the information in circular form, it is listed in outline form, with the numbered headings representing the seven segments of the Mandala. The text then is generally listed in the order it was written on the Mandala, starting on the outside ring and working towards the middle.

[Box on the upper left of the Mandala] *The Goal of The Athenian School* is to foster the continuing growth of each student across the entire range of his capacities, and more particularly to facilitate his development in each of the seven interrelated areas shown here – with the objective of helping him along the road towards becoming a mature and integrated human being.

[Box in lower right of the Mandala] *The word Understanding* is used here to encompass not only cognitive comprehension but also emotional and aesthetic evocation as well. The goal is to create a source of wonder, awe and inspiration, in parallel with functional knowledge and intellectual grasp.

1. Understanding of Self and Others

- (Self-insight, insight into relations with others, development of emotional maturity, self-confidence, ability to direct self, to work independently, to follow his curiosity and control impulses; understanding and concern for others, ability to work as one of a group and to participate in group decision-making; confidence of ability to effect change, understanding of role

of work and ability to explore different work and other roles, openness in expression of ideas and feelings; understanding of role of sex and of opposite sex; freedom from prejudice and stereotypical judgments; capacity to assume responsibilities, openness to new experiences and further learning, etc.)

Ability to lead others and mobilize them for community ends and to initiate and carry through community actions.

- *Psychology, Social Psychology (Literature)*
- Psychology or Social Psychology seminar
 - “Women” seminars
 - Counseling sessions (formal or informal)
 - Bull sessions
 - Sex sessions (e.g. Julie Haggard, Dr. Knowles)
 - Project community sessions
 - Yoga – meditation
 - Some kinds of literature and poetry
 - Outward Bound
 - Central community
 - Dorm life and government
 - Diary keeping
 - Student teaching
 - Experiences – group and single – utilized as material for writing

2. Bodily Capability

- Understanding of physical self and needs, good health, nutrition, need for exercise, sleep, etc.; ability to use body well in games and outdoor activities, capabilities and skills in use of hands, etc.
- *Physical education, outdoor education, mountaineering*
- Yoga
- Exercising
 - Games
 - Fasting
 - Dieting (eating experiments)
 - Sleeping
 - Out of doors activities
 - Hiking, swimming, tennis, mountaineering, etc. camping

3. Aesthetic and Spiritual Capabilities

- Understanding and appreciation of all the arts and of the role of spiritual values in human life, and development of one’s individual capabilities to express artistic, musical and spiritual feeling through playing an instrument, singing, acting, dancing, writing poetry and philosophy, meditating; understanding of the human spirit and its manifestation in religion, philosophy, ethics, art, drama and poetry

- *Religion, Ethics, Aesthetics, Art, Music, Drama, Literature, Poetry*
- Courses and seminars in history and/or theory (in art, music, etc.)
 - Appreciation courses
 - Courses and seminars in any of the above listed courses (Religion, Ethics, etc)
- Listening, worshipping, concerts, dance recitals, plays, art exhibits, S.F. museums
- Church attendance, acting, performing on instruments or in ensembles – singing, dancing.
- Doing art, painting, drawing, composing music – choreography – writing plays, poems, essays.

4. Understanding of Nature

- Origins and nature of universe – stars, solar system, earth, oceans, mountains, animals and plants
- *Astronomy, Geology, Earth Science, Biology, Chemistry, Physics*
- Reading, courses or seminars in any of subjects [listed above]. To date Athenian has offered ..
[space but no list]
- Some poetry and literature (e.g. Robinson Jeffers), imaginative reconstructions (e.g. Loren Eiseley and his works “Road to Man”, pictorial recreations (Time-Life series)
- Various areas – in field or observatory, digging fossils, sending for and collecting specimens (of rocks, plants, animals). Visits to zoos, zoological gardens, museums, etc. – aquariums, planetariums in S.F. Keeping and raising plants and animals. Communing with nature, living in wild. Hiking – Outward Bound.

5. Understanding of Society

- The nature of power, of social groups, their origin and development, of freedom and authority, of the rise and fall of societies, of government and laws, of the functioning of the economy, the role of production in culture, etc.
- *History, political science, government, Economics, Sociology, Law, International affairs*
- Reading, courses or seminars in any of subjects [listed above]. To date Athenian has offered ..
[space but no list]
- In parallel with literature which recreates an historical scene, e.g. Mary Renault and contain many literature which does the same (e.g. Greek plays), speaking scenes, reading their poetry
- Urban Center. Public defender internships, public affairs. Field work. Half year off “burning”. Washington trip. Visiting and studying in historical sites (Athens, Rome, etc.). Visiting museums (e.g. Olympia, London, Athens) and ruins (e.g. Knossos, Dongga, Ephesus, etc.)

6. Understanding of Man

- Of his evolutionary development from other forms of life, the growth and character of mind, the invention of tools, domestication of plants and animals, development of communities, beginnings of culture, invention of writing, nature of language, rise and fall of cultures, understanding of comparative cultures, etc.
- *Paleontology, Archeology, Cultural, Foreign languages, linguistics*
- Fictional recreations (e.g. Lord of the Flies author), imaginative scientific recreations (e.g.

Berrill's Man's Emerging Mind), historical recreations (Time Life)

- Visiting archeological sites, museums with artifacts, reconstruction of evolutionary develop (e.g. New York's Museum of Natural History), e.g. S.F. Academy of Science showing evolutionary adaptation on Galapagos Islands. Living in a foreign culture, learning its language, people, customs, etc.
- Field trip visits to non-western cultures: Hopi, Navajo, Mexican, Eskimo

7. Rational Ability, in thoughts, words and symbols

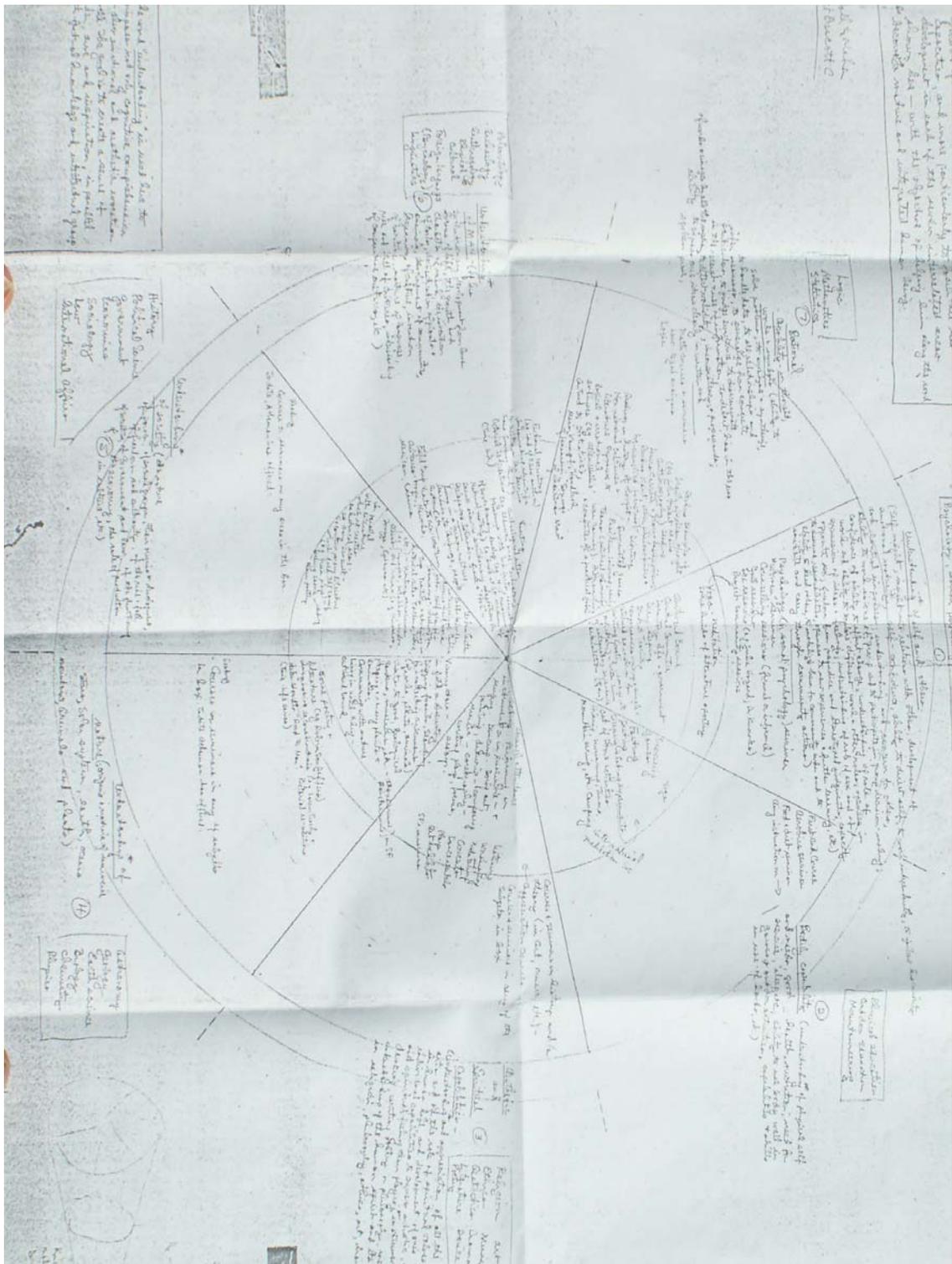
- Ability to solve problems, to analyze and synthesize, to handle data, to see relationships and infer meanings, to generalize from concrete particulars, to judge evidence, to discriminate in the receipt and use of information, to detect bias in the use of words and images by all the media, to detect validity, inconsistency and propaganda, ability to express one's ideas clearly in written and spoken prose.

- *Logic, mathematics, statistics*

- Math courses and seminars. Law, legal analysis, logic

- Reading examples of beauty of clean thought (e.g. John Stuart Mills autobiography), reading Lewis Carroll and doing logic problems, Reading Kant and other philosophers and logicians (e.g. Lucretius) – reading in history of thought – non-rational cultures and literature. Exposure to logical and irrational analyses (e.g. Allen Wallis' Context to Statistics), Mein Kampf, "Handbook of Leninism", "Sayings of Chairman Mao"

- Debating, simulated games, problem solving, using teams (political gaming, war gaming), programming a computer for a practical job.



Dyke Brown's Mandala