THE DILEMMA OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE 1920'S

Thesis for the Degree of M. A.

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

Shirley A. Falter

1956

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By

Shirley A. Falter

AN ABSTRACT

Submitted to the College of Arts and Sciences
Michigan State University of Agriculture and
Applied Science in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

1956

ABSTRACT

A rapid glance at the periodical articles on higher education in the early 1900's and in the 1920's reveals a changing attitude toward the institutions of higher learning. At the turn of the century the discussions are mostly of a general nature, but by the 20's they indicate a widespread dissatisfaction with the American system of college and university training. Higher education was undergoing a series of rapid transformations which were not acceptable to all the members of the education profession and of society.

A great industrial boom followed in the wake of World War I. The expansion of industry and business created more positions for employment, but the nature of the work had become more specialized. The economic groups, therefore, began to require trained specialists. It was then that the colleges and universities were called upon to provide society with the desired labor.

With the development of the college education prerequisite for employment, college enrollments increased at a phenomenal rate. A greater number of students entered college for vocational purposes alone. Not only did their presence change the general atmosphere of the college and university campus, but it also created a more practical curriculum. The more the vocational departments

grew, the more the liberal arts seemed to suffer.

As the institutions of higher learning enlarged their student bodies, administrative and financial duties became more complex. In many ways they resembled the large businesses of their surrounding communities. The necessity of efficiency and organization, therefore, brought more representatives of the business world into the college and university administrations.

It was the simultaneous development of intensified vocational training with the increased number of businessmen in the administration and the weakening of the liberal arts which brought the conflict between the traditionalists and the vocationalists to a climax. However, contrary to each group's expectation the controversy was gradually settled by a compromise in which a fundamental-practical curriculum was gradually devised. This new curriculum was helped by the series of experiments in higher education which were also begun in the 1920's.

The dilemma of higher education in the decade of the 20's was, therefore, the product of a changed society. This society, however, was not satisfied with the prevailing confusion in its institutions of higher learning, and through its criticism forced them to make adjustments which, when inaugurated, minimized existing trends and introduced new ones.

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INTRODUCTION

Although education is one of the major institutions of American society, dating from the founding of the first colonies, it has been grossly neglected by historians. Of twelve histories chosen at random, not one was written by an historian. The development of education is without a doubt a part of the history of America. It is the organ to which the people have looked for the propagation of the American heritage, and as such, it affects and is affected by the mind and life of the whole society. It is, therefore, the general purpose of this study to place one phase of the history of education, higher education in the 1920's, in its historical setting and study it from the historical point of view.

The trends in higher education during the 20's have been discussed by both educators and writers of American history. However, the histories written by educators are often a collection of statements and generalizations with little, if any, documentation. Some, in following the generally accepted attitude, appear to have either overlooked or ignored the available evidence. Historians in their general works usually give only a brief sketch of a complex situation, stating the changes without relating the causes to them.

The developments which took place in higher education in the post-World War I decade cannot be fully understood without some knowledge of the changes in the other aspects of society and their influence on educational institutions. Education, which is a

product of society, must continuously strive to satisfy the demands made upon it. The America of the 1920's witnessed a period of intense industrialisation and technological advancement. From this new economic order emerged the influences which pushed existing educational trends to an extreme. During those ten years the enrollment in institutions of higher learning doubled. The student body more than ever before represented every economic and social level. With students possessing a wider range of academic background and motivation, and society's increased interest in the business world and in making a living, the curriculum of the colleges and universities became increasingly vocational. So great was the demand for technical and practical courses, that the liberal arts could arouse only a limited following. The plight of the liberal arts put the traditionalists on the offensive as well as many who did not approve of the extreme to which vocationalism had gone. Not only did this group criticize the influence of business and industry upon the curriculum, but they also accused these economic groups of exercising undo influence from the directing positions they held on the administrative boards of colleges and universities. As a result of this criticism, many schools began to experiment with new educational methods in an attempt to eliminate some of the more objectionable features of the institution.

The purpose of this study is to relate the character of American society in the 1920's with the changes and movements in

higher education, and since none of the changes originated in the post-war period, to show why there was such a strong reaction during this decade against the existing trends, and finally, to indicate the form the reactionary measures took.

Chapter I

HIGHER EDUCATION AND SOCIETY

Institutions of higher learning are a product of society and are created to meet the needs of the people. In the United States by the process of chartering or incorporation the college and the university are formally instituted by the governing body of the society. As social institutions, they are supported by the public either through taxation and tax exemption or through individual and group philanthropy. The more dependent the institution is upon public funds, the more alert it must be to the society's demands, for as Roscoe Pound of the Harvard Law School stated, these schools absorbed the money of the community, and the community, therefore, was entitled to call the tune.[1]

These creatures of society can maintain their status only as long as they are responsive to the needs of that group. They must, therefore, "keep in close and sympathetic touch with the whole people and with all the currents of their life."[2] Everything which the college and university offers to its students and the community reflects the needs and demands of the American people either past or present. John Dale Russell of the University of Chicago pointed out

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[1] George E. G. Catlin, "Democracy and Culture," Contemporary Review, CXL (December 1931), 733.

[2] Ernest DeWitt Burton, Education in a Democratic World, ed. Harold R. Willoughby (Chicago, 1927), p. 28.

that professional education was offered in institutions of higher learning, not because individual students wished to be doctors, lawyers, or ministers, but because society needed well trained men in the professions.[3] If the university were the only agency which could practically assume a particular function, it was its duty to perform it, even if precedent were overstepped.[4] Thorstein Veblen called this necessary responsiveness of higher education to society "a tenure of use and want."[5]

In this subservient position, educational institutions are greatly affected by the forces which shape and change society. Education's growth has paralleled the changes in the habit of life which the American people have experienced.[6] It has mirrored and often contributed to the advancement of the American way of life, but it has also been handicapped by the defects of the society which it must at all times serve.[7] In a period of little social change, the colleges and universities can readily meet the demands put to them. However, during a time of rapid social change in which old standards and the established way of life are challenged and often cast aside,

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[3] John Dale Russell, "Higher Education and the Social Order," Indiana University School of Education, XII (December 1935), 73.

[4] James Rowland Angell, "The University Today: Its Aims and Province," The Obligation of Universities to the Social Order (New York, 1933), p. 10.

[5] Thorstein Veblen, The Higher Learning in America: A Memorandum on the Conduct of Universities by Businessmen, Academic Reprints (Stanford, 1954), p. 2.

[6] Veblen, p. 2.

[7] William Bennett Bizzell, The Relations of Learning (Norman, 1934), p. 161.

educational institutions are faced with the problem of readjustment. As an organisation based on a foundation of long established ideals, it can not immediately adapt itself to new demands. It must face the problem of deciding a new course, and as in the case of all institutions which serve the whole of society, no course will satisfy all of the various interest groups.

A situation of this nature presented itself in the decade following World War I. The changes which had been developing in American society since the turn of the century were greatly accelerated by the war. R. L. Duffus remarked that in no other period in history had such a transformation taken place with such rapidity.[8] Higher education, ever sensitive to new demands, was forced to adapt itself to this new social order. The year 1916-1917, therefore marked the beginning of a new epoch in the history of higher education, "a period which will be one of great significance in our educational history and one that will tax for many years the best efforts of the leaders of our universities and colleges to meet the issues and solve the problems that are developing."[9]

However, the changes in higher education during the 20's were so diversified and complex and, at the same time interwoven and

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[8] New York Times, January 8, 1928, Sec. 5, p. 4.

[9] Walton C. John, "College and University Education," Biennial Survey of Education in the United States: 1928-1930, Bull. U. S. Bureau of Education, No. 20 (Washington, D. C., 1933), 457-458. Hereafter cited as Biennial Survey.

overlapped, that even had the colleges and universities been perfectly adapted to pre-war conditions -- which they were not -- they would have had to move quickly to keep up. Their attempts to hurry often created more confusion and made higher education in the post-World War I decade "an absorbing, if not always a happy, spectacle."[10] Frank Aydelotte, President of Swathmore College, called college life "as transitory as the stuff that dreams are made of -- in this case not wholly a pleasant dream."[11] Thus the decade in American history which is noted for its radical social changes and innovations, is also recognized as a period of confusion and readjustment in the history of higher education.

As one would expect, not all of the changes in higher learning produced results which were acceptable to all the segments of society. Some leaders in education wished to cling to the traditional system of pedagogy, which in many ways was no longer adequate, while others applied the new doctrine that "the old order must be destroyed and a new one -- one entirely new -- must be created."[12] Between these two groups was a third which tried to develop a compromise system of education comprised of the main principles of both of the other

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10 New York Times, January 8, 1928, Sec. 5, p. 4.

11 New York Times, May 4, 1930, Sec. 3, p. 8.

12 Lotus Delta Coffman, "The Efficacy of the Depression in Promoting Self-Examination," Needed Readjustment in Higher Education, Proceedings of the Institute for Administrative Officers of Higher Institutions 1931, ed. William Gray, V (Chicago, 1933), 10.

views. The institutions of higher learning were torn between these various systems and whether they continued under the old or adjusted to the new, they met the criticism of both educators and outside observers.

There was, therefore, throughout the 20's much unrest and uncertainty in higher education. The 20's marked the beginning of a period of increased interest in higher learning, and closer inspection brought forth a more critical attitude. The literature in the field of education, and the general periodicals were filled with articles which criticised every phase of higher education. Though a generation before literary discussion had been relieved by hope, by 1926 it was "almost wholly the literature of disappointment."[13] In 1919 President Butler of Columbia University accused educational institutions of drifting with the tide and of refusing to formulate a definite policy. This permitted them "to be made the prey of every passing fancy and of every succeeding educational whim."[14] The New York _Times_ asked, "What is happening to our colleges?" This question was often heard and vigorously debated.[15] James Truslow Adams, "an outside but interested observer," commented on the helpless uncertainty with which higher education

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[13] Grant Showerman, "Heckling the College," _School and Society_, XXIV, August 28, 1926, 249.

[14] Frederick W. Roe, "The College: Yesterday and To-morrow," _Scribner's Magazine_, LXV (February 1919), 182.

[15] New York _Times_, January 8, 1928, Sec. 5, p. 4.

tried to decide what to do and where to go. He described it as "a welter of 'isms' in a sea of expense, without the slightest agreement as to basic aims."[16] College presidents, harrassed by mounting problems and fewer solutions, looked at the new developments and called the American college "the world's worst educational failure."[17] Criticism of higher education continued into the next decade, but the depression in the 30's presented a different challenge to colleges and universities and only added new fuel to an already burning discontent.

There were, however, some educators who were encouraged by the presence of the critical attitude toward higher education. President Aydelotte felt that the outlook for higher education in the future was more encouraging because of the current discontent with the prevailing conditions.[18] With criticism coming from within and from without, the educational institutions were not going to be able to lag far behind society or rest on the merit of past achievements, but would have to constantly move forward to meet the challenge of the present.

Statements, such as Grant Showerman of the University of Wisconsin made, that "Not even the introduction of the elective

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16 James Truslow Adams, "To "Be" or To "Do" A Note on American Education," Forum, LXXXI (June 1929), 321.

17 New York Times, January 8, 1928, Sec. 5, p. 4.

18 New York Times, May 4, 1930, Sec. 3, p. 8.

system a generation ago was attended by so much oral and printed discussion of college problems,"[19] brings up the questions, "Why were the higher educational institutions subject to such wide spread criticism, what changes had taken place in American society to produce a situation to which the colleges and universities were unable to adjust, and what were these institutions doing or failing to do to pacify the criticism and to make adjustments? The answers to these questions make up the history of higher education during the 1920's.

[19] Showerman, 249.

Chapter II

POST-CIVIL WAR DEVELOPMENTS IN HIGHER EDUCATION

The content of all writings on higher education in or about the 1920's points to one dominant factor, the influence of which was directly or indirectly felt in every phase of higher education. This expanding force was accelerated industrialization and the subsequent expansion of business. However, the growth of business and industry had begun more than a half century before and the impact of their development introduced a new trend in higher education.

The era of the Civil War and Reconstruction marked the period in which education experienced the first of its major changes.[1] Until about 1850 there were in the United States only 120 colleges, 42 theological seminaries, and 47 law schools.[2] A large proportion of the doctors, lawyers, and ministers still received their training by apprenticeship. There were no colleges of engineering or of agriculture and very few teachers' colleges.[3] Before 1850 two technical institutions, Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute (1825) and the United States Military Academy at Annapolis (1802) provided

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[1] Veblen, p. 22.

[2] Richard Hofstadter and C. DeWitt Hardy, The Development and Scope of Higher Education in the United States (New York, 1952), p. 26.

[3] Hofstadter and Hardy, p. 21. D. S. Sneeden, "Colleges: For What Purpose?" Journal of Higher Education, I (October 1930), 366.

the country's entire supply of engineers.[4] If non-professional instruction were desired, the individual had to provide for it himself.[5] Higher education was far more a luxury, much less a utility "for although a college education was advantageous, it was not considered a necessity even in the professions.[6]

The lack of training for the professions was criticised by the president of Brown University, Francis Wayland, in his 1850 "Report to the Corporation of Brown University on Changes in the System of Collegiate Education." He found that the proportion of college graduates to the whole population was dropping and that the average level of ability in the learned professions was no higher than it had been thirty years before. He, therefore, concluded that the colleges were not providing the education which the people desired and introduced plans for a curriculum which would be adapted to the "wants of the whole community." Wayland proposed an increase in the number of courses, the creation of a five-or-six year course of study for some professions, and "short courses" in other areas "for those who do not wish to study for four years." This report was praised by many newspapers and its inauguration drew many students to Brown in the middle fifties, but the new system extended beyond the facilities of the institution and

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[4] Hofstadter and Hardy, p. 21. Arthur B. Mays, An Introduction to Vocational Education, The Century Education ser. (New York, 1930), p. 30.

[5] Hofstadter and Hardy, p. 26.

[6] Hofstadter and Hardy, p. 21. Veblen, pp. 22-23.

after a short time was abandoned. Although there had been criticism of the old educational system, the public was not ready to support the new. Like many other forward looking educators, Wayland found himself "too far ahead of general educational awareness."[7]

By the end of the next decade, definite changes in the character of higher education were perceptible. The university was becoming a more familiar sight. This system for organizing institutions of higher learning had been brought to America from Germany and the dignified title was readily adopted whether or not the school was qualified. The universities, especially the state universities, were from the first more utilitarian than the older colleges. Although they developed chiefly as professional schools, the universities rapidly annexed courses in vocations other than learned professions. Arthur B. Mays of the University of Illinois stated that the line of their growth was similar and that that of Harvard was typical. A medical school was established in 1782, a law school in 1817, a graduate school of business administration in 1908, and a graduate school of education in 1920.[8]

Another development of the 60's was the "land-grant colleges" which were established under the Morrill Act of 1862. These colleges differed from the other colleges and universities for their

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[7] Hofstadter and Hardy, pp. 25-26.

[8] Mays, pp. 27-28.

sole purpose was to train students in the advanced phases of the agricultural and mechanical occupations. Although similar provisions had been made previously, Michigan Agricultural College had been established in 1855 and Yale had created a professorship in agriculture in 1847, the Act of 1862 firmly imbedded the function of the land grant college in the American educational system.[9]

After more than forty years Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute was joined by Worcester Polytechnic Institute in Massachusetts in 1868. It was followed in 1881 by Case School of Applied Science in Cleveland, and by Rose Polytechnic Institute at Terre Haute in 1883. Although these schools were first founded to teach the practical application of the physical sciences to the economic life of the country, they gradually became primarily engineering schools.[10]

These new institutions developed almost simultaneously with the industrial boom that followed the Civil War and, therefore, reflect the rise of an industrial society. A dynamic industry was creating an almost insatiable demand for technicians which the old educational system was unable to satisfy. Education based on the ideal of training "for straight-thinking, good living and good citizenship" did not produce men with the preparation necessary for

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[9] Mays, p. 29.

[10] Mays, p. 30.

industrial and business careers.[11] Industry's need for more trained employees increased the number of institutions of higher learning and their enrollment. In 1870 there were 67,350 males in the colleges and universities plus a few women. By 1890 the total enrollment had reached 156,756 and by 1899, 163,000.[12]

With the rise of industry came an increase in the wealth of the nation and the growth of individual fortunes. The donations to higher education in the last quarter of the nineteenth century were larger than any period previous to the Civil War. When Princeton was being revitalized in the 1830's by a group of its distinguished alumni, the largest single donation was $5,000, while the total goal of the fund drive was $100,000. The largest single cash donation to Columbia before the Civil War was $20,000. Amherst College was founded on a fund of $50,000. After the war, new universities were frequently endowed by one individual with donations which ranged from Ezra Cornell's $500,000 to Johns Hopkins' $3,500,000 and Rockefeller's $30,000,000 to the University of Chicago.[13]

Feeling the pressure of industry and business and enabled to expand with large endowments, higher education began to enlarge its program. Some institutions, especially those dependent on the

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[11] New York Times, June 8, 1930, Sec. 5, p. 1.

[12] Hofstadter and Hardy, p. 31. William John Cooper, "Present-Day Trends in the Colleges," Current History, XXXII (June 1930), 51[illegible].

[13] Hofstadter and Hardy, p. 32. The influence of business on higher education is discussed in Chapter V.

state, were establishing courses directed toward the wage earner. Andrew Sloan Draper, President of the University of Illinois from 1894 to 1904 announced the new duties of higher education. He believed that the university should consider the life and especially the employment of the people and aid industry as well as the professions. The university "must stand for work, for work of hand, as well as of head, where all toil is alike honorable and all worth based on respect for it."[14] The college and university were hearing one of the first calls for vocational education and a college trained working class.

Higher education maintained its classical foundation, although research was developing new fields of study and increasing the knowledge of established fields.[15] To be a well-informed person, the student now had to become acquainted with an increasing number of subjects. These new courses were added to the classical curriculum which became a core surrounded by the new branches of study. Under this compound system, the length of time required to complete the professional courses was extended. At a time when there was an increasing demand for college trained men, some educators felt the preparation period was too long and argued for the discontinuation of the classics and other cultural studies. These courses seemed to them to have the least applicability to everyday life and therefore could be eliminated.[16] Nevertheless,

[14] Mays, pp. 28-29.

[15] James Jay Greenough, "The Basis of Our Educational System," Atlantic Monthly, LXXV (May 1895), 528.

[16] Greenough, 528.

the two courses of study stood their ground side by side. The Atlantic Monthly in 1895 reported that the classical college was increasing in strength, but its rival "the curious mongrel creation," the scientific school, was keeping apace.[17]

One of the most important innovations of the post-Civil War period was the elective system introduced at Harvard by Charles William Eliot. This system allowed the student to choose the subjects he wished to take and it was hoped that the student would then take greater interest in his college work. The increasing emphasis which education was placing on the individual and its recognition of individual differences favored the adoption of the system. A product of an "age of optimism, expansion, competitiveness, and materialistic satisfaction," it blew like "a gust of fresh air" through higher education and eliminated many of the confining academic restrictions and archaic methods which were no longer of value.[18]

While the elective system solved some of higher education's problems, it helped to create another. Since the student was able to make subject choices which were aligned with his own interests, the colleges and universities found themselves trying to satisfy not only a wider range of demands, but an ever increasing demand for courses which were vocational and specialized in nature and were without

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[17] Anon., "The American College," Atlantic Monthly, LXXV (May 1895), 703.

[18] Hofstadter and Hardy, pp. 53, 55.

precedent in higher education.[19] Because of the ease with which the elective system met the needs of the rising industrial society, some educators felt that vocationalism was a direct outgrowth of the system. Others, although they did not give all the credit to the elective system, did realize that both developed during the same period, the period of industrial expansion, and, as Veblen noted, the same arguments which were offered in favor of the elective system were also used to aid the movement for vocational training.[20] Thus as the elective system reached its apex at the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, it seemed to be the answer to the demand of the prevailing "isms," industrialism, capitalism, and individualism.[21]

The criticism which abounded in the 1920's was a result of the intensification of the trends which had begun in the middle of the nineteenth century. Industry and commerce during and after World War I expanded at a rate which surpassed any previous record and with it moved the whole of American society. Of the change in society, William John Cooper, the United States Commissioner of Education wrote, "In place of the quiet self sufficient rural life of the past, we now find the rush and hurry of the modern city. In place of an economic system in which each plantation or community

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[19] Veblen, p. 195. Hofstadter and Hardy, pp. 53-54. R. Freeman Butts, A Cultural History of Education (New York, 1947), p. 651.

[20] Veblen, pp. 194-195.

[21] Butts, A Cultural History, p. 650. Hofstadter and Hardy, p. 53.

was able to supply its own needs, we have an industry highly specialized and with minute division of labor. To exchange the commodities armies of salesmen travel on fast trains or in airplanes. Other armies of bookkeepers, accountants and bankers are required to record and finance their transactions. Thousands of generalissimos of business are required to manage the enterprises and tens of thousands of lawyers attempt to prevent mistakes and untangle difficulties."[22] The demands for these armies of workers were directed toward the colleges and universities and they could not, would not, be ignored. These institutions could no longer be "instruments of liberal culture and professional training," but had to become "instruments of national service."[23]

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[22] Cooper, 517. Bizzell, p. 161. National Society of College Teachers of Education, Current Educational Readjustments in Higher Institutions, Studies in Education, Yearbook No. 17 (Chicago, 1929), 1-2.

[23] Biennial Survey: 1928-30, 465.

Chapter III

ENROLLMENT TRENDS IN THE 1920's

The impact of the intense industrialization of the 1920's on higher education was felt most acutely through its influence on the enrollment in colleges and universities. The New York Times reported that up to 1917 the increase in college students had remained fairly steady and had kept pace with the increase in population.[1] In 1890 the college and university enrollment was 156,756 which represented .25 per cent of the total population and 3.04 per cent of the population between 18 and 21 years of age. By the turn of the century the enrollment had increased 70,836. The enrollment then represented .31 per cent of the total population and 12.37 per cent of the college age group.[2] During the four years between 1922 and 1926 the enrollment was almost equal to that of 1910-1920, almost twice as large as that of 1900-1910, and almost three times as large as that of 1890-1900. The two year period, 1920-1922, had the lowest increase, 20,675, and 1922-1924 had the highest increase, 107,569. While the total population between 1920 and 1924 increased 11 per

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[1] New York Times, September 26, 1926, Sec. 9, p. 5.

[2] Henry G. Badger, Frederick J. Kelly, Lloyd E. Blauch, "Statistics of Higher Education," Biennial Survey: 1938-1940 and 1940-1942, II, 33. P. F. Valentine, "The College and America," The American College, ed. P. F. Valentine (New York, 1940), p. 28.

cent, college and university attendance increased 206.4 per cent or a fourth more than the previous decade.[3] Between 1928 and 1930 there was a decline of about 34,000 students from the previous two year period and in the year 1929-30 the enrollment had increased only 4.4 per cent in two years whereas the 1927-1928 figure indicated a 14.9 per cent increase in two years.[4] This noticeable decline in the late 20's led Charles F. Thwing in 1930 to believe that "The vastness of the increase of students noted in former surveys has ceased, the number has become fairly well stabilized."[5] However, the new point of stability in enrollment was twice as large as the pre-war figure and new standards in size were established. By 1930 one out of every 150 in the population was seeking higher education where a generation before one in 1,000 was content to go.[6] President Hoover's committee on social trends found that in 1930 one out of every seven persons of college age was in college.[7]

The 1920's marked a period of rapid transition in which higher education lost its elite status and welcomed all seekers of

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[3] Eustace E. Windes, Trends in the Development of Secondary Education, Bull. Department of Interior, Bureau of Education, No. 26 (Washington, D. C., 1927), 6. Walter Lunden, The Dynamics of Higher Education (Pittsburgh, 1939), p. 237.

[4] Emery M. Foster, et. al., "Statistics of Higher Education," Biennial Survey: 1932-1934, Bull. 1935, No. 2, 9.

[5] New York Times, May 4, 1930, Sec. 3, p. 8.

[6] New York Times, June 8, 1930, Sec. 5, p. 1.

[7] Charles H. Judd, "Education," Recent Social Trends in the United States: Report of the President's Research Committee on Social Trends, I (New York, 1933), 263.

college training. The cause of this change in enrollment standards was attributed to several factors. The fundamental idea behind the increase in enrollment was the democratic principle that educational opportunities should be available to all. This idea, which received its broadest interpretation in the 1920's, was known as "mass education." A British observer commented that America had determined that "the masses shall be educated -- the masses have in fact determined this themselves -- and only by a mass education system can this be done."[8] Ideally it meant education for the masses, but in the post-war decade it came to mean in practice a process closely akin to mass production. This goal of universal opportunity for a college education was recognized as one which was worthy of the fullest support, nothing but lack of ability should bar admission. Valentine commented that even this entrance requirement was often not a deterrent.[9]

Another development which enabled a large number of students to go to college was the extension of the period of education at the secondary level. John Dale Russell of the University of Chicago wrote, "In practice the effective age of compulsory schooling has been considerably increased. It may take many years for the legal enactment to catch up with the practice, but the effect is here."[10]

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[8] John Dugdale, "Mass Education in America," Current History, XXXII (April 1930), 71.

[9] Valentine, p. 5.

[10] Russell, 74.

The public high school had developed almost simultaneously with the changes in higher education in the mid-nineteenth century. Its enrollment had steadily increased after the Civil War until it reached the point of greatest acceleration after the turn of the century. Enrollment more than trebled between 1890 and 1910 and more than quadrupled between 1910 and 1930.[11] The distinct downward trend in child employment after 1910 aided this movement.[12] The developments in secondary education provided a larger body of potential students for the colleges and universities.

While the philosophy of mass education and the extension of education to a minimum of four years of high school provided colleges and universities with more prospective students, there were other developments of the war and post-war period which brought the students to the college campuses. One, the Students' Army Training Corps, was an outgrowth of the war years. Under the Selective Service Act of May 18, 1917, the Army was authorized to raise and maintain by voluntary induction and draft a Students' Army Training Corps. The Secretary of War was authorized to form these corps in educational institutions, colleges and professional schools were chosen primarily, that they might utilize the facilities of these institutions for selecting and training candidates for

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[11] Hofstadter and Hardy, p. 31.

[12] Judd, 327.

officer and technical experts service.[13]

In the beginning this plan was eagerly greeted by the college administrators. Not only did they feel that the colleges would than be doing their part in the war effort, but it also eliminated the threat of discontinuation because of a lack of students.[14] The number of S.A.T.C. students was large and the enrollment in the freshman class was larger than any previously known. Although joining the S.A.T.C. did not mean that the men were exempt from the regular draft, it did mean that all their expenses were paid by the government and that a college campus took the place of an army camp.[15]

In a short while, however, the colleges were not so optimistic about their new addition. Instead of the army using the college facilities, the colleges found themselves forced to adjust to army needs. This had its most detrimental effect on the instructional processes. Ernest Earnest wrote, "Faculties did their best to maintain a semblance of academic work, but the long hours of drill left students little time or energy to study. And the program brought in thousands of boys unfitted to profit

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[13] Charles Franklin Thwing, The American Colleges and Universities in the Great War 1914-1919: A History (New York, 1920), p. 57.

[14] Anon., "A Retrospect of the Students' Army Training Corps," The American Review of Reviews, LX (October 1919), 440.

[15] Thwing, p. 62.

from even a diluted form of higher education."[16]

After the original act was amended on August 31, 1917, the S.A.T.C. did not begin operating until October 1, 1918. Its entire life, however, was barely three months, of which only six weeks preceded the Armistice. The Corps was abolished by order of the War Department on November 26, demobilization began on December 2 and was practically completed by December 26. This latter period was marked by a notable lag in the morale and activity of the Corps which had only a short time before been forced to cease operation during the influenza epidemic.[17]

While the S.A.T.C. did bring many new students to the colleges, it is difficult to believe that three months work could have influenced many to continue their college career, especially since the college training they had received was more military than academic. Also government aid was discontinued and students who were not interested in a college education no longer had even monetary encouragement. Many of those who did remain in school, said Earnest, "were of a different breed from former generations of students: they were not well prepared for college work, and they came from social classes with no intellectual traditions. They remained in college to raise hell."[18]

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[16] Ernest Earnest, Academic Procession: An Informal History of the American College 1636-1953 (New York, 1953), p. 251.

[17] "A Retrospect of the Students' Army Training Corps," 440.

[18] Earnest, p. 252.

Some observers accounted for the increase in enrollment by the return of servicemen whose college plans had been interrupted by the war. This group alone, however, could not have caused the increase in enrollment of the 20's. If it had been exservicemen, prepared for training at the college level who swarmed to the colleges, there would not have been as much criticism of the standards of higher education. It was the group of unacademic minded students which crowded into the colleges and universities that caused grief to these institutions.

Since the Students' Army Training Corps and the exservicemen could not account for an enrollment that increased one hundred per cent in ten years and was many times larger than the natural increase in population, it is, therefore, evident that another force was beginning to exert its pressure upon college age people. This motivating force emerged out of the economic conditions in the United States during the twentieth century.

The complex society which was developing because of material and technological expansion presented problems which a more highly educated generation would be needed to solve and live through. President McKinley of the University of Illinois stated that the extension of education four years beyond high school "is simply a raising of the level of education to a new minimum standard for the great mass of the people and is parallel with the establishment of an American minimum standard in economic life."[19] Higher

[19] Arthur J. Klein, "Higher Education," Biennial Survey: 1924-1926, Bull. 1928, No. 25, 3.

education, which had once been considered a luxury and only indirectly related to everyday life, was becoming a necessary part of an educational system which was preparing the youth of America to live from day to day.

Furthermore, in the expanding technological society of the 20's, the greatest impetus was provided by industry and commerce. Many educators and observers in the 20's and 30's verified the close relationship between these two elements of society and higher education. Clark Wissler in his book, Man and Culture, wrote, "Mass Education is one of the three 'dominant characteristics' of contemporary [1923] American culture. Certainly the growth of the school is one of the most striking trends of the age that has witnessed the rise of an industrial civilization."[20] A more definite statement was made by Chancellor E. E. Brown of New York University. He believed that there was a correlation between "American supremacy in the field of industry and commerce and the great increase in high school and college enrollment" for the great economic growth in the United States created a need "for training the people — the mass — how to provide and enjoy economic advantage."[21]

Another article in the Atlantic Monthly noted that by an

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[20] Clark Wissler, Man and Culture (New York, 1923), p. 5. Quoted in George S. Counts, The Social Foundations of Education, Pt. IX of the Report of the Commission on the Social Studies of the American Historical Association (New York, 1934), 252.

[21] Biennial Survey: 1928-1930, 498.

interesting coincidence, -- "these coincidences in the history of our system are really remarkable" -- the development of the idea of democracy as applied to college enrollment, met "as if made to order, the great and sudden expansion of the nation's industrial life, the glorification of profit making and the implied disparagement of all intellectual, aesthetic and even moral processes which do not tend directly or indirectly to profit making."[22] A professor in a southern university also noted this coincidence and wrote, "America leads the family of nations in mass production; and not by accident does America lead the world in mass education."[23]

In this industrial society where machine power was taking the place of manpower, there was not as great a demand for untrained high school graduates. These young people realized, therefore, that they would be more valuable to employers if they continued their education in specialized skills which they could offer to industry and commerce. Employers had begun to place a considerable premium on a college education. Businesses and large corporations in all areas were reported to have entered into acute competition for the college graduates. Thus it became a national belief that a college education opened the way to great success. Parents who had had to struggle to make a living now sent their children to college

[22] Albert Jay Nock, "American Education," Atlantic Monthly, CXLVII (May 1931), 592-593.

[23] L. J. Nations, "Business Before Culture," North American Review, CCXXIX (June 1930), 708.

so that they might rise in the business world the sure, easy way. Indeed, the business and industrial opportunities of the 20's did not seem to contradict this belief.

The growing prosperity which followed at the heels of economic expansion also helped to increase enrollment. The expense of a college education was no longer a determining factor to a great many students.[24] Trevor Arnett of the General Education Board reported that although in 257 endowed institutions, including 217 men's and coeducational institutions and 40 women's colleges, the average tuition fee increased from $105 in 1919-1920 to $179 in 1926-1927, an increase of 70.5 per cent, it had little effect on student registration.[25] At Cornell there was a decided decline in competition for undergraduate scholarships. In 1914 there were 137 competitors; in 1919, 108; in 1920, 93; in 1921, 77; in 1922, 75; in 1923, 80; and in 1924, 78. The Biennial Survey therefore concluded that the cost burden was not a determining factor in college attendance, and, it stated, "in some instances he [the student] prefers to pay in money rather than to comply with academic and scholarship demands which would enable him to avoid cost."[26]

Prosperity in combination with industry and commerce helped to increase enrollment. Not only were businesses not employing the

[24] Biennial Survey: 1924-1926, 10.

[25] Trevor Arnett, "Teachers' Salaries," American Association of University Professors Bulletin, XV, No. 2 (February 1929), 144.

[26] Biennial Survey: 1924-1926, 10.

young people of college age, but the increase of wealth made it possible for many prospective students to free themselves from economic responsibilities at home. The New York Times reported that boys and girls could be "spared from farm or home or immediate wage-earning to spend four more years of time and money."[27]

The great influx of students forced the colleges and universities to make adjustments in their academic standards. The democratic principle in education and the interest of industry and business in college-trained employees brought to the campus a more heterogeneous group than had ever been seen before. Traditionally higher education had been limited to a comparatively small number of students, most of whom had similar family background and academic training. They had looked upon a college education as a cultivating experience; an exercise for the intellectual faculties. However, gradually this concept of higher learning was superceded by the belief that it was a necessity for all high school graduates.

The rapid increase in enrollment after World War I brought this change in the student body into sharper focus. Working side by side was the genius and the dullard; the rich boy and the poor boy; the son of a first family and the son of a recent immigrant; the son of a managerial family and the son of a labor family. Each of these students was seeking an education, but for as many reasons as there were students. The college and the university were faced with the

[27] New York Times, September 26, 1926, Sec. 9, p. 5.

task of providing a curriculum and a set of standards for these seekers of knowledge.

Among the educators the general concensus was that academic standards had become very low. Instruction was directed toward an "average" student whose intelligence was much lower than that of the average student of previous times. A professor in a mid-western university estimated that "25 per cent of the students in his classes would not have gone to college before the war -- and, which was more important, should not go now."[28] The faculty had to simplify its presentation, not only so a majority of the students would listen, but also that they might understand the material. In the overcrowded classroom the professor had to acquire qualities which would have been unheard of a few years before. More than a scholar the instructor had to be an orator, well versed in witty stories and amusing illustrations. "He must posses the ability to dramatise his subject, so that the dozing student in the last row will every now and then wake up and grasp a fact or a principle."[29] While the professor tried to keep his class' attention, the good student suffered. There was no longer a challenge to be met. As J. T. Adams commented, "One comes to limp who walks with the lame."[30]

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[28] New York Times, January 8, 1928, Sec. 5, p. 21.

[29] New York Times, January 8, 1928, Sec. 5, p. 21.

[30] Adams, 325.

It was also believed that the standards for entrance into institutions of higher learning were being lowered by the prevailing quantitive standards which allowed unqualified students to enter college. State universities, it was assumed, were under greater pressure to lower their entrance requirements since appeals for public funds were judged on the basis of enrollment. However, there is some evidence which indicates that these observers were more pessimistic about the quality of students than the actual situation justified.

In a study made in 1928 by Edwin J. Brown and William M. Proctor, the methods of admission and the matriculation requirements in three hundred thirty-one colleges and universities were given. Out of the total number of schools, no school based entrance primarily on an examination in all subjects by the college or university while 31 per cent used it occasionally; 2 per cent used the College Entrance Examination predominantly and 27 per cent, occasionally; 71 per cent based entrance upon a transcript from an approved high school predominantly and 6 per cent occasionally; 4 per cent used a combination of the examination and certificate predominantly and 46 per cent occasionally; one per cent used a diploma from an approved high school (the two examples occuring at state universities) and 6 per cent used this method occasionally; 8 per cent used a high school certificate, psychological examination, and personal history predominantly and 12 per cent occasionally; and none used maturity, vocational experience, and the psychological

examination predominantly and 18 per cent used it occasionally. The use of the transcript was the most common method of entrance. The state universities included in the survey used it almost exclusively and institutions with an annual income of over $1,000,000 used it the least and relied on the College Entrance Examination the most. The method which ranked second was the high school certificate, psychological examination, and personal history.

There was very little change in the language requirements between 1921 and 1927. Of the one hundred and thirty-one institutions studied by Brown and Proctor the number of institutions requiring a foreign language for admission remained the same. The women's colleges were the stronghold of the languages. Forty-four of the 51 women's colleges studied required a language. In 1927, 249 or more than two-thirds of the colleges and universities required some foreign language. One hundred and twenty-one or one half acknowledge a modern language, Latin or Greek for admission while only 29 required Latin or Greek only. Two-thirds of the institutions required an additional three units of English.

In 1926, 55 per cent of 287 colleges and universities reported that less than one per cent of the transcripts offered them did not contain at least ten units of academic work, i.e. courses in English, social studies, science, mathematics, and a foreign language. Forty-eight per cent of the transcripts offered to the fourteen colleges of agriculture, applied sciences, and technology did not

contain less than ten units in the academic fields. The state universities were the only institutions that received 5 per cent of the transcripts with less than ten units of academic work. On the other hand only 25 per cent of the three hundred thirty-one schools would accept five or more vocational-commercial-industrial credits for entrance. Forty-one per cent of the forty-one state universities would and 56 per cent would not. Of the thirty-one technical, agricultural schools 42 per cent would accept five or more vocational course credits and 58 per cent would not.[31]

These statistics are very favorable when compared with the figures in the study by Dr. Clyde Furst, Secretary of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching and Dr. W. C. John of the U. S. Bureau of Education. In a study of 51 state universities and 50 endowed universities and colleges in 1916-17, they found that the average number of units in the five academic field required to enter an A.B. degree program at a state university was 9.02 units and at an endowed school, 10.77. For a B.S. degree program the state universities required 7.83 units of academic work and the endowed schools 9.44.[32] Therefore, only in the endowed college did the average requirement reach 10 units where as in 1926 more than half of the schools reports that less than one per cent

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[31] E. J. Brown and William Proctor, "Methods of Admission and Matriculation Requirements in Three Hundred Thirty-One Colleges and Universities," The Articulation of the Units of American Education, Department of Superintendence Seventh Yearbook (Washington, D. C., 1929), 331-353.

[32] George F. Zook, "Higher Education," Biennial Survey 1920-1922, Bull. 1924, No. 13, I, 80.

of the transcripts had less than ten units of academic work.

As to the basis for refusal of students of accredited schools, 36 per cent of the studied schools denied entrance because of failure to present credit in specifically required subject matter. Only 2 per cent of the total did not refuse in-state students while making out of state students present high records, however, 10 per cent of the state universities followed this procedure. Twenty-eight per cent of the total never or rarely refused admission to students. This fact seems to be an incongruous statement for although the colleges and universities seemed to have kept up their academic standards 94 institutions out of 331 would not refuse admission, a number almost equal to the number of institutions which denied entrance because of poor scholarship.[33]

These figures indicate that entrance standards did not deteriorate during the 20's to the extent that educators intimated. There was a tendency to decrease the number of prescribed units and allow more alternatives and electives, but one source of criticism, that students were able to use vocational courses to meet entrance requirements, was not upheld, for, as it was stated, almost three-fourths of the 331 institutions would not accept five or more credits of vocational-commercial work for entrance. These figures indicate that either educators were generalising on the basis of a few exceptional examples or that they had not studied the facts and data to find if this "depraved" situation really existed.

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[33] Brown and Proctor, 354-355.

There were some observers who felt that the purpose of the college had become nothing more than regimental. Since the young people of college age were not being employed, educators like John Dale Russell of the University of Chicago felt that there must be some form of regimentation for youth during the interim between high school and employment. "They cannot," wrote Russell, "be left to roam the streets, to ride in box cars, and to fill the penitentiaries and prisons. Some form of occupational regimentation is absolutely necessary for them."[34] It was this attitude and the change in the character of student bodies of the colleges and universities all over the country that caused the loud lament of education.

During the 20's enrollment in institutions of higher learning increased at a rate which was phenomenal. The developments in technology and science had created an industrial world in which specialists and trained laborers were needed. Not only did this situation urge more students to enter college, but also induced an entirely different segment of the population to pursue their education beyond high school. Many college students, therefore, were only interested in vocational training, much to the dismay of the liberal arts instructors. This vocational atmosphere lead many educators to believe that the colleges were lowering entrance

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[34] Russell, 74. Karl W. Onthank, "Conference on Effect of Social Trends on Higher Education," School and Society, XL, August 25, 1934, 257.

standards, for the proportion of scholarly students was decreased. However, as was shown, this was not true. The very magnitude of the classes and the changing purpose for entering college tended to create an unintellectual atmosphere on the campus. Higher education in the 20's was suffering from "acute indigestion in the system due to extreme congestion."[35] It was this situation which caused education to grasp at "straws in the wind" schemes and to appear to be without aim or purpose.

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[35] New York _Times_, June 8, 1930, Sec. 5, p. 1.

Chapter IV

CURRICULUM TRENDS IN THE 1920'S

However, the increase in enrollment in higher education was not the only change brought about by the new way of life emerging in the 1920's. Industrialized America was demanding a new form of education for the great mass of students it was sending to the colleges and universities. In this society in which efficiency was the key to vast profits and business success, all the social institutions were being judged on the utilitarian basis that the most useful results must be produced by the most direct means. Higher education did not escape the influence of this point of view. The standards by which the value of higher education came to be judged were more pragmatic than academic and the result was the most intensely vocational curriculum that education had ever offered.

Valentine stated that there could be little doubt that the needs and temper of the American people would tend to force the turn to vocationalism.[1] The United States had begun almost a half century before to pass beyond the stage of small privately owned business and hand made products. By the time of the First World War that simple method of manufacturing was only a part of history. During and after the war production reached a new peak

[1] Valentine, p. 20.

with technical machine power taking the place of routine machine power. Technological advancements, accelerated by the needs of war time, created a constant demand for experts in entirely new branches of knowledge. Factory workers and soldiers who had been rapidly trained to supply the need during the war could not carry the burden alone. Trained specialists had to be supplied to business and industry upon which, in turn, society was making increasingly heavy demands.

Thus the whole economic system turned to the university and college for trained workers and the idea that educational institutions should emphasize training directed toward specific, useful objectives took hold of the mind of America. These institutions had the teaching facilities. They were also dependent upon the wealth of the nation for survival. Of the greatest importance, however, was their obligation to answer the educational demand of the student body, which more than ever before was seeking in higher education the means by which it could survive in a complex society. For, as Nations wrote, ". . . one today who aspires to economic success must be an expert in his particular line."[2] Higher education, as in the case of mass education, could do nothing but give the people what they wanted.

There were some advocates of vocational education who did not feel that their ideas were new in the field of higher education.

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[2] Nations, 708.

In an address delivered at Oxford during the annual meeting of the Association of Special Libraries and Information Bureaux, Professor A. M. Carr-Saunders suggested that "in the tendency of the modern university to give professional training we are returning to the old tradition, when the prime function of a university was to equip its members for life, even though life was to them represented at first by no more than the Law and the Church."[3] Russell pointed out that Harvard had been founded explicitly for the training of ministers.[4] While this argument for vocational education would seem valid to the casual observer, it had no real value in the 20's. Although their function was vocational, there was little similarity between the professional training provided by the American college up to the time of the Civil War and after, and that of the twentieth century. The control of the curriculum, the ends it sought, and the values it upheld were based upon totally different social needs and upon an equally different concept of higher education.

The most outstanding curriculum change in the 20's was the rise of a new group of professions. Until the twentieth century, medicine, law and theology had maintained an exclusive and unchallenged position as "academic professions." Although technical education had been introduced into the curriculum earlier, it had

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[3] Anon., "University Training in Relation to Industry," Nature, CXXVIII, December 19, 1931, 1017.

[4] Russell, 73.

been regarded as a "stop child" and, therefore, carefully kept in the background. Industry was looked upon as anything but a cultural pursuit. In an age of untrained and unskilled labor, those engaged in industry were considered "low brow." One could not be cultured if connected with production, trade, commerce, and finance. Samuel P. Capen called this period "the golden age of academic snobbery."[5]

However, in the first three decades of the twentieth century the attempts of the academic "snobs" to keep their position of superiority were being challenged more frequently and with greater force. Engineering and agriculture were among the earliest to petition for a position next to the established professions. Once the door was open, it was never completely closed again. Cautiously at first, but with increasing boldness and confidence, new professions which were considered of doubtful academic status by nineteenth century standards, were added by universities and colleges, education, business, social science, industrial arts, journalism and many others. If a course of study were denied professional status by one institution, it was accepted by another, which forced the first to eventually adopt it or lose a number of prospective students. Valentine commented, "The inroad of practical and occupational fields opened a new era of competition among those colleges that have chosen to exploit them, and we have seen each

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[5] Samuel P. Capen, "Relation of the State College to the New Movements in Higher Education," American Association of University Professors Bulletin, XVI (January 1930), 538.

large institution seeking to out do all the others."[6] As these new professions grew in prestige and increased in enrollment, constantly dividing into minute subject divisions for specialized training, theydemanded, and eventually received, individual identities with departmental and school status, granting degrees which were of academic value equal to the traditional professions. As Capen stated, "The tables have been neatly and completely turned."[7] The new professions dominated the academic scene. They attracted the bulk of the students and absorbed the major part of the appropriations. Their success could even carry the institutions' reputations.

If the institutions of higher education had been left to develop according to their own predilections, the evolution of vocational education would have taken a slower and more methodical course. However, the nature of educational institutions would not allow them to isolate themselves from the society around them, and as the representatives of the new social order came in ever increasing number to their campuses, the demands for new curricula came from all directions. Society was changing its attitude toward vocational training. Business and industry were becoming more attentive to the benefits they could receive from higher education. Just as education had looked down upon those who worked only with

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[6] Valentine, p. 20.

[7] Capen, 538.

their hands for profit, business and industry had been contemptuous of the educated class, preferring to hire a laborer who left school early and to teach him themselves, letting him learn the business day by day. However, the complicated business world of the 20's made producers realize that this system was no longer efficient. Research by corporations showed that a college man was likely to prove more valuable in the competition of business than one who was not.[8] And, when one business hired men with more specialized training, other competitors were forced to do the same. The New York Times reported in 1925 that a definite change could be seen in Pittsburgh, where the manufacturing companies were turning more to college trained employees.[9] In 1933 Senator Arthur Capper of Kansas stated that at least nine businesses out of ten wanted as their employees young people with as much education as possible.[10] Dugdale observed, "Once American big business hunting for ways and means of increasing efficiency, decided that a university education was an asset, it put its whole heart into encouraging the university. And the more it encouraged the more it determined the trend of university education."[11] There also was a definite trend for occupations, which were seeking

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[8] Adams, 323-324.

[9] New York Times, August 14, 1925, p. 12.

[10] Arthur Capper, "Why Business Needs Education," School Life, XVIII (February 1933), 108.

[11] Dugdale, 71.

professional and semi-professional status, especially in business, to require certain educational standards, both general and specific, for employment.[12] Thus the growing esteem with which society regarded business and industry was reflected in institutions of higher education by the establishment of scientific and technical departments and schools in the colleges and universities, and the increase in the number of technological institutions with totally scientific and technical curricula.

At the same time there was developing a new attitude toward the working class. With the development of the factory system and mass production, the skilled artisan had lost his individuality and the laboring class had lost much of its prestige. As machines began to do the routine jobs however, and men and women were again performing special and intricate tasks which required extensive training, the attitude of society toward labor was more favorable. The laboring class was viewed as the foundation upon which their industrialized society was built. As Dean James E. Russell said, America needed "Leaders, not aristocrats, but experts giving a particular service."[13] Therefore, a new slogan, "a university education for all salaried workers," was adopted by the public and forced, with varied degrees of difficulty and ease, upon higher

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12 William Chandler Bagley, "The Upward Expansion of Mass Education," Higher Education Faces the Future: A Symposium on College and University Education in the United States of America, ed., Paul Schilpp (New York, 1930), p. 141.

13 Biennial Survey: 1928-1930, 498.

education. Following the usual pattern, state universities and colleges readily responded to society's demand for educated workers, while the privately endowed universities gradually changed or ignored the demands.

New educational ideas also developed in the labor class itself. Because of the loss of status and the lack of qualifying standards in the industrial and business world, many youths who would normally have entered industry, agriculture, or business, went to college because these institutions bestowed status upon their graduates.[14] Frederick W. Roe, Assistant Dean at the University of Wisconsin, wrote, "In the programmes of the British Labor Party and of the American Federation of Labor we already see what new and broader responsibilities the workers are placing upon education, for they have learned the indespensable character of their work and they will no longer accept a social philosophy which would keep them permanently in an inferior status."[15] Therefore, an increasing percentage of the laboring class entered the colleges and universities for technical training and for the prestige which was attached to a college degree.

With these three groups, business and industry, society, and labor, recognizing the necessity of vocational training and giving it their full support, the new non-liberal arts departments

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[14] Habib Amin Kurani, Selecting the College Student in America, Teacher's College, Columbia University Ser. (New York, 1931), 69.

[15] Roe, 186.

became firmly established and came to be considered of a professional nature. But their expansion presented a new challenge to the general liberal arts colleges, whether affiliated with a university or not. A. Monroe Stowe defined the purpose of the college of liberal arts as a preparation "for intelligent participation in the activities of life as socially efficient citizens willing to meet their responsibilities to society, for the rational enjoyment of work and leisure in a world in which they have learned to be at home, and for scholarly achievement in graduate and professional schools."[16] With this purpose guiding their course of instruction, the liberal arts colleges were not following the trends of society, and they soon realized that they must take direct action. For as William J. Cooper, the United States Commissioner of Education, pointed out, the survival of the liberal arts college depended upon the meeting of present-day conditions. In the presence of conditions which were unquestionably favorable to universities, Cooper suggested that the older colleges could profit by the example of Harvard and Yale, liberal arts colleges that had added professional schools of medicine, dentistry, pharmacy, education, and business administration.[17] Many colleges did adopt this plan. Even though the college of liberal arts within the

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[16] A. Monroe Stowe, "What is the Matter With Our Colleges?" School and Society, XXII, September 26, 1925, 401.

[17] Cooper, 516-517.

university might maintain its identity for a while, it too was gradually reorganized into a preparatory course for graduate schools of research.

If the liberal arts college wished to maintain its basic principles, many times it was forced to degrade itself to the position of a "feeder" to all the professional schools. It became merely a two or four year stepping stone to the university. Carl Holliday of the University of Toledo estimated that probably three-fourths of the energy, time, and courses in the average liberal arts colleges was being donated to the "unwelcomed and unprofitable" task of supplying students to the professional schools.[18] In this way the "pre-profession" curriculum became common in the liberal arts colleges.

Although the enrollment of the colleges of liberal arts continued to increase, it no longer maintained its traditional standing. More often than not it was looked upon as an intermediate stop, but it still remained a "cultural haven" for those who could "still afford the luxury of a liberal education which conduces to an appreciation of the good, the beautiful, and the true."[19] As this statement implies, higher education could no longer offer fundamental values alone to a nation that needed mechanics and accountants.

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[18] Carl Holliday, "Hamstringing the Liberal Arts College," School and Society, XXV, February 5, 1927, 153.

[19] Nations, 706.

Not only did the number of professional fields multiply, but there was also a phenomenal growth in the number of courses within each field of study. The demand for more specialized training and the increase of knowledge in all the fields of learning could result in nothing less than the minute subdivision and resubdivision of the curriculum. The elective system had set the pace for this multiplication of subjects. Under this system the student could choose the subjects he wished to take. Thus the college and university was constantly under pressure to satisfy new demands. As the new post-war generation of students entered college seeking training in specialized fields, the elective system fit their needs and allowed for the "trivialization" of education. Although between 1910 and 1920 educators began to see the shortcomings of the elective system and tried to introduce a greater measure of order, there was little significant change until the middle 30's.[20]

The multiplication of subjects reached its extreme during the second and third decades of the twentieth century.[21] By 1910 there were so many courses offered in the colleges and universities "that a student might spend his entire life in a given institution, taking a normal load of different subjects each semester, and never

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[20] Hofstadter and Hardy, p. 55.

[21] Judd, 339.

be able to take all the offerings."[22] In the liberal arts college at Harvard the number of courses increased 334 between 1900 and 1920 and 237 between 1920 and 1930. At the University of Chicago between 1910 and 1920 the number of liberal arts courses increased 222 and between 1920 and 1930, 236.[23] The course s increased at such a rapid rate that college catalogues resembled telephone books, both in size and number of items. A student could find courses which were beyond the wildest flight of imagination. For as Joseph Jastrow described it, "If the old fixed course was a table d'hote, and the elective system an à la carte, the vogue is now for a cafeteria service with the professors behind the counter. The Universiteria is in the offing."[24]

The content of the curriculum and the areas of accelerated growth reflect the new trends in American society. Among the most noticeable changes was the final deterioration of the traditional curriculum core of higher education, the classics. When collegiate training had been the privilege of a highly select group, the college had been able to maintain a fixed and conservative curriculum. Those who did not wish the type of education offered by higher education

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[22] Mowat G. Fraser, The College of the Future (New York, 1937), p. 170. Quoted in Guy A. West, "Higher Education," Twentieth Century Education: Recent Developments in American Education, ed. P. F. Valentine (New York, 1946), p. 535.

[23] Judd, 338.

[24] Joseph Jastrow, "Who Runs the Universities," Century Magazine, CXV (April 1928), 672.

could and usually did stay away from the college, since higher education was not required for most occupations. However, the democratic philosophy of education and the economic needs of society brought to college a student body to which a classical curriculum was not suitable. In the first place the new students were not interested in basic studies, for in most cases they were looking for means of making money. Guy A. West of Chico State College in California commented, "If the student spends his years in college pursuing the 'permanent studies' [classics, general courses] and gaining a profound understanding and knowledge of 'truth', he may find himself severely handicapped in the competition of the labor market, for he will obviously not be qualified for medical practice or the law or school teaching. Nor will he be ready to assume his duties as a mechanic or a boiler maker."[25] This attitude gained the support of a large segment of the population which urged the replacement of the classics and fundamental courses by the practical studies. In the second place, the narrow traditional curriculum was incompatible with the academic and cultural background of a large portion of the student body. It was perceived, however, that even the ineducatable person might become a successful banker, industrialist, or salesman, although he could never become a scholar.

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[25] West, p. 536.

At the University of Chicago in 1900 the Latin courses had the third largest enrollment and the number of Greek students was larger than the number of economic and chemistry students. By 1930 the number taking Latin and Greek had decreased to 6 per cent of the 1900 enrollment.[26] A steady decline could also be noted in philosophy and mathematics. The limited classical core was being dropped by higher education, and the individual courses joined the ranks of the electives.

However, after the traditional core was abandoned, nothing was developed to take its place. Without a central focal point each new field developed and added courses as they were needed. As can be expected, the practical courses saw the most rapid growth. L. J. Nations wrote that he felt that the history of the university where he taught was representative of the rise of the professional school of business in America. He stated that although the university was almost one hundred years old, the school of commerce, only ten years old, was the largest of the university's "professional" schools in student enrollment.[27] H. G. Wright in his work in commercial education pointed out that the vast amount of building of commercial and business administration facilities was an indication of its growing importance. He believed that the schools of commerce ranked second only to the schools of liberal arts in enrollment and surpassed all the other professional

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[27] Nations, 705.

schools.[28] At the University of Chicago the records of one hundred graduates showed that only one course in commerce and administration had been taken in 1920, while in 1930, 142 courses had been taken.[29] Another indication that colleges and universities were placing greater emphasis upon commercial courses was shown in the decline of the number of private business and commercial schools. Between 1900 and 1920 the number of these schools increased by 529, the period of greatest increase coming between 1910 and 1915. After 1920 there was a downward movement, the number of schools decreasing 251 by 1929 and the enrollment decreasing 50 per cent.[30] As the public institutions created a commercial curriculum, the need for private schools declined.

The engineering and agricultural courses also saw a phenomenal development. The schools of technology between 1906 and 1932 increased their faculty by 186 per cent. The period of greatest growth came after the war. Lunden added that he felt that the war and post-war period had a more definite influence on technical school faculties than on university or college teaching staffs.[31]

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[28] Quoted by Nations, 705.

[29] Judd, 339.

[30] Maris M. Proffitt, Statistics of Private Commercial and Business Schools: 1928-1930, Bull. U. S. Department of Interior Office of Education, No. 25 (Washington, D. C., 1930), 3.

[31] Lunden, pp. 224-225.

The rise of new professions to the status of department and schools and the increase in the number of technical and practical courses, which reached the point of greatest intensity during the 20's reflect the changes in society more than a reorganization of ideas by institutions of higher learning. Higher education was only following the dictates of its master, the public, which was caught in a rising tide of industrialism, technology, prosperity, and individualism. The student body, encouraged by industry and business' need for trained workers, demanded an even wider range of vocational subjects. As the enrollment in these courses increased, the vocational fields were able to win their struggle for professional status and departmental and school organization. But as the practical courses expanded, the liberal arts declined, often becoming pre-professional courses or electives. Although many educators lamented this reversal of emphasis in the curriculum, higher education had followed the course which was mapped out by society.

Chapter V

CONTROL OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE 1920's

With the increase in enrollment and the expansion and subdivision of the curriculum, came a change in the governing body of institutions of higher learning. For, just as the limitation of enrollment to a select few and the traditional immutable course of study had been proved inadequate to meet the needs and demands of society, so had the administration. Elements of the business world entered into the directing body of higher education, and influenced the whole administrative hierarchy.

The first American colleges were founded under religious sponsorship and were under the control of the affiliated church. While the office of president was often limited by charter or preference to members of the sponsoring sect, none of the early colleges had religious qualifications for entrance. Although one of the functions of the church college was to prepare men for the ministry, by the close of the eighteenth century four-fifths of the graduates were entering other occupations, and the institutions became primarily liberal arts colleges.[1]

One of the most outstanding features of the colonial colleges was their system of lay control, a system in which the

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[1] Richard Hofstadter and Walter P. Metzger, The Development of Academic Freedom in the United States (New York, 1955), pp. 115-116.

major decisions were made by boards of nonresident governors who were not teachers.[2] This system was a colonial development, for the European university, with a few exceptions, had from its beginning been under faculty control. Lay control allowed persons who, though educated, were not directly affiliated with the college to formulate the policy of the institution. The president, as a college resident and often as a teacher, while at the same time a member of the board, was usually the only intermediary between the two groups.

The board, which usually represented the colonial upper-class, was a fairly homogeneous group. The set curriculum, which excluded courses in politics and economics, prevented disagreement because of group interests. Similar academic background also averted any challenge of either the curriculum or the administration.[3]

The boards of trustees of the first three American colleges, Harvard (1636), William and Mary (1693), and Yale (1701), were sectarian. The later colonial colleges were not sponsored by a single sect, and therefore established interdenominational boards. The College of Philadelphia (1749), a nonsectarian academy which became the University of Pennsylvania in 1779, had a policy whereby six of the twenty-four trustees were to be the senior members of each of the principle religious denominations of the city,

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[2] Hofstadter and Metzger, p. 114.

[3] Hofstadter and Metzger, p. 151.

including the Roman Catholic.[4]

By the end of the eighteenth century nondenominational institutions were being established by the national and state governments. The first institutions of higher learning to be chartered by the state was the University of Georgia in 1785. The Ordinances of 1785 and 1789 established a public education system in the Northwest Territory and between 1817 and 1870 a state university was established in each of the six states carved from the territory.[5] The principle of the separation of church and state prevented sectarian interests from entering the state institutions, a policy which has continued to the present. Higher education was, therefore, divided into two categories, the church school and the state school.

The change in controlling bodies in the nineteenth century was most noticeable in the denominational college. Even though the colonial boards of trustees had represented business interests, they had adhered to the wishes of the church represented by the clergymen trustees. However, by 1860 in fifteen private institutions, the clergy represented only 30 per cent of the governing board membership.[6] They had been replaced

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[4] Hofstadter and Metzger, pp. 115-117.

[5] Guy E. Snavely, The Church and the Four-Year College: An Appraisal of Their Relation (New York, 1955), pp. 137-138.

[6] Earl J. McGrath, "The Control of Higher Education in America," Educational Record, XVII (April 1936), 259-272.

by bankers, merchants, industrialists, and railroadmen. The movement toward secularization had begun before the Civil War period, aided by the colonial policy of lay control, and was furthered by the post-Civil War developments.

The money which poured into the colleges and universities from business and industry produced a period of great expansion in higher education. As income increased and the institutions grew, the business of the college became more complex, and financing and administrating were major functions. Higher education was outgrowing church control, and educators soon realised with Eliot of Harvard that "A university cannot be built upon a sect."[7]

The individual grants from business and industrial leaders did not secularize higher education. Endowments were given to church and state schools according to individual preference. Rockefeller endowed the University of Chicago though it was affiliated with the Baptist church. Vanderbilt gave money to the Methodist college which bears his name. The stigma which was attached to this money in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries prevented the donors from designating a particular use for the endowment. However, the ensuing growth of the colleges did lead to secularization of boards of trustees.

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[7] George W. Pierson, "American Universities in the Nineteenth Century: The Formative Period," The Modern University, ed. Margaret Clapp (New York, 1950), p. 78.

Wealthy businessmen not only represented money for the school, but they also were capable financiers and organizers which meant efficient college management. Therefore, by 1884 the Cornell Board of Trustees, for example, included five bankers, three lawyers, two manufacturers and one editor. In the group was Henry W. Sage, the owner of the largest lumber business in the world at that time.[8]

Nor did the office of the president remain unaffected by the secular trend. With administrative knowledge at a premium, the clerical teacher-president was replaced by secular practical men with wide experience and cosmopolitan views. It is interesting to note, however, that in the late 1800's the secular presidents of many of the leading colleges and universities had formerly been professors. Eliot had been a professor of chemistry at Massachusetts Institute of Technology and F. A. P. Barnard of Columbia had been a professor of chemistry, mathematics and natural history. Some of the more conservative institutions, such as Princeton, were slower to abandon clerical presidents, but finally in 1902 Princeton inaugurated Woodrow Wilson, a political scientist, as president.[9] While the secular presidents were not consciously anticlerical, their concern for the practical and business aspects of the institutions resulted in the gradual decline

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[8] Hofstadter and Metzger, p. 415.

[9] Hofstadter and Hardy, p. 33-34.

of sectarian influence on higher education.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, the secularization of higher education was an established trend. As the new century opened a new development took place which further weakened sectarian control. This new development was the philanthropic foundation. The two major foundations established in the first decade of the twentieth century, the Carnegie Foundation and the Rockefeller General Education Board, through the former's pension plan and the endowment plans of both, worked indirectly to help higher education make some order out of the chaotic conditions which prevailed in the early 1900's. They, therefore, formulated a set of requirements which all institutions had to meet to qualify for foundation funds. Both of these philanthropic organizations believed that one of the major offenders against the standards which they were trying to establish in higher education were the Protestant religious denominations. They agreed that if a concentrated effort were made in a few strategic areas the result they wished would be achieved. Hollis stated that this implied "that the weak and ineffective college should be allowed to die from financial starvation and other 'natural' causes." This was the end which both organizations sought, but their means were dissimilar.

From its beginning the Foundation had stated in its undenominational clause that an institution could not share in the

Carnegie pension fund if it remained in any way under the control of a religious sect. Encouraged by the prospect of sharing in the pension plan, many of the financially stronger denominational colleges that had been trying to break their ties with church sponsors decided to take the final step. The influence of this stronger group and the criticism and advice of the Foundation tended to loosen the hold of the church on many of the weaker colleges though afterwards they did not join the pension plan. The Foundation also helped and encouraged the rise of new independent colleges.

The General Education Board sought its ends through "systematic and helpful cooperation" with the sectarian colleges. It gave direct support to the strong denominational institutions which met certain "unannounced" standards and followed the "natural death" strategy with the smaller ones. Although there sometimes were conditions which had to be agreed to before a grant was made, these were usually organisational and administrative changes, for the Board in no way interfered with denominational control or affiliation. It chose to make its improvements possible through the church's support. Under this system the Board established the policy and the sect was a "Yes" body.[10]

In the 1920's the influence of religion itself was

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[10] Ernest Victor Hollis, Philanthropic Foundations and Higher Education (New York, 1938), pp. 127-141.

greatly reduced. Society, filled with post-war pessimism, criticized religion and forced it to adjust to a new generation. This critical attitude was also found on the college campus. America was witnessing a rapid growth of scientific research and religion was considered very unscientific. The materialism of American society, which was reflected in higher education, was in continual opposition to religious principles, and especially to religious control. Secularization which in the early movement had meant the desire for nonclerical control and nonsectarianism, took on the meaning of no religion at all.[11]

As sectarian interest diminished, business interests moved in. McGrath's survey showed that by 1930 clerical membership on college boards had dropped to 7.2 per cent.[12] If a clergyman were on the board of trustees of an undenominational college, he was more apt to have gained the appointment because of his influence and possibly his leadership than for his religious affiliation and training. There was a very definite increase in the number of businessmen trustees. McGrath found that the percentage of bankers on boards increased from 4.6 in 1860 to 20 in 1930. In this same length of time the proportion of businessmen increased from slightly more than one-fifth to slightly less than

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[11] Merrimon Cuninggim, The College Seeks Religion Yale Studies in Religious Education (New Haven, 1947), p. 18.

[12] McGrath, 262.

one-third. The total of the businessmen, bankers, and lawyers, made up 73.6 per cent of the board members by 1930.[13] In a survey of five state universities, the percentage of clergymen on the boards of trustees was obviously much lower, the proportion of businessmen was approximately the same, and the percentage of farmers was much greater.[14] These figures which represent a study of only fifteen private institutions and five state institutions in various sections of the United States, nevertheless, indicate the nationwide trend.

It was during the 20's that this trend which had been in progress since before the Civil War came to the direct attention of many educators and observers. The influence of business and industry leaders in the directing bodies of the institutions was judged a blessing by some and a blight by others. Richard Hofstadter wrote that these outside interests did not enter higher education as intruders. They were instead "welcomed into the realm and escorted to its high place by its grateful inhabitants . . . To offend the bearer of gifts was an action sometimes defined as the deepest disloyalty and treachery." This solicitous attitude toward business and industry arose from two strong motives, self-interest and a desire for social approval.[15]

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[13] McGrath, 263-264.

[14] McGrath, 265.

[15] Hofstadter and Metzger, p. 419.

The need of wealthy patrons and men of influence became more pressing as enrollment increased and institutions were forced to enlarge their facilities. The operation of these vast organizations called for boards experienced in business practices and who knew more about them than the men who were creating the great prosperity of the 20's. By 1918 Cornell University had added to its board of trustees, Andrew Carnegie, Charles W. Schwab, president of Bethlehem Steel, and H. H. Westinghouse. An appointment as trustee of a college or university became synonymous with wealth and "a trusteeship in a large university became along with a listing in the Social Register, a token of business prominence and of pecuniary qualification."[16] Viewing the immense value of educational institutions in the form of facilities and moneyed interests, Robert M. Hutchins of the University of Chicago asked, "How can we escape taking a commercial attitude toward higher education?"[17] This was not an easy question to answer.

Voicing the opinions of those who looked favorably upon the interest the commercial world was taking in higher education was Josiah Harmar Penniman, President of the University of Pennsylvania. At a newspaper conference in 1925 Penniman stated that he was not disturbed by the growing affinity between scholarship

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16 Hofstadter and Metzger, pp. 415-416.

17 Robert M. Hutchins, "The Present Emergency in Higher Education," Needed Readjustments in Higher Education, Proceedings of the Institute For Administrative Officers in Higher Institutions, ed. William S. Gray, V (Chicago, 1933), 4.

and business. He believed that higher education was broadening its interest scope and that business and industry were becoming more academic. "If higher education has been influenced by business," stated Penniman, "it is now enjoying the advantages of organization on a large scale." He was also encouraged by the outside influence being exerted on scholars in the various fields of research to "dig deep and look far." The fear that business interests were causing practical courses, especially business courses, to overshadow other departments was groundless. It was a cause for gratification to Penniman that education was becoming applicable to many practical fields.[18] Dr. Penniman, as can easily be concluded from his statements, represented the new group of educators who looked with favor upon the pragmatic education of the 20's. He did not see business and industry as sinister monsters ready to devour higher education or use it to further their own mercenary ends. Instead these commercial groups represented beneficent guardians who were working harmoniously with higher education to improve each other and to serve society.

The sinister apparition was, however, very real to many educators, and their written and verbal denunciations of the new trend were loud and numerous. Upton Sinclair in his book, Goose-Step, made the most vicious attack on outside control of higher

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18 New York Times, May 17, 1925, Sec. 8, p. 10.

education. Carried to the extreme by his strong biases, Sinclair wrote, "Our educational system is not a public service, but an instrument of special privilege, its purpose is not to further the welfare of mankind, but merely to keep American capitalists."[19] Through a system of "interlocking directorates" the leaders of higher education and big business worked to further each others private interests. J. P. Morgan was a trustee of Columbia University, which Sinclair called Morgan University, all his active life, as was his son-in-law, one or two of his attorneys and several of his bankers, while President Butler was a director of one of Morgan's insurance companies.[20] Similar interlocking directorates were described at various other universities. Sinclair saw the academic procession marching in "Goose-step" to the command of vested interests, while the obedient teachers, the "Goslings," filed after them.[21]

Thorstein Veblen criticised higher education for adopting material requirements, while sacrificing spiritual aims. He accused the institutions of being commercial minded and of using quantitative standards of output rather than qualitative standards, thereby falling into the hands of business. Unlike Sinclair, Veblen

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[19] Upton Sinclair, Goose-Step A Study of American Education, Revised ed. (Los Angeles, 1923), p. 18.

[20] Sinclair, p. 21.

[21] Jastrow, 673-674.

did not ascribe the business bias to a conspiracy between business and education leaders, but to the "strain of the price system and the necessities of competitive earning and spending" which had driven society to favor practical efficiency in education.[22]

Others like J. E. Kirkpatrick and Dean Otto Heller accused higher education of being controlled by those in the "conningtower of financial strength" and of introducing the ethics of industrialism on the college campus.[23] Kenneth C. M. Sills, President of Bowdoin College stated their position to the Boston Chamber of Commerce, "Colleges welcome criticism from businessmen, but businessmen must not attempt to dictate college methods."[24]

Though the exact extent of control of higher education by business and industry was never conclusively ascertained, a situation which led Joseph Jastrow to refer to control as the "lively skeleton in the educational closet,"[25] it is evident that commercial leaders were gaining more positions on governing boards and endowing colleges and universities with larger sums of money for specific uses. At the same time the practical and vocational

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[22] Veblen, p. 42.

[23] Jastrow, 674. Otto Heller, "The Passing of the Professor," Scientific Monthly, XXIV (January 1927), 31-40.

[24] New York Times, April 27, 1928, p. 28.

[25] Jastrow, 668.

schools and professions were growing in enrollment and importance. These developments could be considered coincidental and beneficial or intentional and harmful. With the rapid pace at which traditional standards and curriculum were being undermined, it is little wonder that men like Sinclair, Veblen, and Kirkpatrick took the latter point of view. The basic reasoning behind their criticism seemed to come from the belief that the world of business and the world of scholarship were far removed from each other, seeking different ends by different means, and that any joint activity could never be beneficial to higher education.

College and university presidents were accused of working hand to hand with business. E. R. Craighead at a meeting of the National Education Association deplored the system by which presidents of educational institutions were chosen not on their merits, but because they were skillful politicians who employed the methods of politicians and bosses, though he said he realised that they were not the creators of the system, but were merely creatures of external governing boards. President Schurman of Cornell University accused presidents and trustees of obstructing and even destroying the ideals of higher education and replacing them with an alien ideal, the ideal of the business corporation.[26]

As a result of this presidential "bossism" it was believed, and in some instances said to be true, that the college

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[26] Jastrow, 669-670.

and university professors were being subjugated by the unacademic presidents and governing bodies. Many educators began to urge that education be returned to the hands of its rightful guardians, the faculty. They argued that the faculty was better qualified to settle educational problems and what was more important, to preserve education's original ideals and standards. Faculty control in higher education was called for throughout the 20's and in 1928 received the support of the Association of American Professors.[27]

Educators, like Penniman, however, did not consider the change in the qualifications of college presidents "a terrible calamity." "Some of the ablest men in this country are business heads," said Penniman, "men who are conducting vast undertakings, apparently with consumate ease, building broad foundations for future development and at the same time studying the psychology of the nation and its relations with other peoples."[28] This statement not only reveals the growing esteem of businessmen in the eyes of the general public, but it also implies that society felt that the professor and scholar in his "ivory tower" had somehow lost contact with the practical world. It was this concept of the scholar which prompted Dr. Charles Gray Shaw, professor of philosophy at New York University, to propose that the college

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[27] Jastrow, 669.

[28] New York _Times_, May 17, 1925, Sec. 8, p. 10.

professors, instead of seeking exchange fellowships, trade their academic chairs for businessmen's desks. He thought education needed less education and more energy and therefore urged professors to establish "practical relations with the world."[29] The administrator and politician was thought to be the most capable man to direct the enlarged and complex organization. Under the label of efficiency, higher education institutions came to be operated in accordance with commercial principles and the financial relationship of administration and students was considered a business transaction.[30] Therefore, the director of this organization had to possess the special administrative abilities to keep it functioning properly.

Business and industry were not the only external organs to take an interest in higher education. After the Civil War the federal government began to assume more responsibility in education. Through the years it had set up many boards and commissions to aid education and had spent millions of dollars on higher education alone. The Morrill Act established the land grant colleges. Various other acts helped to further vocational education at the college level. There was, however, no coordinated policy which governed the federal educational program. Lotus Coffman wrote that appropriations and projects were established

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[29] New York Times, March 19, 1927, p. 16.

[30] Biennial Survey: 1924-1926, 11-12.

through special pressures to serve special needs. Overlapping interests and struggles for survival among groups became more intense. Expanding government influence in higher education added fear to confusion. This situation resulted in "a new deal" for education. On December 3, 1929 in his annual message to Congress, President Hoover called for the appointment of a National Advisory Committee on Education. Coffman called the charter of this organization one of the most important educational documents ever issued in America. It discussed for the first time in terms of fundamental principles the background against which public education should be evaluated and announced also for the first time a series of principles that should serve as a guide for the federal government in future legislation relating to education.[31] Thus by the end of the 20's the federal government had begun to take formal steps toward defining its action in the field of higher education.

The question, who controls the universities, appeared frequently during the 20's. It arose from the difference of opinion as to the extent and effect of business influence in higher education. Though each group had its own opinions, neither attempted to make an adequate, unbiased study of control to prove its statements. Studies were made of the increasing representation of business on the boards of trustees, but this does not indicate a self-

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[31] Coffman, 16-17.

interested use of higher education, though some thought their very presence could produce nothing beneficial to the institution. It would be very difficult to measure separately the influence of business on the inside and on the outside in producing the emphasis on vocational training and the introduction of business practices in the management of higher education. The increase in the number of students, the cause of which cannot be traced back to the boards of trustees, and the resultant expansion of facilities made it necessary for business experts to help direct the new complex institutions. Business and technical courses were probably more a result of the students' demands and the economic condition of society than of the boards of trustees. Although many developments of the post-World War I period, if viewed with preconceived opinions, would seem to indicate that higher education was greatly influenced by the business interests in the governing boards, without a study of the extent of this control, internal economic interests cannot be said to have subjugated higher education to their will in the 1920's.

Chapter VI

THE TRADITIONAL-VOCATIONAL CONTROVERSY

Underlying much of the confusion and criticism in the 1920's was a difference of opinion as to the purpose of higher education. It was a conflict between the traditionalists and the vocationalists. The antithesis between the two groups had developed long before the 20's. Since the beginning of organised efforts to promote vocational education, there had been disagreements as to its desirability. The debates over the Morrill Act in the 1850's and following its final passage in 1862 were very heated, and the supporters of the bill were accused of "prostituting education and of stamping the dollar-mark upon the work of the schools." When the Federal Vocational Education Act was debated in 1917, the controversy flared up with increased vigor.[1] The post-war increase in enrollment and the expansion of technological training brought the conflict to a final showdown.[2] For as Homer P. Rainey, President of Franklin College, pointed out, this spectacular growth of the technical schools and the schools of business and commerce tended to bring professional and general or liberal education into sharp contrast.[3] Both groups were forced to

[1] Mays, p. 85.

[2] Earnest, p. 284. Valentine, p. 23.

[3] Homer P. Rainey, "What is the Future of Professional and Liberal Education?" School and Society, XXXII, July 19, 1930, 80.

take a stand and be judged by the public as to their value in higher education and society.

The traditionalists and the vocationalists, both, firmly believed that there was an inherent antipathy between the cultural and the practical. It was felt that the two could not be lumped together successfully. Lowell of Harvard stated that education could not serve "both gods and keep its integrity."[4] The most adamant proponents of these two educational "gods" were either unable or unwilling to appreciate each others views and purpose. The difference in their concepts and their presumed incompatability was illustrated by Ernest D. Burton's exaggerated statement, "Probably also there is no way of teaching Greek so that a man may in the process learn how to make automobiles, or of training chauffeurs so that they will turn out to be writers of classic prose."[5] It was this problem which would have to be solved before there could be unity of purpose in higher education and if it were not, it was a "painless but sure form of suicide."[6]

The purpose of higher education which the traditionalists or "conservatives" accepted was to provide training of a cultural and intellectual nature. Especially with the vast complexity and instability of society, it was the duty of the university to

[4] New York Times, January 14, 1928, p. 16.

[5] Burton, p. 15.

[6] Roe, 182.

uphold cultural standards.[7] Burton wrote that in a democracy every man should be a producer of real values and a thinker.[8] Hutchins later said that the task of higher education was the development of intellectual leadership.[9] The conservatives based their educational system upon the traditional liberal arts which prepared the student to make "a life rather than a living."

The "cultural" educators, therefore, vigorously opposed the expansion of the scope of higher education into practical fields. They did not accept the changes which had been produced by the developments in society as inevitable. Abraham Flexner, one of the most outstanding critics of vocational education in the late 20's and early 30's, stated that practical training, "the ability to do different things without profoundly understanding the processes therein involved," was not a duty of the university. It was no concern of institutions of higher learning to train carpenters, secretaries, school teachers, businessmen or anyone who was more interested in learning a skill than in understanding the fundamental problems and processes involved.[10] Even if technical training were necessary, it was not

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[7] Abraham Flexner, "The University in American Life," Atlantic Monthly, CXLIX (May 1932), 622.

[8] Burton, p. 15.

[9] Robert Maynard Hutchins, "The University of Utopia," Yale Review, XX (March 1931), 457.

[10] Flexner, Atlantic Monthly, CXLIX (May 1932), 621.

the responsibility of the college or university for they "need not and should not concern themselves with miscellaneous training at or near the vocational level."[11] Flexner, as well as many other educators, believed that "a trained mind, stored with knowledge, will readily enough find itself even in our complex world."[12]

In the eyes of the traditionalist not only had education extended itself beyond its natural area of responsibility, but it had sacrificed its values and integrity. J. T. Adams commented that as a general rule the college and university made only the slightest cultural impression on the student.[13] The essential university spirit had been sacrificed to "opportunistic vocationalism."[14] Hutchins stated that the aim of the college to train intelligence and to substitute it for "stupidity and prejudice" had failed.[15] Colleges and universities had opened their doors to everyone and had lowered their academic standards instead of accepting only those who had scholarly or professional interests. These professional interests, obviously, did not include the recently acknowledged fields. Flexner and Hutchins both agreed

[11] Abraham Flexner, Universities: American English German (Oxford, 1930), pp. 53-54, 172.

[12] Flexner, Universities: American English German, p. 53.

[13] Adams, 323.

[14] Angell, p. 9.

[15] Hutchins, Yale Review, XX (March 1931), 456.

that the "service" schools and departments such as home economics, business, hotel management, etc., did not belong in the university.[16] The university, according to Hutchins, was not an instrument for public instruction, but an organization for the promotion of scholarship.[17] Accepting these basic principles, not only had higher education erred in being influenced by business and industry, but it had betrayed its academic integrity by acting upon public demands.

The traditionalists could not easily be swayed from their point of view. Ernest Earnest commented that this attitude had greatly aided the very excesses of vocationalism which they were protesting against. He said that instead of guiding the new educational developments they had "braced their feet and called names." When students began to call for vocational courses, the traditionalists had refused to expand their liberal arts courses. Therefore, courses in journalism, for example, denied a place in the English departments, were forced to organize a department of their own, and statistics, ignored by the mathematics department, joined the school of business or also developed its own department. Earnest stated that the most tragic separation took place between learning and pedagogy which led to the development

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16 Flexner, Universities: American English German, p. 152.

17 Robert Maynard Hutchins, "A New Plan for Higher Education," Review of Reviews, LXXXVII (March 1933), 35.

of independent teachers colleges. The "fantastic anti-intellectualism" of Columbia Teachers College and its offspring across the nation was largely a result of the failure of liberal arts educators to provide adequate training for teachers. Preparing the prospective teachers in the fundamental studies, not only did they not realize that much of this knowledge would be of little use in a high school curriculum, but they were completely oblivious to the large group in high school which would not attend college and, therefore, need vocational training.[18]

The purpose of education accepted by the traditionalists was thought to be completely idealistic, in view of the society of the 20's, by the vocationalists. The vocationalists also believed education was a preparation for life, but in their concept of life was included the making of a living. Education could not divorce or isolate itself from the world around it, but must keep in close contact with society and adjust to its needs. The vocationalists, therefore, could not accept a system which was not of service to the community or of use in contemporary society.

By these two criteria, service and utility, the vocationalists developed their system and criticized the traditionalists who accepted the very opposite point of view. Dean Roscoe Pound said that any vocational course was worthwhile so long

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Earnest, pp. 284-285.

as it was useful to the community.[19] William Bennett Bizzell of the University of Oklahoma stated that professional training was inherent in the idea of the university, and that it was a duty of that institution to provide leaders in all the professions including engineering and journalism, that they might render a service to society. In his inaugural address in 1926 he said that the university should help everyone who wished to increase his skill and capacity for industrial service.[20] Another observer wrote that higher education must aid in the replanning of society, in which the occupational distribution was constantly changing.[21] Under the vocational system education was obligated and organized to render the service demanded by society.

Higher education in order to be of service, also had to be useful and applicable to contemporary society. The long range ideals of the traditionalists to the vocationalists were not close enough to everyday life. During World War I the president of Tufts College wrote "Our courses in history must concentrate attention on the present . . . . Our mathematics should be used for a specific purpose; it is not a time for pure mathematics, pure science, pure art, or purity in any subjective form."[22] An

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[19] Catlin, 733.

[20] Bizzell, pp. 14, 150-151.

[21] Harold F. Clark, "Economic Effects of Education," Journal of Higher Education, I (March 1930), 141.

[22] Thwing, p. 133-134.

alumni committee submitted a development plan at Yale University in 1919 with the recommendation that a definite course of instruction or curriculum be provided which led to each of the several professional schools or toward the life work of the students.[23] It was the vocationalists' basic contention that the vast majority of the student body of colleges and universities were not preparing for scholarly careers, but for life in a competitive and materialistic world and should, therefore, be trained accordingly. Not only were vocational courses useful in themselves, but it was felt that all branches of scholarship should be familiar with the workings of the business world.[24]

To produce a course of study which would be useful to the student, the vocationalist began to take greater interest in contemporary society that the students might be trained in the "realities of life." Penniman viewed with optimism the trend of education to replace the "stock examples" used as college courses with examples chosen from present day life.[25] The New York College of Agriculture of Cornell University, the Minnesota College of Agriculture and Iowa State College made studies of the occupations of their graduates in order to measure "to a degree the suitability

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[23] Earnest, p. 287.

[24] Carl Frederick Taeusch, "Business and Education," School and Society, XXIX, June 8, 1929, 728.

[25] New York Times, May 17, 1925, Sec. 8, p. 10.

of the educational program to life interests after graduation."[26] Professor Jerome Davis of the Yale Divinity School claimed that defective knowledge of industrial facts was a result of the college's and university's failure to teach realities and of their relating of a false concept of everyday life. He proposed, therefore, that the student not only be trained for everyday living, but that he also take part in it while a student. If a student was in sociology or economics, he should study and work with labor and other social and economic groups.[27] Thus a "living" curriculum became the means by which education achieved its ends, service and utility.

Although the purposes of the traditionalists and the vocationalists were in direct opposition to each other, a synthesis of their ideals was not totally impossible. As Mays brought out, the conflict had grown out of a misunderstanding of the opposite group's meanings and purposes, and a misconception of the necessary relationship of these two major aspects of education in a democracy.[28] There was a need for both intellectual leadership and scholarship and for a trained labor force. One could not be emphasized to the exclusion of the other. Gideonse maintained that the "cross-

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[26] Arthur J. Klein, "Higher Education," Biennial Survey: 1926-1928, Bull. 1930, No. 16, 2.

[27] New York Times, December 30, 1925, p. 4.

[28] Mays, p. 86.

fertilization of theory and practice" was the very life of each.[29]

With the intense vocationalization of higher education, many began to realise that some of the worthwhile values of the liberal arts were being eliminated as the liberal arts college declined in influence. The supporters of liberal arts education, therefore, became the aggressors in higher education, and the same cyclical movement which had put vocational education on the offensive a few generations before, had now completed a half turn and the two groups had changed positions. The vocationalists and even industrialists themselves began to realize that there was something lacking in the strictly vocational preparatory course. Mays wrote that vocationalists had never advocated the curtailing of general and liberal education, but wished only to include vocational education in addition to general education.[30] However, the synthesis of the two courses had too often degenerated into psuedo-liberal arts subjects like Business English and Commercial Spanish which, though of a general nature, were slanted toward vocational preparation. This had also been a wide spread practice in the pre-professional courses. Carl Holliday of the University of Toledo even proposed that there should be different liberal

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[29] West, pp. 539-540.

[30] Mays, p. 87.

arts courses for pre-professional students because when they were in these courses, they were not interested and spoiled it for those who were.[31] Too often instead of adding vocational courses to a general curriculum, they had been so combined as to produce a predominantly vocational program.

President Burton of the University of Chicago as early as 1922 at a convocation address said that if there had to be schools for mechanics and finishing schools to produce a certain number of members of the leisure class, why not make institutions of higher learning places which make "neither good scholars who are good for nothing, or tradesmen without vision," but men and women who, while preparing themselves for occupations, also gained "a breadth of vision and sympathy, insight and outlook, culture and philosophy."[32] Colonel R. I. Rees, an industrialist, stated that the new economic order had been "swamped rather than served" by the machine. The businessman was faced with more problems in human relations than in the technical processes. Rees urged, therefore, that the potential industrial leaders be equipped with a fundamental knowledge of biology, psychology, sociology, economics, and the humanities.[33] Bizzell, though a vocationalist, stated that the

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[31] Holliday, 154.

[32] Burton, p. 16.

[33] Biennial Survey: 1928-1930, 499.

high purpose of the college and university was to impart "a knowledge of the laws that govern our social relations, of the ethical principles that should guide our conduct and to prepare each student for the work he should do in the world."[34] Thus the definition of education had changed from that which was desirable for a cultural and intellectual life, to that which was desirable for vocational success and finally in the late 20's and early 30's to that which was desirable for all cultivated men and vocationally necessary for future intellectual leaders.[35]

The revolt which had taken place against the "impractical" fundamental subjects of the traditional liberal arts colleges had been followed by an excess of practical vocational courses. One extreme had caused education to move in the opposite extreme. It was during the 20's that a median between the two groups was realized, and a new synthesized form of education was adopted by higher education.

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[34] Bizzell, p. 31.

[35] Catlin, 734.

Chapter VII

EXPERIMENTATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE 1920'S

The growing tendency of higher education to realize that there was a need for cooperation between the traditionalists and the vocationalists, the problems of increased enrollment and academic standards, and the criticism which forced a reexamination of these institutions, gave rise to a series of experiments at the college and university level. Some of the experimental systems outlived the immediate problem they were designed to solve, while others were later discontinued because of the difficulty of their operation or their lack of educational value. Their very existence, however, was indicative of the unrest and dissatisfaction in higher education and the institutions' persistent attempts to adjust to their environment.

Many of the experiments in higher education during the 1920's were reactions against technical courses and too narrow specialization. The new systems established one or two-year courses of general fundamental studies to provide a broader background of knowledge. The earliest experimentation with this type system was initiated at Reed College, Portland, Oregon in 1921. It consisted of a two-year course in "General Literature," which was a study of the selected works of poets, dramatists, and philosophers from Homer to the present, and a correlated course, "History of

Civilization," the aim of which was to develop a "thoughtful acquaintance with what civilization has been, how it has changed, and what our inheritance is."[1]

The plan for the Experimental College of the University of Wisconsin was announced in 1927. The New York *Times* called this experiment one of the "new offensives against the old curriculum."[2] Under the direction of Alexander Meiklejohn, the college attempted "to create and to cultivate insight or intelligence" through an Athens-America curriculum. This was a study and contrast of Athens and nineteenth century America. After the plan was revised, contemporary problems were studied with emphasis on intelligent reading. The experimental college also attempted to eliminate credit hours and course requirements. There were small discussion groups led by "Advisors," and the student advanced at his own speed. A degree was granted when the student had attained a command of the subject and not according to the number of classes attended. Those who did not succeed in this course dropped out at the end of the sophomore year, while the remaining students continued for two more years. Meiklejohn's experiment was discontinued in 1932 because of the difficulty of

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[1] Patricia Beesley, *The Revival of the Humanities in American Education* (New York, 1940), p. 107.

[2] New York *Times*, May 4, 1930, Sec. 3, p. 8.

administering the program in a large state university.[3]

The first "Humanities" courses were given at Stephens College, Columbia, Missouri and Scripps College, Claremont, California in 1928. The Stephens course was primarily a course in appreciation with emphasis on the analytical rather than the historical study of art.[4] At Scripps College, founded in 1928, there was a three-year required sequence of courses in the Humanities, "The Ancient World," "Western Civilization to 1750," and "The Modern World." The object of the program was to instill an understanding of the development and character of civilization and the bearing of each period on modern life.[5]

The Humanities movement continued on into the 30's, steadily increasing in momentum. It was in the late twenties, however, that the movement began. Valentine wrote that the movement gathered strength after World War I as a reaction against scientific and technical training which was replacing the study of liberal arts courses. Many educators were alarmed and turned to the humanities as "the conservators of the nobler virtues."[6]

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[3] Beesley, pp. 107-108. Biennial Survey: 1928-1930, 484. New York Times, May 4, 1930, Sec. 3, p. 8. Also see Alexander Meiklejohn, The Experimental College (New York, 1932).

[4] Beesley, pp. 108-109. Also see W. W. Charter, The Stephens College Program for the Education of Women (Columbia, Mo., 1933).

[5] Beesley, p. 109. Also see W. S. Ament, "Literature in its Humane Setting," The English Journal, College Edition, XXIII (November 1934), 758-762.

[6] Valentine, p. 23.

Between 1920 and 1940 at least 30 new general humanities courses appeared or were being planned.[7]

The grouping of the college curriculum into four or five major divisions was another form of experimentation. The program of the University of Chicago under the guidance of Robert M. Hutchins divided the university into two divisions, the upper and the lower. All students first entered the lower division for a general education in the "permanent studies" which included the classics, mathematics, grammar, and logic. When the student felt adequately prepared, he took a comprehensive examination and either entered the upper division or was graduated. The student who advanced to the upper division entered one of four groups of courses, the humanities, the social sciences, the physical sciences, or the biological sciences or one of the professional schools. The student graduated from the upper division by passing another comprehensive examination. Degrees were granted on the recommendation of the whole division, not just the department.[8] This system proposed to eliminate many of the undesirable features of the prevailing education system. Knowledge was emphasized rather than the accumulation of credits, hours, and grades. All students were given a background of general knowledge

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7 Hofstadter and Hardy, p. 55.

8 Biennial Survey: 1928-1930, 482. Robert M. Hutchins, The Higher Learning in America (New Haven, 1936). West, pp. 536-537.

in the fundamental studies which with specialization produced a well balanced education. Elimination by examination after two years decreased the number of uninterested applicants and also released those not qualified for advance study and those who did not wish to continue their education. The large divisions in the upper schools and the integration of study within each division prevented extreme specialization and departmentalization. This also prevented any discrepancies in the academic value of the degrees in the various schools.

Colgate University introduced a series of five survey courses in the freshman year curriculum. After these courses were completed the student chose one of six schools for concentration in the remaining years of study. This plan, like the Chicago plan, was designed to give a fundamental background and to coordinate the departments which would otherwise have acted as individual independent entities.[9]

At Cornell College, Iowa, and Bennington, a newly founded women's college, a two-year program of general courses was organized with concentrated study in the last two years. Bennington also abolished entrance requirements and based admission solely on

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[9] Biennial Survey: 1928-1930, 482. Beesley, pp. 25, 111. Also see C. H. Thurber, "The Colgate Plan," Journal of Higher Education, IV (February 1933), 59-66.

first-hand study of the individual applicant.[10] A similar curriculum was introduced at Columbia College, Columbia University.[11] The Princeton plan of 1924 provided for independent study in the field of concentration over which a comprehensive examination was given.[12]

Various plans were inaugurated to eliminate the evils of size in the colleges and universities. At Rollins College, Winter Park, Florida, after 1924 the enrollment was limited to 700 students, and the faculty was enlarged so that the ratio was less than ten students to a professor. At Harvard the house plan was designed to divide the student body into small segments which would provide an academic atmosphere conducive to study and, as Lowell explained, a place where scholars could discuss problems in an intimate informal atmosphere. A similar plan at Brown University grouped the facilities of one department together, library, staff offices, seminar rooms, etc. This system was to provide an atmosphere conducive to study and closer contact among

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[10] Biennial Survey: 1928-1930, 482-483. New York Times, May 4, 1930, Sec. 3, p. 8. Beesley, pp. 84-85. Also see Robert D. Leigh, "Plans For the Reorganization of the Curriculum of Bennington College," Recent Trends in American College Education, Proceedings of the Institute for Administrative Officers of Higher Institutions, ed. William S. Gray, III (Chicago, 1931), 33-45.

[11] Biennial Survey: 1928-1930, 484. Bizzell, pp. 120-122. Also see H. E. Hawkes, "Curriculum Revision at Columbia College," Educational Record, X (January 1929), 29-39.

[12] Biennial Survey: 1928-1930, 484. Beesley, p. 150.

the students and among students and faculty.[13]

Another innovation of the 20's was designed to aid the better students. President Aydelotte of Swathmore introduced his plan for an "honors course" which he said was to rescue the ablest students "from the mechanical system which has been devised for the 'average' man," who since the war had become "both more numerous and more 'average'."[14] Honors work was not an entirely new development. Honors had been given at the Wesleyan commencements for a thesis and course work since 1873. In 1883 Michigan inaugurated the University System which allowed able students to follow a freer and more specialized program upon which they were tested in the senior year. This plan worked successfully for eight years.[15] Other honors systems were established at the University of Vermont (1888), Princeton (1905), the University of Missouri (1912), Lafayette College and Rice Institute (1916), and Columbia (1920). In 1914 Harvard established its general examination and tutorial system.[16]

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[13] Biennial Survey: 1928-1930, 485-486.

[14] Harvard Alumni Bulletin, "Honors Courses," School and Society, XIX, March 1, 1924, 259.

[15] See Frank Aydelotte, "The University System at Michigan," Michigan Alumnus, XLII, June 27, 1936, 228-233.

[16] Frank Aydelotte, Breaking the Academic Lock Step: The Development of Honors Work in American Colleges and Universities (New York, 1944), pp. 47-48.

There were three types of honors courses. The limited form used by a majority of the schools gave honors based on high grades in the courses of the regular curriculum. Under the second system honors were awarded for special work undertaken in addition to the regular program. The work consisted of collateral reading plus a thesis and an examination. In 1924, 35 institutions had adopted this or a similar system. The third system which was in operation at nine institutions by 1924 allowed the honors course to supercede the ordinary requirements usually during the junior and senior years. This was the system developed at Swathmore in 1922. All course work and the credit system ceased to exist during the last two years of college. The student chose a field of concentration and worked in it independently. The degree was granted on the merit of a final examination. Not only did this third plan help the better student, but it also tended to reduce excessive departmentalism which Aydelotte called one of the greatest evils of undergraduate studies.[17]

It was more difficult to establish honors courses at state universities than at the smaller institutions, though the very problems which this plan tried to eliminate were often found in excess at the large universities. The average ability at a state institution was apt to be lower since they could not as easily

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[17] Aydelotte, Breaking the Academic Lock Step, pp. 45-89. Harvard Alumni Bulletin, 259.

limit enrollment. State legislatures would not be as willing to provide appropriations for a program which benefited only a small group. The very size of the state schools also tended to limit the possibility of any experimentation. Despite these handicaps, honors courses were developed at several state institutions under the leadership of the University of Virginia and Ohio State University. The University of Virginia adopted the Swathmore plan, though its use was limited to a few departments. The Ohio State plan coordinated the honors course with the conventional course and credit system, and entrance was based on the academic record of the first two years.[18]

These innovations of the 20's reveal the dissatisfaction of some college administrators with the educational system. The new plans tried to reduce and eventually eliminate some of the problems of enrollment, specialization, departmentalization, admission standards and academic attainment. They also show that educators were trying to find a solution to the traditionalist-vocationalist controversy. Thus this decade witnessed many educational trends, the decline of the liberal arts to near extinction, the rise of technical and utilitarian subjects to their zenith, and finally a tendency toward the equalization of these two trends in the experiments in curriculum and organization.

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18 Aydelotte, Breaking the Academic Lock Step, pp. 90-95.

The philanthropic foundations took a very active part in the experimentation in higher education. Following World War I there was a more favorable attitude toward philanthropic trusts which made it possible for them to work directly with higher education to solve some of their problems. The foundations aligned themselves with the progressive element. Large sums were appropriated by the General Education Board, the Carnegie Corporation, the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, and the Commonwealth Fund to aid the conceiving and perfecting of newer devices for college admission and guidance. The Rockefeller and Carnegie trusts were the most influential in the individual college experiments. They aided the programs at Swathmore, Stephens, Chicago, Harvard, Yale, and Bennington. Grants ranged from $25,000 to $200,000 a year. Chicago, Swathmore, and Minnesota, a development of the 30's, received the most support. Not only did the foundations aid the "new colleges," but they also encouraged many of the more conservative schools to adopt progressive programs. Hollis commented that without the foundations' grants and encouragement, many of the undertakings of the conservative colleges and universities would have been delayed or never completed.[19] Considering the expense and criticism which the new projects created, Hollis was probably right.

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[19] Hollis, pp. 144-155.

The unsettled state of higher education greatly encouraged the growth of a new type of institution of higher learning. This was the two-year junior college. The junior college had its beginning in the middle of the nineteenth century, when President Henry P. Tappen of the University of Michigan in 1852 formulated the idea of the two-year college. The idea was first put into practice at the University of Chicago under the direction of William Rainey Harper in 1892. The first junior college was founded in 1896 as the Lewis Institute in Chicago, and the first public junior college was inaugurated in 1902 when Joliet Township High School extended its program two years beyond the secondary level. California was the first state to encourage the extensive development of the two-year college. Between 1892 and 1907 the idea was kept alive by Dean A. F. Lange of the University of California where the junior college idea was embodied in the Lower Division in 1903. In 1910 the Fresno, California high school established the first junior college in the state.[20] By 1915 there were twelve, all extensions of high schools.[21]

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[20] Phebe Ward, "Development of the Junior College Movement," American Junior College, American Council on Education, ed. Jesse P. Bogue, 2nd Ed. (Washington, D. C., 1948), p. 9. William T. Magruder, "The Junior College As A Relief," Educational Review, LXI (April 1921), 288.

[21] David B. Corson, "The Claims of the New Type Junior College," Education, XL (February 1920), 327.

Until 1915 the growth of the junior college was slow. In 1900 there were about eight of these colleges in the country with an enrollment of approximately 100 students. By 1915 the number of schools had increased to 74 and the total enrollment to 2,363. During the following decade and a half there was an accelerated increase in number and enrollment. By 1922 the number of junior colleges had almost trebled and the student body was eight times as large. Within five more years enrollment was more than double that of 1922. At the beginning of the next decade there were 429 junior colleges with 67,627 students.[22]

The growth of the junior college occurred concurrently with the college and university boom in the 20's. The factors in the rise of the two-year college are, therefore, either the same ones which account for the growth of the four-year institutions or products of the university and college expansion. Unlike the experiments of the post-war decade the junior college program did not try to eliminate the problems of higher education, but its existence did help to reduce some of the pressure of enrollment and of vocational demand. It could even be said that they were developing the same tendencies that the experimental colleges were attempting to eliminate in the four-year institutions.

One of the main reasons for the rapid growth of the junior college during the 20's was the need for more higher educational

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[22] Ward, p. 9.

facilities. Colleges and universities were filled beyond capacity and the two-year college absorbed the overflow. Another reason for their growth was the increased demands for vocational training. There were many vocations that required only two years of training which the junior college could readily provide. Preparation for vocations and professions which required pre-professional training could be obtained at a two-year college. Their development was encouraged by those educators who felt that the first two years of college work was essentially "the capstone of secondary education," and advocated the entrance of students to university level work in the junior year.[23]

The junior college movement was a product of the time and an outgrowth of the developments in higher education in the 20's. Not only did it answer the immediate problems, but it proved itself of value later as an excellent place for experimentation because of its limited size and as a feeder which would take this blight off the small liberal arts college.

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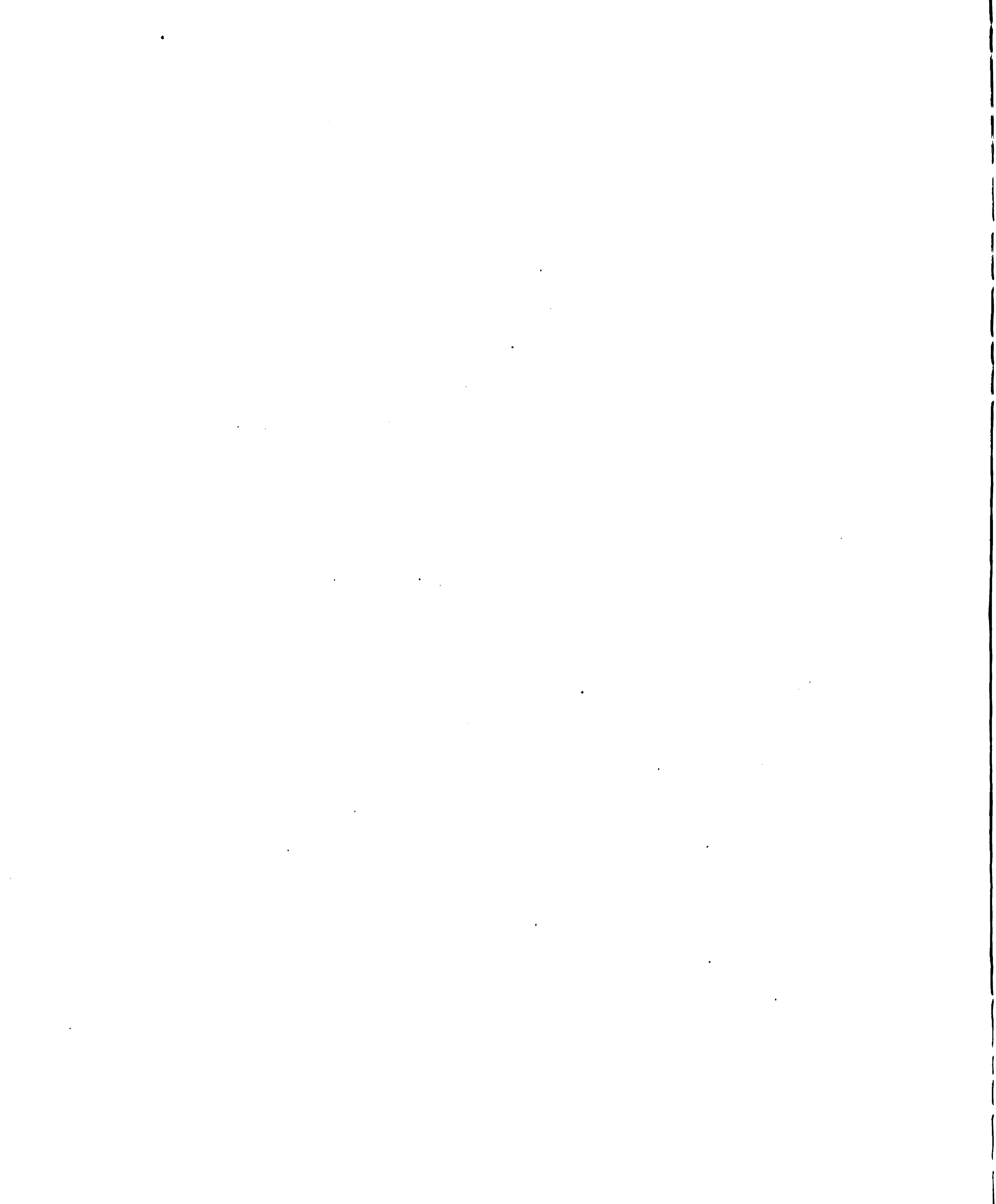
[23] Magruder, 288. Hollis, p. 141. Carl E. Seashore, The Junior College Movement (New York, 1940), pp. 3-6. The Christian Science Monitor, "The Advent of the Junior College," School and Society, XXVI, December 17, 1927, 784.

CONCLUSION

During the 1920's the American people witnessed a period of rapid economic expansion. The war had been a strong stimulus to business and industry, encouraging development and continuous efforts toward improvement. With increasing demands for better products and greater efficiency, the amount of technological and scientific knowledge multiplied and remultiplied. It was soon realized by the economic groups of society that each individual could no longer be expected to be well informed on the increasingly complex methods and machines nor could an untrained worker be used in a highly specialized position. It was, therefore, to the institutions of higher learning that society turned for the large numbers of specialists needed to supply the nation's industry and business.

The educational trends of the 20's were not developments of the post-war period. Higher education had long felt the pressure of demands for vocationally trained graduates, but the needs of the 20's, far surpassed those of any previous period. Enrollment in colleges and universities had been increasing steadily before the first World War, but it doubled in the decade following the war. The curriculum had been gradually becoming more vocational, but during the 20's vocational-technological courses and departments so greatly outnumbered those in the liberal arts in



quantity and enrollment that in many instances the liberal arts schools had to adopt vocational preparatory courses to survive. Membership on university and college boards of trustees had long before been granted to men in business and industry, and presidents of these institutions had become more often administrators than scholars, but in the post-war decade the trends of higher education seemed to indicate that these board members had become self-interested dictators of educational policy. And, although the differences between the vocational principle of education and the traditional principle of education had been debated since the middle of the nineteenth century, it was in the 20's that their controversy reached a showdown and each had to prove its value or fail. Thus the 20's marked the point at which existing trends reached their apex.

Not only was it the intensification of these trends which caused the unrest in higher education, but it was also the rapidity with which it happened. Institutions of higher learning had not been prepared for the great influx of students and their demands for a practical curriculum. It was their attempts to adjust to a rapidly changing society that created the atmosphere of confusion and the widespread criticism. While educators tried to solve the existing problems, more developed. It was this situation which made many predict an even gloomier future for higher education.

While pessimism and criticism seethed on the surface, there were some educators who, instead of criticising, took steps toward a solution of the prevailing problems. Experimentation had already begun by the second year of the post-war decade. Various new curricula were being tried to eliminate the limiting effects of specialization. Other experiments attempted to reduce extreme departmentalization and over-emphasis on course hours and class attendance. There were also attempts to decrease the unintellectual effects of the large university. The 1920's were, therefore, brightened by these pioneer steps toward a balanced college curriculum and a student orientated program.

The decade of the 1920 marked an important period in the history of higher education. It was the point at which vocationalism reached the peak of its influence and at which educators began to realize that in contemporary society there must be a synthesis of the practical and the liberal arts. It was the society of post-war America, a society under the influence of rapid industrialization and growing business, therefore, that was a major factor in the developments and trends of higher education in the 1920's.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

There are two very good bibliographical references on higher education in the 1920's. Trends in University Education compiled by James Goodwin Hodgson, vol. VII, No. 4, New York, 1931 in The Reference Shelf (27 vols.) lists books and periodicals and divides them into negative and affirmative discussion groups. The Encyclopedia of Educational Research edited by Walter S. Monroe, revised ed., New York, 1950 is a good general bibliographical reference.

The Biennial Survey of Education in the United States published by the United States Bureau of Education, Washington, D.C., is an excellent summary of educational developments. It is the most reliable source for statistical material.

Since this is a study of the problems of higher education during one decade, contemporary opinions are used as often as possible. Therefore, professional journals, periodicals, and the New York Times were the primary sources of information. School and Society was the education journal which yielded the most material on the problems of higher education. Another good source of contemporary views was the Journal of Higher Education. There are in addition many other education periodicals which can be used in a study of higher education, School Life, Educational Record, Education Review, School Review, Teachers College Record, and Education.

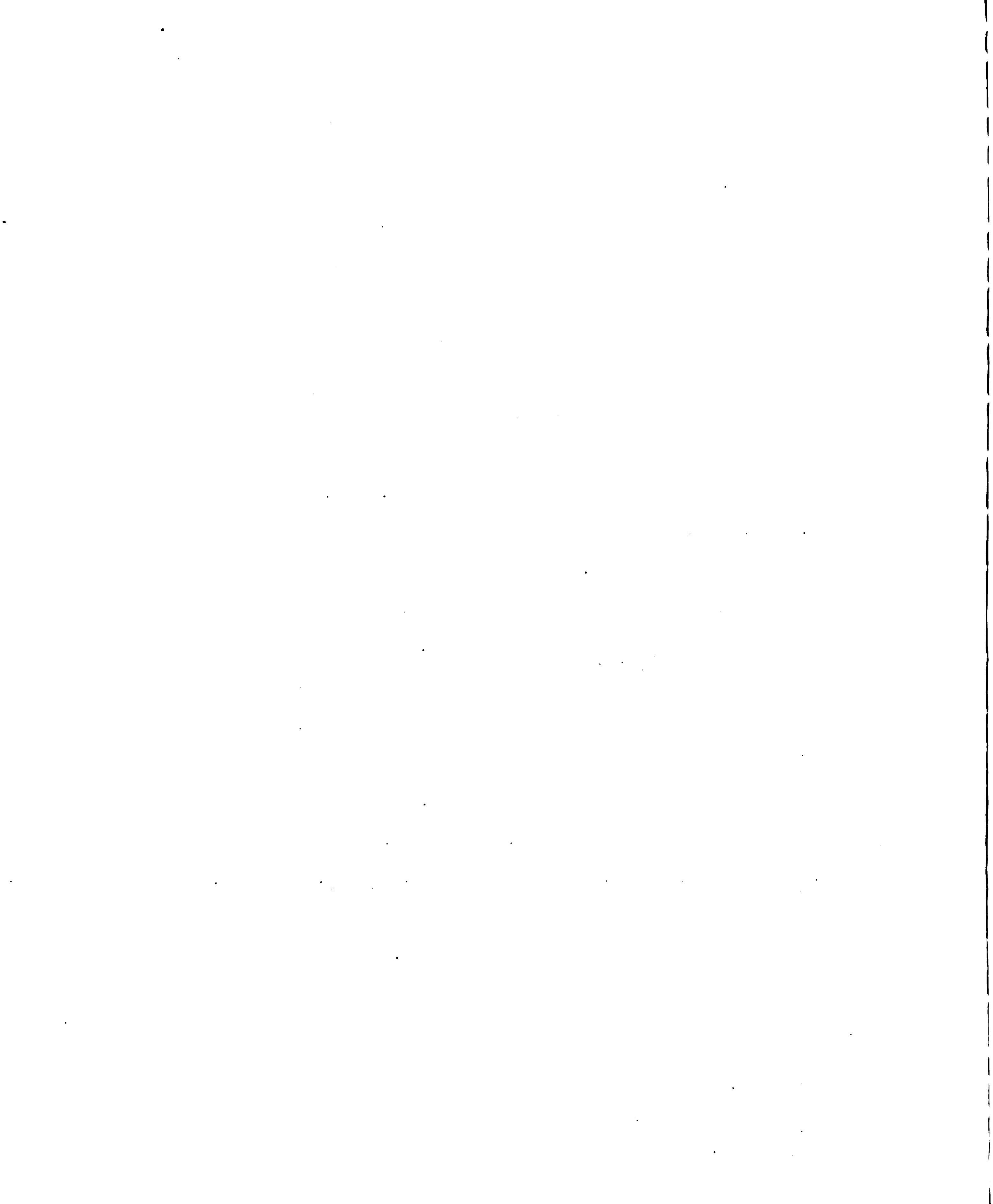
The bulletins of the various education associations are very useful. In this study the American Association of University Professors Bulletin was used extensively. Bulletins are also published by the National Education Association, the Association of American Colleges, the National Society of College Teachers of Education and many others.

Other sources of contemporary views are the reports of conferences and special committees. The third and fifth volumes of the proceedings of the Institute for Administrative Officers of Higher Institutions edited by William S. Gray, Chicago, 1931, 1933, supplied a wide variety of information on higher education in the 1920's. Many college and university schools of education issue their own publications, such as the Indiana University School of Education Bulletin. The Teachers College of Columbia University has an extensive collection of published theses and dissertations in the field of education.

Of the general periodicals the Atlantic Monthly contained the most articles on higher education. Other useful periodicals were the Review of Reviews, Yale Review, North American Review, New Republic, Nation, Contemporary Review, Outlook, and Forum.

The only history journal which contained material on higher education in the 1920's was Current History.

The New York Times was a very important source for it contained interviews of leading educators and their addresses to



civic organisations, material which is not printed in other sources. The Times also gives the most contemporary report of popular opinions in the form of editorials and letters to the editor.

Two types of secondary works were used, general and specific works on higher education, and the works and edited speeches of educators and observers during the 1920's. The Development and Scope of Higher Education in the United States by Richard Hofstadter and C. DeWitt Hardy, New York, 1952, was the general history used, especially for information on higher education in the post-Civil War period. The Development of Academic Freedom in the United States by Richard Hofstadter and Walter P. Metzger, New York, 1955, was especially useful on control of early colleges, secularisation, and business and higher education. These two books are among the few works in higher education which are written from an historical point of view and are extensively documented. R. Freeman Butts' book, The College Charts Its Course - Historical Concepts and Current Proposals, New York, 1947, and Ernest Earnest's Academic Procession An Informal History of the American College 1636-1953, New York, 1953, contain general accounts of higher education in the 1920's, but Butts uses no documentation and Earnest's description is, as he admits, informal.

A good source of information and statistics on changing

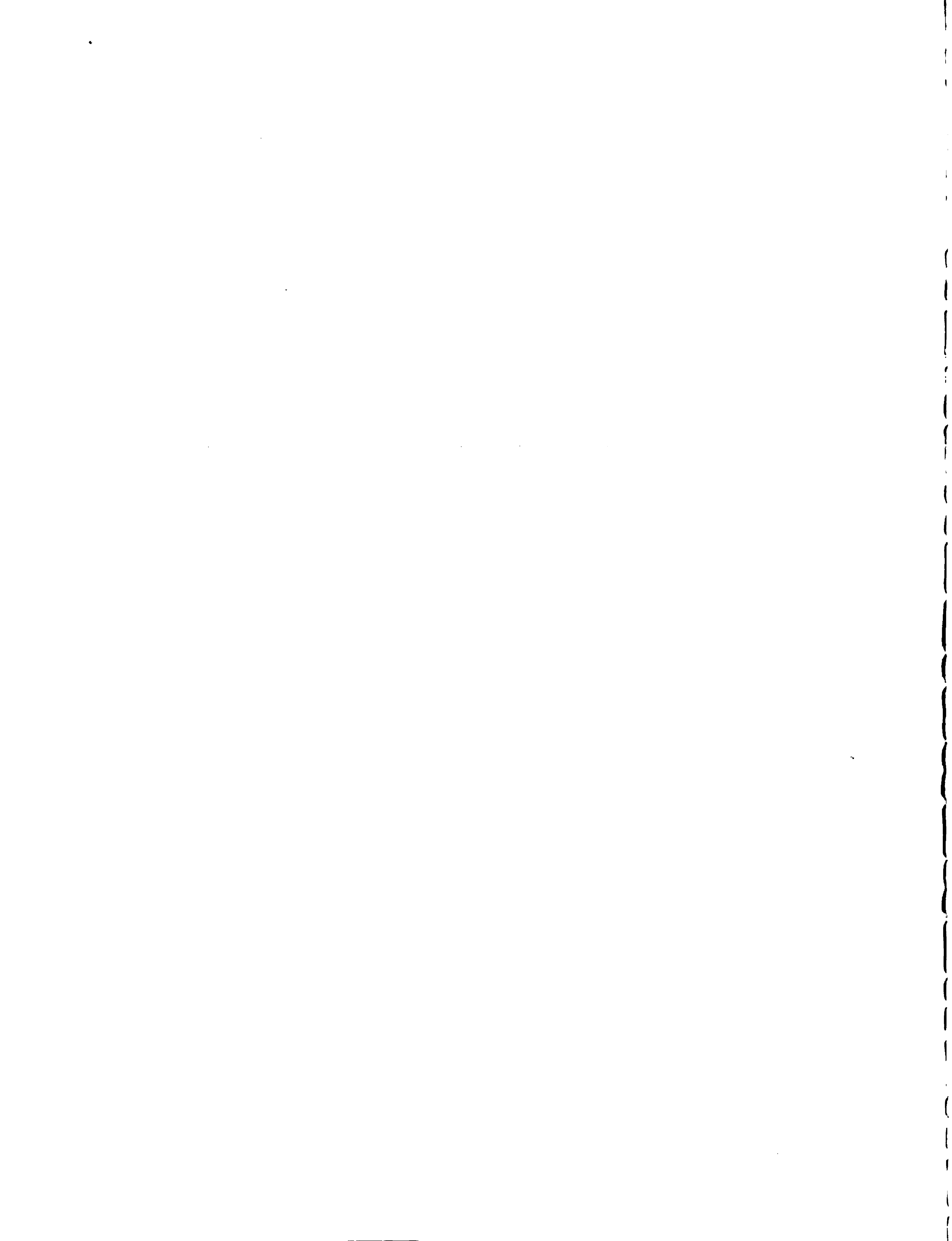
trends in higher education from 1890 and 1929 is Recent Social Trends in the United States Report of the President's Research Committee on Social Trends (2 vols.), New York, 1933.

There are also numerous works on various phases of higher education. Ernest Victor Hollis' Philanthropic Foundations and Higher Education, New York, 1938, is the most extensive study of the foundations and their influence on higher education. Arthur B. Mays' An Introduction to Vocational Education, New York, 1930, is a very useful study of the development of vocational education. The American Junior Colleges, edited by Jesse P. Bogue, 2nd ed., Washington, D. C., 1948, and The Junior College Movement by Carl E. Seashore, New York, 1940, are good sources for the junior college movement. Merrimon Cuninggim's The College Seeks Religion, New Haven, 1947, discusses the secularization of higher education and the changing position of religion in society. The Revival of the Humanities in American Education by Patricia Beesley, New York, 1940, is a good source of information on experimentation in higher education. It also has an excellent bibliography.

The other type of secondary source is the book by contemporary observers. Many of the leading educators of the 20's wrote about conditions in higher education; Charles Franklin Thwing's The American College and Universities in the Great War 1914-1919, New York, 1920, and American Society - Interpretations

of Educational and Other Forces, New York, 1931, Abraham Flexner's _Universities: American English German_, Oxford, 1930, Robert Maynard Hutchins' _The Higher Learning in America_, New Haven, 1936. Some like Flexner's and Hutchins' are critical studies.

There are also numerous edited collections of college and university presidents' speeches which give the administrators view of contemporary education. Ernest DeWitt Burton's _Education in a Democratic World_, Chicago, 1927, was useful in this study.



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