DR. ARTHUR C. ROGERS

Pioneer Leader in Minnesota's Program for the Mentally Retarded

By Mildred Thomson
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FOREWORD

To be working for the mentally retarded in the decade of the 1960's is exciting and rewarding. Public interest in retardation is widespread and genuine; there is increasing support at all levels of government for studies into causes and treatment; and there are large numbers of young and well-trained professionals who are entering the field and attacking problems with intelligence and dedication.

But working for the mentally retarded can also be frustrating. Our knowledge of retardation is painfully limited; yet new knowledge is outpacing our ability to improve programs of prevention and treatment. Particularly frustrating to us in Minnesota has been our inability to change the state's huge warehouse, custodial care institutions into centers of training and treatment where the retarded could improve rather than regress.

Because we so often—and accurately—describe these institutions as "outdated" or "archaic," we perhaps lead ourselves and others to assume that the past is solely a burden. Yet the truth is that for many years Minnesota was one of the exemplary states in her care of the mentally retarded, and that the progress now being made is due partly to the humanity and foresight of one of her pioneer leaders, Dr. Arthur C. Rogers.

Dr. Rogers was superintendent of Minnesota's School for the Feebleminded (as it was then called) at Faribault from 1885 through 1916. During these years the institution was the total state program for the retarded, encompassing all planning, research, and service. Working without the benefit of widespread public or professional interest, and without recent advances in the sciences, Dr. Rogers was concerned throughout his years at Faribault with the welfare of the retarded and with the search for greater understanding. His humanity, his inquiring mind, and his continuing efforts to improve Faribault's program mark him as exceptional among the institution superintendents of his time.

This brief account of Dr. Rogers' years at Faribault is written by a woman who also, like Dr. Rogers, devoted a long and excellent career to the retarded. Miss Mildred Thomson served as head of the program for the mentally retarded and epileptic for the state department of public welfare for 35 years. After her retirement in 1959 she worked voluntarily for the Minnesota Archives, sorting and classifying records from the institutions for the retarded. From the Archives material Miss Thomson prepared this sketch.

It is the hope of the author and of the publisher, the Minnesota Association for Retarded Children, that this account will stimulate the interest of scholars in using the Archives material for a thorough investigation of the early years of Minnesota's program. It is also our hope that the pamphlet will provide some recognition of Dr. Rogers' contributions. Not only do present generations of Minnesotans owe him gratitude; but in those early years of the century when mental retardation meant fear and shame and isolation, he made life for countless numbers of children and adults much kinder, much less harsh, than it otherwise might have been.

Gerald Walsh
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AUTHOR'S NOTE

This sketch is made using only material brought from Faribault State School and Hospital several years ago by the Minnesota Department of Archives. It is limited—except in the Introduction—to the period of September 1885-1916, the years Dr. Arthur C. Rogers was superintendent. It is also limited to four fields of major interest and concern, and even these are not exhaustively treated. The fields are: (1) Definition of "feebleminded" (the term for mental retardation at that time), basic concepts in the sciences, and philosophy concerning the retarded's place in society; (2) Institution Program, including general training and recreation; (3) Relationships with the community, public officials, and others concerned with the retarded; and (4) Research.

Only a small portion of the material available was reviewed, and of that reviewed, a very small portion was used. Until March 1905, copies of outgoing mail were kept in Letter Books, and all of these were skimmed. Prior to 1901, the material was classified in eleven categories. Only one, General Administration, was used. It included incoming mail, reports, etc. Also used were boxes of Unbound Material and a Diary, begun in 1891 and probably kept by Dr. Rogers' secretary. In 1901 the Board of Control came into existence, and in 1910 a Research Department was established. The records of these two departments were added to the material reviewed.

INTRODUCTION

When one reviews the material, letters, reports, and other documents accumulated at the Minnesota School for the Feebleminded at Faribault from 1879 through 1916, one is struck with the fact that in Dr. Arthur C. Rogers, the school's superintendent from 1885 to 1916, Minnesota had a leader. Dr. Rogers was a part of every organization that had an interest in the group which was the focus of his life work—whether medical, educational, social, psychological or genetic. More often than not he was an officer of the organization and was responsible for its programs. He also served as chairman of special committees whose formation he often had sponsored. The letters received and written show that others relied on him for leadership. In general the ideas and philosophy he espoused were based on the knowledge and attitudes of that day, although he was dissatisfied with many of the latter.

Perhaps the most basic and widespread attitudes concerned individual welfare and social responsibility. Few questioned the employment of people for $20 or $30—or less—a month and requiring them to work twelve or fourteen hours a day for a six or six-and-a-half day week. Nor did many people advocate expansion of social welfare programs. There are at least two examples that indicate that Dr. Rogers accepted an attitude toward social responsibility that seems harsh today. In December 1895 he helped one of his housekeepers place her children in an institution. He asked the assistance of Mr. G. E. Merrill, superintendent at Owatonna State School, as the children were ages twelve, ten and eight and therefore hard to place. The fact that a mother unable to support her children must give them up seemed to be accepted without question.

In August 1899 Dr. Rogers, as chairman of a committee on the program for the Minnesota Conference of Charities and Corrections, explained his choice of a title for a paper on Shifting Responsibility from the Individual to the State. "The thought is that people should maintain their own independence as far as possible instead of trying to shift their individual responsibility upon the state." The interpretation of "as far as possible" is crucial to the meaning, of course,
but one feels that the interpretation by Dr. Rogers and others is
the basis of his opinion that the higher grade inmates should support
themselves in the institution by their work.

The question of an eight hour day for employees came up as
early as 1896. But as late as 1912 Dr. Rogers insisted it could not
apply to permanent personnel of the institution, though he also
stated that low salaries and hard work made it difficult to get
good employees.

That Dr. Rogers was held in high esteem is indicated in a number
of letters he received. As early as 1891 the musical magazine
Orpheus insisted on having an article by him, because "the use of
music in your school is such a wonderful working factor." In 1893, Dr.
Arthur Sweeney, a St. Paul specialist, wrote: "You are doing a great
work and I must congratulate you on your success."

On July 28, 1906, Dr. Walter Fernald, superintendent of an out­
standing institution in Massachusetts, wrote after a visit: "Your
school is the best planned, best equipped and in my opinion, the
best managed institution for the feebleminded in the world. I have
visited all the best of them and that is my honest opinion."

In May of 1910, Dr. Velura E. Powell, director of a private school
in Iowa, wrote, "I cannot begin to tell you how much my visit to the
institution has meant to me, how much of an inspiration you and
your splendid work has been." And in September 1912, Dr. J. B.
Miner, head of the psychology department of the University of
Minnesota, wrote, "When the human touch is combined with scien­
tific insight as it is in your institution, the result is really wonderful."

Public relations with the community were established and gifts
were sent for Christmas. The House of Hope Sunday School of St.
Paul was the earliest named as sending a Christmas box. On January
1, 1883 the children gave a public entertainment which was a great
success. Dr. Knight reported it had "accomplished the object for
which it was given, in brightening and interesting the children, and
impressing upon the general public the fact that something could
be done in a school for imbeciles besides feeding and clothing the
inmates who it is popularly supposed must all be degraded and
repulsive because of their peculiar condition."

Perhaps because of pressure for economy, Dr. Knight had sug­
gested farming as a money making project. The boys could do the
work under one farmer and the surplus raised could be sold to other
institutions. Indeed, while the welfare of the children received at­
tention, the financial aspect of an activity was stressed. For example,
Dr. Knight, in his report to the board on adding hammered brass
to the activity program, said that this instruction provided "effective
work in training the eye and hands and developing the energies," and also, "though of less importance," it was a money-maker, as the articles were sold.

The emphasis on economic aspects was also shown in a letter in January, 1885. Apparently justifying the cost of the training program for the children, he stated it was "designed to fit them to become so far self-supporting as to relieve the state of the burden of their support."

Without doubt Dr. Knight was proud of the achievements of the children; he entered some specimen of their work in an educational exhibit at the New Orleans Exposition.

Thus far had a program developed before Dr. Knight resigned.

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DR. ROGERS' ADMINISTRATION:
The Early Years ~ 1885-1901

Dr. Rogers became superintendent September 1, 1885. While Dr. Knight was superintendent it probably had been determined that when the institution was enlarged, the less bright children, "custodial" as they were then called, would be received. This policy was stated by Dr. Rogers within a few days after he became superintendent. By the end of 1886 Dr. Rogers listed three groups who composed the population: (1) public school repeaters (2) epileptics (3) "children farthest down in the scale of mentality who are blighting the happiness of hundreds of families." The pressure to accept more and more children, especially from this latter group, caused overcrowding which was criticized by the Board of Health.

Dr. Rogers accepted Dr. Knight's program as basic and something to build upon. He was more concerned, however, with classification and defining groups. This was made necessary by the rapid increase of population. By December 1887 there were 167 children. In reports to his Board and to the Department of Public Instruction and in letters during the next several years Dr. Rogers stressed classification. The population—called "children" regardless of age—was divided into two general groups: (1) the training school for those capable of being taught in academic or industrial subjects, and (2) the home, or custodial department, which included idiots, unimprovable imbeciles, juvenile insane, epileptics under treatment, and adult imbeciles too old to be profitably kept in the training school. In 1888 Dr. Rogers described the last group as adult male imbeciles, bright enough to do a man's work, but needing constant supervision, or adult females acting as a medium for the reproduction of imbecility.

The training department would include many who could become self-supporting—in, or perhaps out, of the institution—if taught by methods adapted to their comprehension. Dr. Rogers stressed, therefore, the industrial work where the children "are unconsciously receiving physiological training and developing character and self-respect in the production of tangible results of handicraft." By 1888
he was advising that "distinct colonies for various purposes for the sake of better classification and more economical care" be organized.

Dr. Rogers thought that only a small percentage of the training group could ever maintain themselves independently. As late as 1903 this was estimated as 10 per cent. He thought that many who remained in the institution for life could be trained to contribute to the upkeep of the institution, or in some cases return to their own homes under supervision. In 1903 he estimated this group as 25 per cent. With this in mind many years earlier, in 1890, he had recommended to the Board that a "colony" be established for farm workers. The colony became a basic part of the institution program, and the reasons for it were expressed clearly in 1899 by Dr. Rogers when he said that it was "exceedingly desirable in the interest of the public and much better for individual cases themselves, to keep the adults under state supervision during their lifetime—at least in most cases." There should be ample lands "upon which adults can be colonized from the parent institution, where their labor can be utilized in farming, gardening, etc."

The need for permanent placement in the institution was based on two concepts that Dr. Rogers expressed frequently. One was the belief that the mental condition of the feebleminded was permanent, and the other was the strong belief that many of the feebleminded created a high percentage of social problems. An expression of the first is in a letter to a minister in 1892: "the child whose mind is feeble never becomes normal—it is simply a question of greater or less development." The second was perhaps not expressed so clearly until January 1901. It embodied the need for legal guardianship. At this time a girl had been removed over his protests, and he wrote, "I have repeatedly asked for legislation that would allow us to get hold of some suitable tribunal and obtain life guardianship of such cases where the home influences are such that any right-minded judge would quickly authorize such action in the interest of the child."

Laws to prevent marriage of the feebleminded—and others—and laws providing for sterilization were under discussion over the country. Dr. Rogers showed caution in these areas. One of the writers for the St. Paul Pioneer Press wrote him in 1899 regarding a marriage bill which might be introduced in the legislature. Although interested in such a bill, Dr. Rogers wrote: "The point that will not be easy to determine, as we all understand, is the line where feeble-mindedness ends and normal-mindedness begins."

In 1897 he received a questionnaire on sterilization. There is no specific expression of his opinion, but he did state that he did not believe any person eligible for the institution should ever become a parent. Yet as late as 1911 he was not in favor of introducing a bill providing for sterilization, his attitude apparently based on what he thought the public reaction would be.

The institution program developed by Dr. Rogers was based on his concepts of the feebleminded and their needs. Perhaps his ideas of what attributes a teacher should have indicate his ideals and goals and contributed to the success of the program. In 1890 he wrote to an employment agency concerning a teacher for calisthenics and general instruction. "The applicant should be a good musician, able to originate original calisthenic figures. She should have enthusiasm, energy, sympathy, kindness together with vigor and power to control. She should be light-hearted and jolly but with dignity to command respect. There should be loyalty, candor, congeniality, good health and physical endurance—and the general qualifications of a lady."

He inaugurated a "coordinate plan of training," a system permitting the child to alternate between school and manual training, with only short periods in each. This "interweaving" of school room work with the practical occupations of every day life would, it was thought (and correctly so as later success seemed to prove) "produce the maximum development of physical and mental powers along the lines of greatest usefulness." Dr. Rogers thought this method had originated in his school—so far as the feebleminded were concerned—but recommended it to others. As early as 1886 supplementary activities were provided: sewing classes four evenings a week for the girls doing housework during the day, scroll saw and carpentry work for the boys, gymnastic training for those most needing it and mat weaving for the custodial boys.

As early as 1888 Dr. Rogers was explaining that all industrial activity was chosen for training value and practical need. "We endeavor to prevent idleness as much as possible and to furnish abundant opportunities for recreation and pleasure so that work does not become onerous."
Brush making was the first industry developed and an effort was made to put this on a business basis with salesmen in the field. In 1889, however—and later—Dr. Rogers emphasized: "we are developing it for the good of our pupils and not for making money." The industry continued until long after Dr. Rogers' day, though after 1901 sales were limited largely, if not entirely, to other institutions. A truly commercial industry was begun in 1899—raising beets for a sugar company. This continued for a number of years.

In 1887 a teacher was employed for July and August and a special program was inaugurated with emphasis on activities and articulation. This summer program was discontinued in 1891, however, as Dr. Rogers had met a Danish teacher whom he wished to have come to Faribault for a month or two, and the money for summer school teachers went to her. It was at this time also that he met a Norwegian woman, Miss Hjorth, who came for two weeks to instruct his teachers in the art of lacemaking, and thus an industry developed for the girls. There was always pressure for lowering expenses, and thus if something new was added, it usually meant that retrenchment was made elsewhere.

By 1888 a band leader was employed, and by 1898 Dr. Rogers was trying to buy unserviceable rifles from the Federal government so as to have military drill for some of the farm boys. Up to 1901 the band leader was a part time employee, but in January 1901 the search was for a man to give full time to training a band and an orchestra, and probably to acting as drill master.

In 1899 Dr. Rogers had a full-time teacher for music and calisthenics but he was anxious to add medical gymnastics and so arranged for one of his teachers to be trained by an instructor at Carleton College in Northfield. By 1900 special teachers were employed for music and medical gymnastics, sloyd (brass work had been discontinued), kindergarten, industrial work, and band. Teachers also gave partial time for the custodial departments and the farm boys.

During his early years as superintendent Dr. Rogers was especially interested in articulation instruction but for financial reasons was unable to add a teacher. As early as 1893 he was inquiring of a kindergarten applicant what her experience was in vocal music (concert) and in articulation. In 1896 he wrote that while there was no teacher for articulation, each teacher gave special attention to it in her class. In the spring of 1890 he had wanted to send a teacher to the School for the Deaf where she could receive training in articulation instruction, but Mr. Tate, the superintendent there, thought it too late in the year. One of Dr. Rogers' regular teachers, while on her vacation, wrote to Dr. Rogers in 1901 asking where she could get some training in the subject.

Another industry—printing—was added in 1900. There already existed a small shop which printed programs and similar material for the institution, but permission was granted to look for a teacher who would make it possible to take in work for others outside the institution. A tailor-shop with power machines was opened the same year and all sewing and mending was centered there. Again the dual goals of saving money and of training the girls seemed to compete as motives.

A similar situation existed in the institution laundry. In December 1895 Dr. Rogers corresponded with a Mr. J. Sager regarding the position of a supervisor for the laundry, with the proviso that Mr. Sager would carry out Dr. Rogers' ideas as to the "training of our girls." The girls would then take the place of hired help. It was hoped that the number of persons employed could be rapidly lessened. By April 1897 morning and afternoon classes had been organized successfully. Thus a good foundation was established for economical handling of the laundry.

Developing a program of progress required not only good teachers but good attendants and nurses. In the early days the only distinction between the latter two seemed to be in their location of work. For both groups the salaries were low and the work hard. Those assigned to the buildings where the children lived were to be "mothers of the little families"—though the size of the family was not so little. Because of the desire for better service, a training school for attendants and nurses was established in 1896. It was a two year course and those taking it worked for a time without wages. Diplomas were given. The first class was graduated in the fall of 1898. A newspaper in Prescott, Wisconsin, described the exercises and spoke of the class as "an entirely new idea."

Another part of the program consisted of placing pupils in the community. Some of the more capable boys were placed and wages collected by Dr. Rogers and kept for them. An attempt was made to keep in touch with all who left the institution. As early as the
fall of 1896 the biennial report discussed "the lack of proper oversight of pupils discharged." A recommendation was made for an overall administrative program: "In my opinion there should be (1) as now, free entrance (2) some systematic oversight of pupils leaving the school, and (3) some process whereby the Directors could refer certain cases to a competent tribunal and obtain life guardianship over them."

Not all the emphasis was on a work and training program. The need for relaxation and recreation was recognized. Entertainment for and by the children was continued and expanded. A play or similar entertainment was usually given for the public at Christmas and in the summer, just before the close of school.

Christmas was always a great occasion. In addition to the entertainment there were trees in every building, and Dr. Rogers visited each building as Santa Claus. Every child received a gift and candy, orange, and similar treats. Twenty-five cents per child was allowed for state expenditures, supplemented by gifts from individuals of articles or money.

A diary, begun in 1891 (probably by Dr. Rogers' secretary), provides more complete details of the recreational program. From the diary it is evident that every possible special day was celebrated. These included not only the usual holidays, but such days as Arbor Day, Valentine's Day and April First when the children played jokes just as though in their own homes. There were sleigh rides in the winter, picnics in the summer, and parties the year round with varied entertainment—sometimes a masquerade party or candy-pull.

Dr. Rogers himself participated in many of the activities, one being bicycle riding. An entry in the diary for May 6, 1899 stated that he, some of the staff, and "a few of the boys" had started for Owatonna, but had had to turn back because of the wind.

From 1888 through 1893 there was camping for groups of boys and girls at a nearby lake. For several years reports concerning it were enthusiastic, but in 1894 camping was disconstrained. In its place there were picnics beside the lake, with rides on a launch owned by Dr. Rogers. In 1898 a launch was purchased for the institution.

The launch—and other equipment for entertainment—was bought with money contributed to a special fund by parents or other interested persons. It was suggested to parents whose child died or was removed from the institution that money on deposit for their child be given to this fund.

A phonograph was purchased late in 1890 or early in 1891. This was taken from group to group for entertainment. It was evidently something novel for use in an institution; in February 1891 Dr. F. M. Powell, superintendent of the Iowa institution, wrote that he would try it, and if it worked, thought no institution should be without one. Even an addition such as this seemed marvelous, for Dr. Powell wrote: "I wonder what next will come up to interest us."

The purchase of a stereopticon was discussed in 1888, but it was 1891 before there was sufficient money to purchase one. For a number of years money was saved for a merry-go-round which was finally bought in 1895. It became an important feature of summer entertainment until a child fell and was killed in 1899. Apparently, however, safety measures were taken and it was used again, because a 1904 entry in the diary refers to rides on the merry-go-round.

In 1895 Dr. Rogers spoke of his "zoological ambitions" which were recognized by friends. Gifts were offered or sent—among them an owl, a wolf, and a deer from St. Peter State Hospital and an elk and prairie dogs from Owatonna State School. Whether the animals were actually grouped as in a zoo or scattered around the campus for care by the different groups is not clear. In April 1897 the diary reports that "Doctor" has added a menagerie—two coons and three squirrels in cages placed in the gallery of the front entrance. Later, however, offers were refused as Dr. Rogers had decided that conditions were unsatisfactory for the care of animals.

Along with the emphasis on recreation, there was emphasis on establishing good relations with the local community and others in the state or country. In 1895 the diary reports that at one of the entertainments given by the children the assembly hall was filled "with the best people in town." Groups from the town or elsewhere entertained the children, and paid entertainers were not unusual.

At least as early as 1893, the children went downtown in large groups to attend parades—especially those of the circus or Gentry's Dog and Pony Show—with a number attending performances. There were football and baseball games with town teams—sometimes the
Scenes from Faribault School for the Feebleminded -- about 1900

Kindergarten Class

Industrial training - Brush making

Boys' Gym Class

Executive and School Building
high school. The diary reports a football game with the high school team in October 1900 when "our boys" won 16-11. There also was continuous contact with Shattuck, a private school, with groups of children from the institution attending the Shattuck "field day" every year, beginning at least as early as 1896.

After the band was organized, it became a big feature of a program to bring the work of the school to public attention. It played in many of the entertainments or parades organized by the city of Faribault. In January 1895 the band was taken to St. Paul for an overnight stay so that it could play for the legislature and the convention of the State Conference of Charities and Corrections. It returned "covered with glory" according to the diary.

Visitors to the institution were encouraged, and they came in large numbers as individuals or in groups. For most of them, the work of the industrial classes was the main interest. Exhibits of this work were sent at the request of an interested group such as the St. Paul Fair or the Minneapolis Exposition, both of which made their first request in 1886. At this time Dr. Rogers received approval to have a little pamphlet printed to explain "the nature of the institution, objects, terms of admission, etc." This would be used not only with these exhibits but for general distribution.

Exhibits before professional groups received special attention. In December 1887 some of the children's work was placed at the State Capitol for the meeting of the Minnesota Education Association. In asking permission from his board, Dr. Rogers stated that he thought it "quite important to have our work before such gatherings when convenient to do so." He also felt someone must be present to explain it and he himself went to the meeting. After the meeting he reported that there was more misunderstanding by educators than he had imagined. "Pioneer" work was still needed.

Still another type of exhibit was that sponsored for the World's Fair in 1893 by the Association of Superintendents of Institutions for the Feebleminded. Dr. Rogers—as was so often the case—was chairman of the committee. This exhibit was to be educational, with the different institutions sending statistics and material bearing on such matters as etiology, pathology, custodial care, and industrial work. He felt case histories were advisable for study in connection with exhibits of work done by an individual child. He also was anxious for the institution in California to devise a method for exhibiting its new program for payment of inmate help. There was doubt by some association members of the value of this exhibit since it would require constant attendance by someone. Dr. Rogers' attitude was that there should not be neglect of this opportunity "of showing the world what we are doing," and he evidently considered the purpose accomplished when he wrote: "We find that our exhibit is the center of a continuous visitation and we believe that it is doing more to awaken an interest in this class of persons than anything that has ever been done in this country."

Another means for educating persons with a basic interest in social problems was through the National Conference of Charities and Corrections. Before its 1886 meeting, this association had established a committee on the feebleminded, which was to meet at the time of the general meeting with its own program prepared. The interests of the National Conference and of those concerned with the feebleminded seemed quite closely identified. By 1893, however, the close relationship was questioned by superintendents who stressed the medical aspects of the program for the feebleminded. The informal relationship continued, however, and after the 1898 meeting of the conference, Dr. Rogers reported to his board: "One cannot attend these conferences without appreciating the fact that the care of the feebleminded and epileptic is receiving more extended and more intelligent consideration from year to year."

One gets the impression that Dr. Rogers had a very special interest in students. In 1893 the medical school of the University of Minnesota arranged for a "clinical day" for seniors, and Carleton College brought sociology students to the institution for an instructinal tour. These became yearly events along with visits of the sociology class of the University, begun in 1894.

Further evidence of interest in students was shown in the arrangement for summer work for medical students. Apparently this first occurred in 1889 when a young man, Harry Corliss, was permitted to study in the superintendent's office "while doing enough work to offset your board, etc." Similar arrangements were made for Mr. Corliss each summer of his medical schooling, and also for at least one other medical student.

The relationship with the legislature was very important, and entertainment was offered visiting committee members on their biennial visits to the institution. Perhaps the existence of a good
relationship, or at least a fearless one, was shown in a letter to John B. Haupe asking for an explanation of a statement he had made in a legislative committee meeting during the 1891 session. Mr. A. W. Stockton, a legislator, was trying to raise the institution appropriation from $75,000 to $90,000. He reported that Mr. Haupe had opposed it on the grounds that other institutions were more worthy, and that there were many inmates in the institution for the feebleminded who should be at home.

Up until the late 1890's emphasis had been put on creating an outstanding program at the institution. As the century closed, however, the "why" of feeblemindedness received the most attention. In November 1898 Dr. Rogers wrote in a paper (probably delivered at the Illinois Conference of Charities and Corrections): "American fathers and mothers do not consider their defective offspring as favored of God as do parents among some other people of the world today, but rather as the evidence of some violation of nature's laws upon their part or the part of their immediate ancestors."

Indeed, beginning at least in 1892 there was awareness of the need for greater knowledge. Those concerned with the feebleminded cooperated on studies of mirror-writing, left handedness or the relationship of alcoholism to feeblemindedness, among others. In selecting a medical assistant that year, Dr. Rogers specified that he wanted someone interested in investigation who would do some pathological work.

Dr. Walter Charming of Massachusetts was doing work in anthropometry and in July 1892 Dr. Rogers invited him to come to Faribault and make studies for comparison with children in the East. When he could not, Dr. Rogers asked for instructions for taking body measurements—especially the cranium—as he wanted his assistants to take such measurements. By 1894 he was investigating equipment for a psychological laboratory which was finally established in 1899. Prior to that, however, interest had been increasing in the various clinical types of retardation and in psychological testing. The cretin and the Mongoloid were the subject of study by a number of doctors. The University of Minnesota was emphasizing "tests" so that in 1895 at least one psychology student had arranged to come to the institution to make tests. The assistant physician was examining brain tissue in post-mortems and also giving some time to psychological study.

It was not until 1898 when Mr. A. R. T. Wylie came to Faribault, however, that work in psychology at the institution could be really emphasized. Mr. Wylie was a Harvard graduate with work in psychology. He had written an article on the mathematical imbecile which he wished published in the Journal of Psycho-Asthenics. In correspondence with him Dr. Rogers suggested that he study at the institution, working in the dispensary part time to pay for his board. Mr. Wylie accepted and began giving tests, thus initiating what might be termed a definite research program at the institution. This brought about a close relationship between Dr. Rogers and the Department of Psychology at the University. In July Dr. Rogers borrowed apparatus from the department for testing reaction time, the strength of grip, etc. In January 1899, Dr. Rogers reported to his Board that Mr. Wylie had been engaged as a dispensary clerk but would give some of his time to administering psychological examinations to each child entering the institution. This was the fulfillment of a thought he had had "for some time," but only now had he arranged for space where psychological investigations could be carried out.

In January 1899 psychological equipment was bought for the laboratory, and Dr. Rogers' enthusiasm was evident in his plans for a new hospital building where "the basement story will be devoted to neurological, anthropological, and psychological laboratories, photograph rooms, etc." The incentive for this is given in a letter to a mother in January 1900: "I cannot give you any information as to why he is as he is. I only wish I could."

This interest in "why" was widespread over the country. Efforts were made in 1900, mainly by medical organizations, to prevail upon Congress to establish in the Department of the Interior a psycho-physical laboratory for the "practical application of physiological psychology to sociological and abnormal or pathological data," including the defective. Laboratory instruments of precision would be used to make measurements.
THE LATER YEARS
1901-1916

As the 20th century ended with this wave of enthusiasm for finding the causes of retardation, there were administrative changes for Dr. Rogers. The legislature of 1901 created the Board of Control to begin functioning August 1 of that year. The change in the administrative organization seemed to have little effect on the development of a program, and Dr. Rogers continued to give expression to his beliefs and convictions.

Perhaps the determination of who is feebleminded or who should be accepted in the institution is as important as finding the causes of feeblemindedness or developing a training program. The basis of acceptance was clearly expressed in December 1906 in answer to a request from Robert M. Yerkes of Harvard University. Mr. Yerkes asked for information on tests used by Dr. Rogers—that is, on "methods of examining children as to the condition of the senses, grade of intelligence, motor ability, etc." Dr. Rogers replied: "We do not have any special scheme of examinations to apply to the children admitted to this institution by which to detect scientifically and record the diagnosis of mental deficiency." Those unable to make reasonable progress in the public schools were eligible, though it was reasoned that care should be taken to eliminate physical defects, errors of refraction, etc. The tone of the letter indicates there was dissatisfaction that no more "scientific" method was available.

This interest in "who" is feebleminded did not end the interest in "why," however, and through the years there were questionnaires and letters, the answers by Dr. Rogers not bringing definite conclusions, but further questioning. In July 1909 the Social Service Club of Philadelphia undertook a general study of the subject. Its questionnaire included questions on cause. Dr. Rogers gave figures indicating that backgrounds of syphilis or tuberculosis were not major causes, and stated further that the general opinion was that "feeble or weak minds are caused from more indirect causes." During the years Dr. Rogers repeated many times his conviction that a guardianship law was needed to provide for keeping in the institution those who were considered to be social problems, with emphasis on women still in the child bearing age. In March 1915, in correspondence with Dr. E. A. Meyering, director of Hygiene of the St. Paul Public Schools, Dr. Rogers wrote: "I have started to work on a bill myself for commitment, but have been unable to do anything on it for the last week and a half, and it may be necessary to lay the whole matter over if the bill of the Commission for Child Welfare should pass." It was 1917 before the commission's bill with the inclusion of a guardianship law was passed.

As early as November 1905, in a talk on guardianship given to the Quarterly Conference of the Board of Control, Dr. Rogers expanded his statement on guardianship to include a plan which would provide supervision for those not in the institution. A state agent would be appointed guardian. He would see that his wards had suitable homes, keep track of them, and if necessary, commit them to an institution. It was suggested that the same state agent would also look after children from Owatonna and the Red Wing Training School. An agent was provided by the legislature in 1907, but the institution for the feebleminded was to share his services with the state hospitals, and emphasis was placed on the needs of the latter. Dr. Rogers, however, made great use of such services through the years.

In September 1906, in a report to the commissioner of education, three functions of the institution are listed: (1) A training school for the feebleminded (2) A hospital for epileptic patients (3) A village community home for the permanently incompetent of both classes. Dr. Rogers then says: "As a feebleminded person can never become a normal person, and as only a small percentage of epileptic patients are entirely cured of their diseases, it is evident that the village community home function is the main and broad purpose of the institution." This continued to be his conviction, and as late as June 1913 he spoke of it as a plan based on the experience of the last 50 years.

The number of feebleminded in the general population, however, was proving to be greater than was previously thought and was underscoring the need for training. Dr. Rogers wrote, "I realize what a tremendous proposition complete segregation is, and I sometimes think it may be necessary for us to train the children, and
educate the parents in many cases as to how to educate their children in their own homes." Thus, although economy was the watchword and expenses were sharply questioned, the many training activities already established were continued, with some improvements.

By 1903 Dr. Rogers had an articulation teacher, and in 1904 the Board approved adding poultry raising as an activity for the older girls. One interesting item from the diary reports that on January 1, 1906, one of the girls was made an employee.

On May 3, 1907 Dr. Rogers gave a short but comprehensive summary of the basic principles of the school program: "We do not have a set course of study in our school. The dominant ideas are usefulness and happiness. Of course we have the kindergarten, primary and advanced school classes dovetailed into sloyd, net weaving, carpet weaving, basketry, sewing, torchon lace, ironing, etc., with special classes in articulation, medical gymnastics, music, etc. . . . With us the teacher of each respective class is more interested in the things which the individual child will do, the progress which they make toward a life of self control and usefulness, than trying to make them conform to any set course." A letter written March 31, 1909 emphasized Dr. Rogers' ideas on training: "I am more and more impressed with the necessity of making training the great watch word in all departments and it would be the realization of a dream on my part if we could make every person employed a unit in this great training system."

By 1915 school classes were graded according to the mental ages of children as determined by Binet-Simon tests which were administered by Dr. Kuhlmann, the psychologist. Also by this time all teachers were required to be graduates of a good normal school, or "fitted by other training for their specialty."

Sometime in 1907-08 a librarian was employed. In 1907 a report to the public library commission stated that the principal teacher acted as school librarian. It also noted that there were 261 volumes in the office and medical library and 356 in the teachers' and children's library. The 1908 commission report stated that there was now a librarian.

Sometime around the close of the decade Dr. Rogers expressed his opinion on placing the brighter pupils in the community. He wrote: "We occasionally place out a boy of the higher grade who has developed self-supporting capacity. There are a few of our boys doing nicely outside. Generally speaking, however, it is presumed that this will be the life home for the majority. Of course almost no feebleminded girl should be sent out into the community."

A plan for boarding pupils in the community was suggested by the New York State Charities Aid Association in 1911 and Dr. Rogers was asked his opinion. He had heard such a plan had been tried in England, and he was seeking more information on it. He was doubtful, however, of the feasibility of such a plan in this country for either the idiot or imbecile because of the amount of care or direction required for them. As for boarding the moron in the community, he felt that it would create social problems and reduce the comprehensiveness of the institution program. He also pointed out that since this group (the morons) contributed to the upkeep of the institution, their placement in boarding homes would increase the number of employees required. "I am thoroughly in sympathy, however," he continued, "with the idea of devising some plan, if possible, that will look toward the protection of society and the proper care of mental defectives with a minimum financial burden to the state. The village community idea with its auxiliary farm, garden, dairy, and fruit raising occupations presents, it seems to me, the best outlook we have at present." This economic aspect had been expressed by Dr. Charles Bernstein of Rome, New York, and the association felt that statistics were needed to determine the effect of such a plan.

Among the early institution expenditures questioned by the Minnesota Board of Control were those for an exhibit at the state fair, for serving meals to groups such as students, and for the production of the paper North Star. The Fair exhibit continued, but the Board ruled against serving meals. Regarding the North Star, Dr. Rogers explained that it was published for the brighter children, it kept the parents in touch with institution matters of general interest, and it gave variety to the work of the boys in the printing office. The Board allowed the paper to continue.

Not only did the program of training and placement continue with some enlargements; significant changes were also made in the recreation program.

A "notion store" was established in 1902 where children could spend money which had been deposited for their personal use, and
where stamps and post cards could be bought. Parties, large and small, continued with frequency. Some were given by the teachers for a small group, some by the matron for everybody, and some were birthday parties with refreshments furnished by families. The same types of entertainment by and for the children also continued, with the band used more and more for entertainment on the grounds and for participation in parades and other activities in the town. Entertainment at picnics now included fishing, weiner roasts, or riding the burros which had been added to the institution's possessions.

In 1904 moving pictures became a major feature of the entertainment program and in February 1914, Dr. Rogers reported that at least three-fourths of the population enjoyed them. "There is nothing that appeals to our children and holds their interest like the movie."

All possible holidays or special days continued to be celebrated, with Christmas, the crowning season, observed with gifts, entertainment, and Dr. Rogers acting as Santa Claus.

For years large groups—mostly boys, including epileptics—had been taken to the State Fair. Apparently the epileptics had presented a problem in the crowds, and so an all day excursion for them was substituted in 1904. Leaving Faribault by train at 5:30 a.m. they took a schooner at St. Paul and went down the Minnesota River. They visited Minnehaha Falls and had the band with them to furnish music. In later years such trips—some on the Mississippi—were a summer activity not only for epileptics but all patients.

Professional interest over the country continued. Cornell University, which by 1904 had established a class for teachers for the feebleminded, wrote Dr. Rogers requesting a list of books and information on tests. In February 1913 Harvard University made a similar request.

Study in psychology at the institution took a setback, however. Apparently Mr. Wylie continued to be employed as a pharmacist, although he was looked upon as a psychologist and most of his work was in this field. In 1902 he received his Ph.D. from Clark University. He then returned to the institution, but in the fall of 1903 left again to secure a medical degree from the University of Minnesota. Dr. Rogers recommended Mr. Wylie as having "more than national reputation for his original studies in experimental psychology."

During these years, talks, papers, lectures, demonstrations and exhibits continued, with a change in content beginning about 1909. In 1906 Dr. Rogers spoke to the Federated Women's Clubs to "illustrate training and results." In November 1909 the friendly visitors for the Associated Charities of Minneapolis heard a talk on "hereditary influences."

Dr. Rogers was always ready to talk to groups on such topics. In 1913 he was to give a talk on eugenics to the Hamline Fortnightly Club, and in reply to a question on fees, he said that he was very much interested in the particular problems on which he spoke and therefore had always asked only for expenses. Primarily his talks were within the state, and this means of education was approved by the Board of Control. The hours and even days spent on the train must certainly have been tiring, but there is no evidence he refused any requests.

Medical students from the University of Minnesota and university classes in sociology and later psychology continued yearly visits, as did similar classes from Carleton College and Mankato State Normal School. Such visits seemed to be worthwhile. After one in April 1908, Dr. Westbrook from the University Medical School wrote that the students were enthusiastic: "I feel sure that each one will have a far more intelligent grasp of matters pertaining to this class of work." Commenting on Dr. Rogers' lecture and the showing of patients to illustrate physical types, Dr. Westbrook said, "Your clinic must be unique."

A change in the "clinics" was made, however, when Dr. Kuhlmann became a staff member. He demonstrated tests to supplement Dr. Rogers' talks. A letter of thanks for such instruction came from the Carleton College sociology class in April 1912, stating that "this will help to put our study of social problems on a more practical basis."

In addition to visits by the students, Dr. Rogers lectured to many classes, including some outside of Minnesota. Especially close relationships seemed to have existed with the University of Chicago where, as early as May 1905, Miss Julia Lathrop wrote, "We have printed and used your syllabus." In 1906 a talk by Dr. Rogers was scheduled in that university's course on delinquents and defectives.

In addition to the many talks made by Dr. Rogers, the work of
the children was exhibited on the grounds and at an increased num-
ber of conventions or other gatherings. The tempo of all activity
was speeded up over a period of several years after 1910. News-
papers were interested and could be counted on to give publicity.

Although much attention was focused on the brighter children,
the care given to the less bright or helpless children also received
favorable comment. On August 15, 1905, Dr. William H. C. Smith,
who had a private institution in Godfrey, Illinois, wrote after a visit
that he was recommending to "proper officials"—at least ten so far
—that they investigate Faribault's custodial care. He added, "A well
merited compliment is not flattery."

In 1907 the Board of Control decided to print a booklet on state
institutions for distribution first at the meeting of the National Con-
ference of Charities and Corrections. The sketch, prepared by Dr.
Rogers, listed a three-fold purpose for the institution—a school, a
home, a hospital. At that time the population was 1,100.

Also in 1907 the legislature had established a Board of Visitors
for the state institutions, apparently fearing the Board of Control
was more interested in finances than in human values. Dr. Samuel
G. Smith of the sociology department at the University of Minne-
sota was made chairman, and in 1908 he requested a permanent
exhibit—photographs, forms, work of the children, etc.—for the
benefit of sociology classes. In December 1909 Dr. J. B. Mixter
of the university's psychology department requested Dr. Rogers to
speak at the Minnesota Psychological Conference, the yearly meet-
ing of an organization formed the year before.

An indication that parents were taking a role in educating
the community on retardation was a 1906 report of a mother visiting
the institution to get material for a paper on the feebleminded which
she was preparing for her club.

By 1912 the board of the Duluth public schools was asking to
be allowed to send teachers to the institution for training. In 1913
the legislature authorized the establishment of a summer training
school much on the lines of one which had existed in New Jersey
for a number of years. The scope and content of the course is largely
shown by the list of those who might register: (1) Physicians, school
principals, teachers, and others connected with the institutions and
schools for mental defectives; (2) School superintendents, medical
inspectors, and teachers of the public schools; (3) Social workers
and others interested in the eugenics and criminal aspects of mental
deficiency; and (4) Students engaged in research work or any of
the problems connected with mental deficiency. Dr. Frederick
Kuhlmann, who had been employed as psychologist and director of
research in 1910, was made director of the training school.

Following Dr. Kuhlmann's appointment as research director, dis-
cussion of Binet tests had become prevalent. Dr. Rogers' own idea
concerning them were given in several letters in the years 1911-1914.
As early as January 1911, Dr. Fernald of Massachusetts was ques-
tioning the diagnosis of mental deficiency by other than medical
doctors—tests having become the basis of diagnosis. Dr. Rogers felt
that only trained people should give tests, but that having mental
ages as secured by Dr. Kuhlmann gave him more assurance in meet-
ing parents. He ended his letter, "I am not afraid of anything that
really tells the truth—if only it does tell the truth." In October 1912
he wrote that Binet tests were useful in giving, within 20 to 50
minutes, at least approximate mental ages.

Dr. Kuhlmann was training teachers and others so that they might
give tests. In April 1913, Dr. Rogers was advising Dr. Wylie—who
had formerly been with him as psychologist and physician—to have
some teachers trained. "I am beginning to believe more and more
in the general application of this method of testing," he wrote. "The
system is certainly a great help to us all and fills a long-felt want."
By January 1914 he was writing in explanation of a paper he had
given that he had tried to make it clear that "the whole system of
mental testing was more or less tentative but nonetheless useful for
practical purposes."

As interest in mental testing was developing, so was the interest
in family histories. The belief became firmly established that heredity
accounted for 60 to 70 per cent of those classified as feebleminded.

Prior to the development of mental tests there had been other
efforts to find the cause or causes of mental deficiency. In January
1906, in answer to a request for information, Dr. Rogers had writ-
ten: "There is really little positively known about the causation of
feeblemindedness." He then stated he had made some study of the
matter but did not consider his contribution "so far" to be of any
great value. "About the most that we are able to say at the present
time is that certain conditions exist in family history which may be
considered contributory; for instance, in the family history of 100
In the cases taken in this institution we found in fifty-six, consumption; in six, paralysis; in sixteen, epilepsy; in ten, insanity; in eighteen, feeblemindedness; in thirty-five, miscellaneous nervous disorders, such as severe nervous headaches, marked eccentricities; in thirty-eight, intemperance; in two, syphilis; in seven, consanguinity. By this you will see that in some cases there were two or more of these conditions found in the family history. It is only in rare cases that we can absolutely determine the cause in the given case.

Dr. Henry Goddard, a psychologist in charge of the research department at the Vineland Training School in New Jersey, made various studies during the next several years with Dr. Rogers cooperating by furnishing statistics and comment. Subjects of these studies included comparative heights and weights, Mongolism, and heredity. Several doctors were interested in cretinism.

In 1909 the eugenics division of the Breeders' Association at Cold Springs Harbor invited Dr. Rogers to become a member of a committee it was forming on The Eugenics of Feeblemindedness. On September 11, Dr. Rogers replied to Dr. C. B. Davenport, the director: "I am very much interested in the study of eugenics as applied to the study of history of families having defective children, and I will gladly accept a place on the committee to which you refer with this reservation, however, that the duties of this position are so exacting, that I shall probably have very little time to conduct original observations, but shall hope to have some data collected on the part of the staff."

By the middle of 1910 Dr. Rogers began to get applications from psychologists for the position of director of a research department he hoped to establish but for which he had neither authorization nor funds. In giving this information to Dr. J. E. W. Wallin who applied, he spoke of being "personally very anxious to re-inaugurate this work, which I believe was the first to have been done with the feebleminded in this country. We were not at that time in a position to maintain a distinct department of research, although Dr. Wylie who is still with me as assistant physician, did some very interesting laboratory work."

On June 28 of 1910, Dr. Rogers wrote the Board of Control concerning the employment of a trained psychologist. "We have reached a point in the evolution of methods pertaining to the study of the problems of the feebleminded, especially their classification and the larger sources of supply where, in my judgment, the services of a trained psychologist should be secured for the School for Feebleminded and Colony for Epileptics."

He spoke of the Binet tests as a method of classification. "In considering the value of this classification test, I believe I am not inclined to be unduly enthusiastic or theoretical. I realize the limitation of the plan and that even this system of examination may require considerable modification in the future, but its adoption will undoubtedly mark a very important epoch in the treatment and training of the feebleminded in this country." Dr. Rogers was cautious enough to suggest that this work be considered on a trial basis for two years. By July 21, Dr. Frederick Kuhlmann had been employed to begin work September first. Dr. Rogers' interest in family studies, combined with Dr. Kuhlmann's work in the institution, formed the basis for a research project at the institution which can be described as thrilling.

This project had its beginning in June 1910 when Dr. Davenport offered to supply a field worker for the study of inmates' pedigrees in order to find answers to the question of "why." It was October 1911, however, before plans were completed and a worker, Miss Sadie Devitt, arrived. Earlier in the year the legislature had appropriated $10,000 for such a study. The appropriation, according to the bill, was to make possible "Clinical and Scientific Work for Hospitals for Insane, School for Feebleminded and Penal Institutions." Because other institutions were interested, the department of research was set up with a committee of superintendents to direct it. Dr. Rogers was on the committee and his institution received first consideration.

In August 1910—before Dr. Kuhlmann began work—Dr. Rogers listed two new things of value being done in the field of mental deficiency: "scientific classification and the research work involving the studies by field agents of family histories, etc." Both were soon to be added to the work of his institution.

Dr. Rogers and Dr. Goddard were both members of a committee to present at a Governors' conference the need for a research department in every state. This came just as Dr. Rogers was getting his own department organized, and the presentation was not made.

By 1912, causes were stressed along with the emphasis on the need for permanent placement or an expanded program. In an-
swering a questionnaire in March of that year, Dr. Rogers added to the usual list of institution purposes that of studying "the social and hereditary conditions from which feebleminded come." As late as June 1914, Dr. Rogers listed four general causes: (a) poor inheritance (b) alcoholism (c) specific trouble (d) trauma at birth. He again emphasized that those feebleminded from inheritance could never be cured, but that an operation might bring a cure or a partial cure to some of those suffering from trauma.

The years following the establishment of a research department saw great emphasis placed on heredity as the cause of a high percentage of feeblemindedness. Dr. Goddard had been making such studies over a period of years, and in February 1911 Dr. Rogers was borrowing charts from him "showing the large inheritance of defectiveness with the other complications." These were to be used primarily with the legislature and may have contributed to success in obtaining the appropriation. Dr. Rogers indicated he still considered the testing program at Faribault as "tentative." He deplored the fact that a superintendent of another institution had adopted the work at Faribault "in toto" and discharged children because the Binet tests showed them not feebleminded. He questioned "having everybody do this kind of work" and stated: "Nothing would bring greater discredit upon our work than ill-advised and hasty pseudo-scientific work."

By 1914 there were sufficient results from the study at Faribault for Dr. Rogers to use his own charts in his talks over the country. He spoke of such talks as a "message" he was glad to deliver. Interest in such studies was widespread, and Dr. Rogers was asked for a bibliography on the subject of heredity. Heading the list of books in one of his replies were Mendel's Principles of Heredity and Mendelism by W. Bateson and R. C. Punnett, both published in 1909.

One senses that an atmosphere of enthusiasm existed throughout the country as studies progressed and it seemed answers would be found. Not only public institutions and professional persons were interested, but other individuals and groups as well. In April 1912 a full statement of the research being done in Minnesota and the background for it was made to the Thomas Thompson Trust Company of Massachusetts in answer to a question on work to prevent insanity, etc. By this time thirty-seven families had been studied and charted. Working with other institutions, a special study of syphilis as a possible cause was made. To help give prestige to the study in Minnesota, and to increase the value of results by bringing to bear all wisdom available, the State Conference of Charities and Corrections had organized a general committee on feeblemindedness to consider results and recommend action. The committee included "the president and several professors of the State University and other prominent educators; judges of the juvenile court; associated charities workers; representatives of the labor bureau; representatives of each class of state institutions; representatives from the clergy who are particularly interested in sociological studies; all the leading neurologists; the president of the Women's Clubs and a few others particularly interested in this kind of work."

Although many charts of families were made and Dr. Rogers was traveling far and wide to explain them, as late as February 1915 he wrote in answer to a request for reports of the work that they were not in print. "First," he explained, "we have not yet analyzed the data collected sufficiently to justify publication." Dr. Rogers, as a result of illness, spent much of the year 1916 in hospitals, but he did not lose interest in, or relinquish direction of, the institution or the study. In August, a reporter for the St. Paul Dispatch and Pioneer Press asked for statistics to be used as the basis for an article on a sterilization bill introduced in the legislature. The answer given was largely based on material gathered in the field study. Of 474 families, alcoholism was found in 3.7 per cent. In about 35 per cent of cases the condition was acquired through disease or accident, the parents presumably being normal. Sixty-five to 70 per cent were cases of hereditary origin in which one or both parents were mentally defective.

One cannot but wonder what final interpretation Dr. Rogers would have made of this material, had he had the opportunity. On December 22, 1916, he wrote to Dr. Davenport speaking of himself as "the writer" and using the third person. He knew he would not get well as he had pernicious anemia. "He is very anxious, if possible, to put into published form two things: first, the result of the field work in Minnesota with such suggestions as may appeal to him and may be of more or less value—mostly less—and second, the observations that appear to him to be very, very important in the
use of terms and methods for detecting differentially and planning for the welfare of the feebleminded."

Dr. Rogers died January 2, 1917, and one can never know just how he would have interpreted the material or how his concepts and attitudes would have changed. Certain it is that with his questioning mind he would have continued giving leadership in the quest for truth. In a way, these later years of Dr. Rogers seem almost tragic. He and others over the country were so intense in their efforts to find a way to reduce the number of the feebleminded, and to some extent their efforts appear futile. One realizes, however, that open-mindedness and leadership in any era must be based on the knowledge of that day. And an effort to find the answer always influences the thought of the day, and forms a basis for further study in the future. Unfortunately, perhaps because of Dr. Rogers' death, concepts remained static for many years. Had he lived it might have been different.