

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF
GOVERNING BOARDS OF STATE
UNIVERSITIES IN THE UNITED STATES:
AN ANALYSIS OF SOME TRENDS
AND PORTENTS

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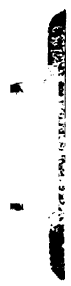


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Abstract

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF GOVERNING BOARDS OF STATE UNIVERSITIES IN THE UNITED STATES: AN ANALYSIS OF SOME TRENDS AND PORTENTS.

By

William Michael Born

Many scholars in the field of higher education in the United States have observed that the American concept of lay governing boards is under attack. There appears to be a need for better understanding of the lay governance concept, its history and its current status, in order that public understanding can be developed not only for governing boards but also for American higher education.

Through the techniques of historical research, the study has provided a much-needed historical perspective for viewing institutional governance by a lay board. Additionally, the study has sought to answer questions as to how socio-economic and political factors operate in a social milieu and influence the emergence and development of the various types of governing boards of state universities in the United States, and how these factors shape the functions and role of the boards.

The study was designed to: (1) Examine the historical development of governing boards of state universities in the United States; (2) Delineate the nature, structure, functions and role of governing boards of state universities in the United States; (3) Describe the influences of

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socio-economic and political factors prevailing in American society on on these governing boards as to their nature, structure, functions and role; and (4) Generate speculations and suggest recommendations concerning the nature, structure, functions and role of governing boards of state universities in the United States. The central proposition was that the relationship between the nature, structure, functions and role of governing boards of state universities in the United States, on the one hand, and the socio-economic and political factors affecting the governance process, on the other hand, were mutual, reciprocal and cumulative.

The findings of the study show that while the concept of higher education governance by lay boards is generally regarded as an American idea, it clearly has evolved from European antecedents such as: the Greek institutions of higher learning, the University of Florence, the University of Basel, the University of Geneva, the University of Leiden, the University of Franeker, the University of Edinburgh and Dublin University.

A strong argument was advanced that in both the European antecedents and their American consequences on the lay governing board concept the religious variable was of prime importance. The emphasis on religion was related to the fact that the churches played a major part in the development of educational institutions. When the concept of lay governance was introduced in the American colonies a process was begun which shaped the idea in light of an expanding frontier. Lay, not academic, control of American higher education became the characteristic of American university government which has endured

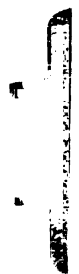
to the present time.

Of particular interest in the study was the relationship between the activities on campuses during the 1960's and the present floundering of the governance process in American higher education during the 1970's.

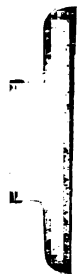
The study has indicated that the chief role of governing boards of state universities in protecting the public trust is in serious question as public disillusionment toward American higher education has grown. Governing boards have felt that their importance has been challenged by outside interference from governmental agencies. Increased faculty involvement in internal governance has also cut into the power of lay boards. Efforts at making governing boards more representative of the larger society has brought about greater participation of all segments of society in the governance process. A trend toward reduction of the length of terms of governing board members appears to be aimed at making lay boards more responsive and flexible.

The use of the appointive system for selecting governing board members, the oldest form of selection, continues to be heavily relied upon by state universities in the United States. As governing boards have delegated responsibilities to the university president, there has been less feedback as to how policies are carried out. There continues to be a need for regular in-service training for governing board members. Efforts by students for a greater voice in the governance process should result in an increase of official relationships with governing boards. Governing boards are organizing on state, regional and national levels as a means of protecting the concept of lay governance from governmental interference.

The influence of campus politicization on the internal workings of



state universities is raising serious questions for governing boards regarding the use of the classroom as a political platform and whether universities should serve as agents for social change. Governing boards of state universities in the United States are presently under pressure to redefine the role of the public institution of higher education in the overselling of education which so marked the 1960's. Governing boards can serve a much-needed function in American higher learning by becoming a better communication bridge between state universities and the taxpayer.



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A THESIS

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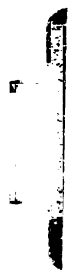
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CHAPTER I

THE STUDY: INTRODUCTION, THEORETICAL ORIENTATION AND PLAN FOR THE STUDY

INTRODUCTION, BACKGROUND OBSERVATIONS AND RATIONALE

Introduction, Background Observations. One of the results of the campus unrest of the late 1960's has been a growing concern on the part of educators and the American public alike as to the governance procedures. Particular interest has been given to the role of lay governing boards in providing direction to American higher education. Governing boards in the 1970's have become the center of much of the discussion regarding the operation of American colleges and universities.

Writers in the field of higher education administration have discussed at some length the development of the American system of institutional governance. They have argued as to whether the lay governing board is truly an American development or was in fact heavily borrowed from other cultures and traditions. It is not the purpose of this study to become deeply involved in this discussion other than to demonstrate that the American system of institutional governance by lay boards has its antecedents in other countries and that it has developed some of its own characteristics.

In many parts of the world, institutional governance is facilitated by a strong national board or quasi-official body such as a council of deans or senior faculty members performing many of the functions of the American lay governing board. These national groups are often made up

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of professional educators and governmental officials. In many nations, it is not unusual to find military generals involved in decisions regarding higher education. With the so-called professional approach to governance there appears to be little public input into the direction or emphasis of institutions of higher learning.

In contrast, American higher education has attached a great deal of importance to the public's involvement in institutional governance. However, critics of governing boards argue that in the American approach the public still has little influence in the decision-making process. They point out, as will be discussed a little later in this study, that governing boards no longer adequately represent the American public and are out-of-step with the interest and concerns of the people. Rauh's findings indicate that there are elements in governing boards in the United States which continue to make them different from boards in other parts of the world. These differences, he points out, include their composition of laymen-citizens and their delegation of powers of management to others--chiefly the institutional president.¹

Other researchers such as McGrath², Beck³, and Hartnett⁴ have

¹Morton A. Rauh, College and University Trusteeship (Yellow Springs, Ohio: Antioch Press, 1959), pp.58-67.

²Earl J. McGrath, "The Control of Higher Education In America" The Educational Record, 17:259-272, April, 1936.

³Beck, Hubert P., Men Who Control Our Universities (Morningside, N.Y.: Kings Crown Press, 1947), pp.47-61.

⁴Rodney T. Hartnett, The New College Trustees: Some Predictions for the 1970's (Princeton, N.J.: Educational Testing Services, 1970), pp.15-23.



found that over the years governing boards have continued to be dominated by businessmen and bankers with little or no representation of youth, women, minorities and laborers. Despite recent moves toward making these boards more representative of the American public, it would appear that criticism of the composition of governing boards is still justified if the public input in decisions regarding higher education is to become a reality.

A closely related area of discussion concerns the functions of American governing boards. Scholars in higher education administration suggest the following as the chief functions of governing boards: 1) "trust" responsibilities to the public, 2) management of the institution in the "public" interest, 3) organization of the planned development of the institution, 4) accountability to the public for actions taken and funds utilized, and 5) service to the campus community as a "court of last resort". In practice, these functions have required the delegation of a great deal of authority to the institution's administration. Governing boards, however, do assume final authority and accountability.

Now a research question may well be raised as to how American governing boards, in terms of size and structure, emerged. In this study, the term "structure" will refer to the methods used in selecting members as well as to the duties of governing boards. Generally, governing boards of private colleges and universities in the United States are structured in such a way that selection of members takes place within the board itself and often becomes self-perpetuating. In public institutions of higher learning, however, membership to governing boards is determined either through appointive or elective

methods or a combination of both.

A study of governing boards of state universities in the United States indicates a diverse system for selecting members. Generally, the basic structures of boards of control include: appointive; elective; "super" board for statewide coordination; single board for governing many institutions; multi-campus governing board; and combinations of these structures.

The most frequently used structure of governing boards of state universities continues to be the appointive model. Under this approach, governing board members are appointed by the governor of the state, usually from a list developed from recommendations by various "opinion" leaders influential in the state. Board nominations are usually subject to the approval of the legislature.

Those who support the appointive approach to selecting governing board members argue that this model provides greater opportunity for the selection of "qualified" people relatively free from the political pressures. Proponents also point out that membership on a governing board through the appointive approach does not generally lead to any higher office as might be the case under the elective method.

The University of Minnesota Board of Regents illustrates the appointive model. Under the operation of this model, the Governor of Minnesota recommends the appointment of 12 citizens to the Board of Regents to be approved by the State Senate. The Board of Regents, whose members serve six year terms, was established in 1851 by the authority of the Territorial Constitution. The Board's existence was reaffirmed by the Minnesota Constitution in 1857. Although not

required by law, the Minnesota Legislature as well as the governor have attempted through the selection process to ensure that each of the state's eight congressional districts are represented with four Regents appointed from the state at large. This practice is promoted as a means of ensuring better geographic representation. In addition, the governor usually recommends citizens for appointment to the Board of Regents with particular concern for representation of the various demographic distributions of the state.

The second most popular structure in the selection of governing boards is the elective model. This approach has historically been promoted as the best means for making sure that governing boards will be responsible to the public through the use of the mainstay of America's representative democracy--the ballot box.

The State of Michigan has had the longest experience in the use of this model. Members of the governing boards of Michigan State University, the University of Michigan and Wayne State University are selected through nominations in political party conventions and then in statewide elections. Board members serve eight year terms. It should also be noted that at the time there has been considerable discussion in Michigan concerning the use of the elective approach. In the last two years, each session of the Michigan Legislature has seen the introduction of bills calling for change in the State Constitution making the boards of the "big Three" universities appointive rather than elective. Many observers see this new concern as being directly related to criticisms of various actions of the Board of Trustees of Michigan State University. At the present time the argument appears to be

caught up in the two major political parties in the state with Republicans generally supporting the appointive model and Democrats in favor of the present selection through statewide elections. It should be pointed out that currently the Republicans control the Michigan chief executive seat.

The third structure of governing boards centers around a development which took place in the 1940's and 1950's and is presently showing signs of returning in strength--statewide coordination of higher education through a "super" board. Under this approach a board is superimposed over existing institutional governing boards in an effort to provide better statewide planning and development of higher education. Since the relationship between institutional governing boards and the statewide coordinating board is vital to the success of statewide coordination, the "super" board model will be considered as a structure in the governance of state universities in the United States.

One of the most developed and generally regarded as one of the most powerful of the "super" board model is found in Oklahoma---The Oklahoma State Regents for Higher Education. The Oklahoma State Regents became the first coordinating agency superimposed over existing governing boards in the United States in 1941 through a constitutional amendment. While most "super" boards tend to function in a quasi-advisory fashion in their relationships with institutional governing boards, the State Regents carry a great deal of power because that they have total responsibility for representing all of Oklahoma's state colleges and universities before the Oklahoma Legislature and, then, for dispersing the legislative appropriations to the various

institutions. The Oklahoma "super" board consists of nine members appointed by the Governor with the consent of the Legislature. Regents are required to be at least 35 years old with no more than two board members having attended the same state college or university in Oklahoma. As with the Minnesota approach, there have been attempts at bringing about better geographic representation by requiring that no more than two Regents may come from the same Congressional district. They are appointed for nine-year terms and may be reappointed.

Since the early 1900's, a fourth structure in higher education governing boards has appeared in many states whereby the single, state-wide governing board model is established, utilizing either the appointive or elective method for the selection of board members. These boards govern and coordinate all state colleges and universities within a state or certain types of institutions such as all four-year colleges or all community colleges. The literature concerning the development of single state boards seems to show that this phenomenon takes place in states where there are few large urban areas and chiefly rural communities. In such a state, centralization of governmental services usually is quite common and the centralization of the governance of higher education is very natural.

A recent study by Zwingle indicates that as of 1970, there were 11 states with single, statewide governing boards. He notes that from 1960-1970, there was a steady decrease in the establishment of such boards.⁵

⁵ J. L. Zwingle and Mabel E. Rogers, State Boards Responsible for Higher Education, 1970 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Office of Education, 1970)

However, it is important to note that since 1970 there appears to be some movement toward reinstatement of the single, statewide governing board model with both North Carolina and Wisconsin creating strong statewide boards to replace individual institutional governing boards. Observers point out that the return to this model appears to be directly related to concerns about improved methods for holding colleges and universities accountable for their actions and programs.

Increasingly, state legislatures are viewing the single, statewide governing board model as not only a means of bringing about better accountability on the part of the individual institutions, but also as a means of eliminating some of the "needless" duplication of programs and competition which may take place between colleges within a state. It would appear to still be too early to determine if North Carolina and Wisconsin will be successful in placing a highly competitive approach to state higher education under a single, statewide board.

In both cases, the question of whether one large institution (the University of North Carolina and the University of Wisconsin) will continue to dominate the state under the new structure will have to be studied closely.

One of the oldest examples of the single, statewide governing board model is in Iowa where such an approach to the governance of higher education has existed since the late 1800's. Formally established in 1900, the Iowa State Board of Regents consists of nine members appointed by the Governor with the approval of the Legislature. The Regents are responsible for governing Iowa State University, the University of Northern Iowa and the University of Iowa. No more than five members of the Board can belong to the same

political party with each Regent serving for a six-year term subject to reappointment.

A more recent development in institutional governance has been the multi-campus governing board model. Under this approach, which especially came into being in the periods of great growth for higher education in the 1950's and 1960's, one governing board is responsible for governing more than one campus of an institution. Statewide university systems such as the State University of New York (SUNY), the University of California and the University of Texas are examples of the largest multi-campus institutions with the University of Illinois and the University of Michigan as examples of the smallest institutions.

Most scholars in the field of higher education maintain that there appears to be a limit as to how many branch campuses one governing board can manage effectively. In the large multi-campus systems, the governing board quite often develops an alternative approach whereby the board continues to have broad, policy-making powers with a local advisory board established for each campus as a communication link between the campus community and the local area. In states such as Montana, the campus advisory boards for the University of Montana consist of representatives of the local area where each campus is located.

One of the most successful examples of the multi-campus governing board model is the Board of Trustees of the State University of New York (SUNY) which is responsible for 30 four-year campuses and 38 community colleges. Established in 1951, the Board consists of 15 members who are appointed by the Governor with the approval of

the New York Legislature. The Trustees serve 10-year terms and may be reappointed. Legislation is currently under consideration in New York to reduce the 10-year terms of the Trustees as well as placing a limit on the number of years each campus president can hold office. Most observers feel that such efforts are an attempt at making the Board more responsible to the public.

While the preceeding governing board models are generally regarded as the basic approaches used by state universities in the United States, there are other approaches which also should be discussed. One of these models, which offer a blending of the appointive and elective approaches, is found at Indiana University. According to University officials three of the eight members of the Board of Trustees are elected for three-year terms by the graduates of the University who reside in the state. The remaining members are appointed by the Indiana State Board of Education subject to approval by the Governor. They also serve for a three-year term.

A model which represents a blending of two funding approaches--public and private financing of higher education--is found at the University of Pittsburgh. With a long tradition for providing state funds to private higher education the State of Pennsylvania would certainly appear to be most likely in the best position of the 50 states to establish a governing board representing both public and private interests. In the mid-1960's when the University of Pittsburgh faced great financial difficulties and was expected to close its doors, an appeal was made to the Legislature for financial help. The result was the establishment of a governing board with part of its members appointed by the Governor and the remaining part to be self-perpetuating

in return for annual state funding. This governing board model may be a prototype of governing boards of the future as private institutions of higher learning continue to experience financial difficulties and public funding becomes the only way of saving many of these institutions.

Now it is axiomatic that some discussion of the role and functions of these governing boards be made with a view to putting their structure into a meaningful perspective.

A number of scholars in the field of higher education have treated the "functions" and "role" of governing boards as synonymous. However, for the purposes of this study, distinction will be drawn between the two terms. The term "role" will refer to the overall philosophy and mission of governing boards while "functions" will be used in relation to the actual duties performed by boards.

In the field of higher education administration, there appears to be general agreement that the major role of governing boards in American higher education is to ensure that colleges and universities operate in the public interest. It is clear that such a role will have a definite relationship to the activities of a board. Many writers in the field see the role of governing as also including a need for providing continuity to a college or university as well as that of providing leadership in the determining future directions of the institution. It is in this latter area of the role of governing boards that many trustees, under pressure from various segments of society, seem to experience difficulty in operationalizing. Increasingly, board members find themselves responsible,

through their policymaking function, for the shaping and direction of the future of an institution of higher learning. And yet, most governing board members are not particularly trained for this activity of shaping future direction through current policies. It would appear quite clear at this place in time that there is a need for closer study in this area of the role of governing boards.

The role as well as the functions of governing boards of state universities have evolved in a historical setting. In order to develop a better understanding of American governing boards it is necessary to make a closer analysis of the historical development of this approach to higher education governance.

In studying the historical development of the nature and functions of American governing boards of state universities, there is strong indication of an early concern for "accountability" which resulted in the establishment of lay governing boards. At both Harvard and the College of William and Mary, the governing boards always had members of local government represented as well as church officials. The result was that laymen on these boards often viewed themselves as protecting the community's investment in the institution and thereby representing the public's "trust". This, then, would appear to be the chief reason for the development of the American approach to institutional governance--governing boards consisting of lay-citizens. As indicated earlier, concern for the public's "trust" is still an important function of governing boards in American higher education.

The use of laymen for governing boards was furthered greatly in

1862 with the establishment of land-grant colleges throughout the United States as the result of the Morrill Act. A basic ingredient in these new institutions created to serve the children of farmers and factory workers was that the governing boards were to represent a wider segment of American society. While it is clear that even today, governing boards of state universities are not always as representative in composition as many critics would like, there remains strong evidence that a system of governance through lay boards is still a major asset of American higher education.

When Harvard College was founded in the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1636, it was not by accident that its governing board was named the Board of Overseers. While an internal governing group, similar to the academic councils found on most campuses today, was provided for a few years later, the chief function of the Harvard governing board was to "oversee" the operation of the fledgling institution. The internal governing group was established in 1650 as the Harvard Corporation and was given power to run the College subject to the approval of the Overseers. This dual form of governance continued from 1650 to 1780 with the Board of Overseers functioning almost as a "super" board. With the end of the Revolutionary War came many changes in the American society including the disbanding of the dual form of governance at Harvard and a return to the single lay governing board approach.

As American higher education grew and developed so did the importance of the chief executive of institutions of higher learning--the college president. As governing boards became more

representative of society they no longer were composed largely of citizens who usually lived within walking distance of the campus. This resulted in governing boards delegating more administrative responsibilities to the institutional president.

Today's wide range of structures of governing boards of state universities in the United States can be better understood when we look at their historical development. By taking this historical perspective a clearer view of the interrelationships as well as the differences emerges.

The oldest structure of governing boards in American higher education is the appointive model. As examined in earlier discussions, this approach was first taken in 1636 with the appointment of the Harvard Board of Overseers named by the General Court. The appointive approach was also utilized in the establishment of the governing board for America's second institution of higher learning--the College of William and Mary in Williamsburgh, Virginia.

It was, therefore, quite natural that the development of state universities in the late 1700's and early 1800's saw heavy reliance on the appointive approach. The Michigan Constitution of 1837 required that the Board of Regents of the University of Michigan be jointly appointed by the Michigan Legislature and the governor. A growing controversy over institutional autonomy developed resulting in a situation that was so bad that the citizens supported a constitutional change creating an elected Board of Regents. The change was made in the Michigan Constitution of 1850

creating the use of the elective method rather than the appointive for the selection of Regents. One turning point leading to the change was a court ruling that the Board of Regents, being representative of the people, shared the same "trust" as did the legislature and was, therefore, on equal terms with the legislature, not under its control.

During the mid-1800's, the elective approach developed as a means of bringing about a closer relationship between governing boards of state universities and the public through the use of the ballot box. The Michigan experience had shown some of the misuses of the appointive approach and supporters of the elective model argue that it is only through the use of this method of selecting governing board members that citizens have a voice in the operation of their public institutions of higher learning.

In the historical development of governing boards of state universities in the United States, the emergence of powerful, single, statewide boards responsible for governing all institutions of higher education within a state began to appear in the late 1800's. Following the establishment of land-grant colleges, the single governing board model seemed to reflect a public concern for some type of orderly development of higher education especially in states where economic resources were not such as to support uncontrolled competition between public colleges and universities. It is not surprising that this was also a period in American history when strong central government was being established in many states.

Closely allied to the development of single governing boards, was the establishment of the multi-campus governing board model in

the early 1900's. This development took place in states where a state institution of higher education was experiencing great growth and established branch campuses. There appears to be evidence to support the idea that branch campuses may have been established as an effective means of broadening the outreach of a public university throughout the state and therefore create greater political strength for gaining appropriations from legislatures.

A more recent development in the evolution of governing board structures in the United States has been the growth of statewide coordination and planning of higher education through the "super" board model. As pointed out earlier, Oklahoma became the first state in the nation to establish such a board with the creation of the Oklahoma Regents for Higher Education in 1941. From 1941-1968, some 27 states established "super" boards for the coordination of colleges and universities.

A review of the historical development of governing boards in American higher education clearly indicates a relationship between the political climate in a state and the type of governing board structure developed. Thus, a greater public concern for accountability on the part of institutions of higher learning within a state may well create an atmosphere conducive to the establishment of one statewide board to replace individual institutional governing boards. Under a different political climate one might find public support for institutional autonomy and the return of individual governing boards, whether of the appointive or elective models.

In viewing the "role" of governing boards as being different from the "functions" of boards, it is axiomatic that the historical development of the role of governing boards of state universities be understood.

From the 18th century up to the present, the basic role of governing boards--that of protecting the public interest and "trust"--has not changed dramatically from the early days of Harvard and the College of William and Mary. While, as indicated earlier, both Harvard and William and Mary made brief attempts at involving faculty in the governing of their institutions, there always appeared to be an eventual return to the concept of governance by laymen.

As a further divergence from the European models of institutional governance, the heterogeneity of governing boards began to emerge following the Revolutionary War. From the late 1700's up to the early 1900's, American higher education developed the philosophy that colleges and universities should promote the following: 1) The search for truth as a fundamental objective; 2) Higher education as both residential and nonresidential; 3) The education of both men and women, rich and poor, young and old, to their maximum capacities; 4) Creation of both public and private institutions of higher learning; 5) Freedom of colleges and universities from governmental control, especially the federal government, while the individual states carry the power to charter institutions of higher learning; and 6) The governance of colleges

and universities should be by governing boards made up of lay-citizens.⁶

The overall role of governing boards of state universities in the United States in carrying out these objectives as the basis of the American philosophy of higher education has changed little over the years. It could be argued, of course, that like so many philosophies, the actuali ation of the above ideals still remains unfulfilled.

In taking an objective look at the American form of higher education governance, it is quite important to view both the advantages and the disadvantages of the lay governing board concept. In recent years, governing boards have come under heavy attack as the result of campus unrest in the late 1960's and the current public concerns for greater accountability on the part of colleges and universities. Higher education, like so many American institutions, is often critici ed for either doing too little or too much.

In spite of criticisms of lay governing boards, most scholars of higher education maintain that the American form of lay boards of control seems to be an effective instrument for protecting the public "trust" in the operation of colleges and universities. Proponents of the lay boards argue that the use of a professional board of educators and governmental officials, found in many countries, would be contrary to the American representative of

⁶
Gerald P. Burns, "College Trustees and History", College and University Journal, 8:33-37, Winter, 1969.

democracy.

Those who call for reform in higher education governance, counter that current practice indicates that governing boards are not truly representative of the American public but are, in fact dominated by a small segment of society. Such critics call for the development of new governance structures whereby a wider range of American society will be represented and faculty and students will also have a greater voice in decision-making. Defense of this position is given on the basis that those most concerned with higher education, students and faculty, should be allowed to become more involved in the operation of colleges and universities.

While there continues to be criticism over the composition of governing boards and their role in the governance of higher education, there also appears to be general support for the overall concept of lay governing boards. This may be hopeful. As long as the lay board idea is still acceptable to the American people, it appears that an important element of higher education can be retained.

One critic of the current system of institutional governance, John Kenneth Galbraith, observes: "The governing board is not yet a harmless anachronism. In many respects it remains a barrier to rational progress."⁷ While this observation may appear to be a little harsh it is a viewpoint which prevails among some faculty members who

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John Kenneth Galbraith, "How the University Can Protect Itself", College Management, 2: 32-36, Sept. 1967.

believe that the faculty are the only members of the campus community who really have the insight needed to govern institutions of higher learning properly.

Rationale. At the same time, there are those in America who argue that presently higher education needs stronger lay governing boards like those of the 1800's and mid-1900's in order to "save" higher education. In general, as the above views indicate, there appears to be an overall questioning going on in the United States as to the need for a new philosophy concerning the governance of higher education. These discussions which are taking place both on and off campus will play a major role in the determination as to how America's colleges and universities will be governed in the future.

Given this current questioning there appears to be a clear need for a thorough, comprehensive, objective and systematic examination of the historical development of governing boards of state universities in the United States. Hopefully, this study will provide some "new orientation" for redefining the nature, function, structure and role of these governing boards as state universities adapt to the changing needs and demands of American society.

There is general agreement among scholars of higher education that if public support for colleges and universities is to continue in the United States, a greater effort must be made to regain public confidence. As reported in Time, August 20, 1973, Louis Harris has conducted public opinion polls which show the public's generally lack of faith in leadership in American higher learning. It is hoped that this study will provide some possible avenues for winning back public interest in and public support of higher education. This research should also

result in a means of articulation and input with state officials toward the resolution of both the confidence and related financial crises facing American colleges and universities.

THEORETICAL ORIENTATION

Theoretical Consideration for this study has been drawn from the examination of historical data on the European antecedents of the governing boards of state universities in the United States. The following European antecedents have been particularly considered:

- 1) The Grecian system of higher education;
- 2) The Italian universities;
- 3) The academy at Geneva founded by Calvin; and
- 4) The institutions of higher learning in The Netherlands and Scotland.

While historians agree that in the normal usage of the term universities were not to be found in ancient Greece, there is strong evidence, however, that in such great city-states as Athens there was a system of higher education which responded to the needs and concerns a universe of people or a community. Although this higher learning was not to be bound to physical institutions, it nevertheless existed and in many ways was an antecedent of today's state universities, especially the American land-grant college.

Cowley observes that during the Middle Ages faculty were hired by the students. The students acquired this power primarily because their teachers were basically private entrepreneurs who received no salaries but whose income was entirely dependent on lecture fees paid by the students. This meant, of course, that faculty pretty much did what the students wished. As this practice became increasingly onerous to faculty, they sought help from civil authorities and requested that teachers be placed under contract and received salaries.

Paying professors required that public funds be used, leading to the appointment of officials and leading citizens in communities to administer grants and to supervise the institutions receiving funds. In 1348, the Council of Florence established what is generally regarded as the first lay governing board in history to protect the faculty from the sometimes harsh rule of students. Although the University of Florence was never to become the major institution that one might expect given the high place that the city held in Italian culture, it was an important institution as far as the development of the governing board concept was concerned. Other universities such as Florence's rival Pisa as well as Padua and Genoa also developed lay boards a few years later.⁸

Rashdall describes the appearance of lay governing boards and their influence on medieval universities in Italy: "In the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries such a body...was established by the city government or prince in all Italian universities, and the real control of the university more and more passed from students to this body of external governors, which by the sixteenth century succeeded in destroying student autonomy or reducing it to a shadow."⁹

It is interesting to note that until the Italian universities became dependent upon civil authorities for financial support, students were pretty much left alone to operate their institutions as they saw

⁸ W.H. Cowley, "Professors, Presidents and Trustees", AGB Reports, 9:4-25, February, 1967.

⁹ Hastings Rashdall, The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, London: Clarendon Press, 1936), p.305.

fit. The questions of autonomy and accountability, as we can see, are not new to higher education.

In 1575, the concept of lay governing boards had spread north to the low countries with the founding of the University of Leyden (sic) or Leiden, the oldest institution of higher learning in The Netherlands. The University was established with a board of curators consisting of from three to six citizen members. At about the same time, John Calvin led efforts to recreate an institution of higher learning in Geneva to be known as the Academy. In establishing the institution, which later became the University of Geneva, the Town Council developed a governing board consisting of local citizens. While there are indications that Calvin may well have been influenced by the governing board concept found at the Italian universities and at the nearby University of Basel, it is clear that the idea of lay governing boards blended well with Calvin's belief that laymen should participate in the management of all social institutions.

The Calvinistic philosophy of lay involvement in the various institutions of society was well underway in Scotland by the time the University of Edinburgh was established in 1582 with a lay governing board. The opening of this new Scottish institution was viewed by its founders, the Town Council of Edinburgh, as a natural extension of ecclesiastical affairs into society through educational institutions.

Many writers such as Cowley, have argued that the concept of lay governing boards in higher education came to the New World not directly from Italy but from Scotland and Ireland whence it has been transported from the Netherlands and from the Calvin academy in Geneva. This view

also is supported by the large number of Scottish and Irish settlers who came to colonies along with the English.

To better understand the development of governing boards of state universities in the United States, one should look at the direct consequences the various European antecedents had on these governing boards.

The Grecian antecedent which was closely linked with the needs and desires of its community can be seen in the interest of early colonial colleges such as Harvard, the College of William and Mary, Yale and Princeton in not only the training of clergy but also of civil officials to help the new land to grow and prosper.

The Calvinistic influence, which was to be found in the development of American private higher education throughout the 1700's and 1800's, can be viewed in the religious mission established for the fledgling colonial colleges. The Italian antecedent, as stressed throughout this study, was the beginning of lay governing board concept itself.

Harvard College was founded in 1636 as America's first institution of higher learning with a lay governing board of 12 Overseers. As had been true with the European antecedents, the new colonial college had a governing board representative of its local community--the Massachusetts Bay Colony. The Board of Overseers had six magistrates and six ministers chosen by the General Court to direct the school's affairs. Harvard's mission of education was generally limited to religious training and its student enrollment was small.

¹⁰ Cowley, op.cit., p. 10.

¹¹ Orley R. Herron, The Role of Trustees, (Scranton, Pa.: International Textbook Company, 1969), p.7.

In 1693, the College of William and Mary was founded as a consequence of the Calvinistic religious influence as well as the Grecian antecedent of responding to the needs of the community, in this case a fledgling colony. William and Mary was established to train ministers and to bring the Christian faith to the western Indians. But America's second oldest college also set out to train young people in good manners and good letters. Located in Virginia, it was the only institution of higher learning in the south during the entire colonial period.¹²

One of the College of William and Mary's important alumni, Thomas Jefferson, was the first to try to obtain state support for the College in order that more civil servants and officials could be trained by the institution. Although his efforts were not accomplished, this Grecian-like attitude of closeness to the needs of the community was later realized in the founding of the University of Virginia.

Seeing a need for another institution, ten ministers acquired a charter from the General Court of Connecticut and established Yale College in that colony on October 9, 1701. The charter was granted so that young people could be trained for employment in church and civil affairs. Elihu Yale donated money for the first building and the new institution took the name of its benefactor.¹³

In 1746, the College of New Jersey was founded by the Presbyterian church as a ministerial training school for future clergymen. The institution changed its name to Princeton University and during early years served much of the middle colonies and the south.¹⁴

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

Most scholars of higher education history view Yale and Princeton, both institutions of the 1700's, as clearly consequences of the Scottish antecedent. Increasingly, the governing boards of these colleges had strong representation from their local communities with a mix of clerical and governmental backgrounds.

Due to the concern on the part of America's early colleges for the cultural welfare of colonial society, the public members of the lay governing boards of Harvard, William and Mary, Yale and Princeton began to exercise an early influence. It was quite natural, therefore, that following America's independence in 1776, higher education began to shed its religious nature usually represented by a church-state relationship, not unlike the University of Leyden and the University of Edinburgh, and take on the public university form of higher education found today throughout the United States. Early state institutions of higher learning, such as the University of Georgia (1785), the University of North Carolina (1789), the University of Michigan (1817) and the University of Virginia (1819), while still educating the sons of aristocrats, had a definite mission toward making higher education more responsive of the growing American society. Accomplishment of this mission appeared to be easier if the institution of higher learning were supported and controlled by the state than if it were to continue as some combination of church-state relationship as had existed up until the establishment of the University of Georgia in 1785.

It is clear that as America became more aggressive and restless--always looking over the next hill and wondering what was on the other side--higher education began to play an important role in society by providing the governmental and technical leaders needed to develop the

young nation. The movement away from heavy religious emphasis in American colleges can be traced to the westward expansion. By the mid-1800's, the concept of the "people's" universities had begun with the establishment of land-grant institutions as a natural evolution.

Three basic factors responsible for the emergence of the form of higher education are: 1) The need for lay leadership in administrative and technical roles in the new nation; 2) The intimate need in colonial days for a close relationship between church and local community leaders; and 3) The lack of any American tradition of scholarly guilds and the related vacuum in top management of the new country.¹⁵

The need for lay governing boards was proven at an early date and has been continually validated throughout the history of American higher education. It is not difficult to trace this need and to see how it was met as the basis of the now reasonably defined role of governing boards of American colleges and universities.

The influence of socio-economic and political factors on governing boards can be seen starting with the founding of Harvard. The colonial colleges had an early concern for close relationships with the community, especially the local government. The inclusion of local officials and representatives on the college governing board often opened the institutions to direct influence from local socio-economic and political factors.

The importance of the church in colonial times was also clearly reflected in the makeup of the governing boards which usually had strong

¹⁵ Burns, op.cit., p. 34

clerical representation. This response to religion, viewed in the important mission of training clergy, was directly related to the cultural role that churches played in holding the fledgling colonial communities together. As these communities became firmly established, there was socio-economic pressure placed upon colleges to prepare young men to assume positions of leadership in local government and business as well as in the ministry. Accepting this mission was a response by the governing boards to the socio-economic pressure of the time.

The development of the early state universities in Georgia, North Carolina, Michigan and Virginia were also responses to the need for training leaders. The natural evolution of this was the land-grant or "people's" colleges. Founded on the political climate of the need for strengthening the role of state government in higher education, the land-grant colleges were also a response to socio-economic demands for scientific, agricultural, and technical education.

Many observers of American higher education note that in viewing the historical development of the concept of lay governing boards it is important to realize that American colleges and universities have currently reached a time of floundering as far as a philosophy of governance is concerned. Recent years have seen challenges to the governance process of institutions of higher learning, first by students in the late 1960's, and more recently by faculty through collective bargaining. There is much confusion over the role of American higher education in today's society, in general, and the appropriate role of lay governing boards, in particular. Some critics argue that the lay board of control concept has responded to many socio-economic and political influences in the past, and today, no longer represents

anyone. Others point out that governing boards, due primarily to their membership composition, do not really understand the needs and desires of many segments of society, no matter how well-meaning boards may be. Opinion is to make faster movement toward improving the composition of governing boards to better represent society.

At any rate, there does appear to be much questioning currently under way as to how governing boards of state universities in the United States should respond to the many socio-economic and political influences of American society in the 1970's.

Proposition. On the basis of the preceeding discussion, the central proposition of the study is that the relationships between the nature, structure, functions and role of governing boards of state universities in the United States, on the one hand, and the socio-economic and political factors affecting the governance process, on the other hand, are mutual, reciprocal and cumulative.

The proposition, then, suggests that these influences were necessary conditions for the historical development of governing boards of state universities in the United States.

The proposition warrants a descriptive and analytical examination of the historical data.

THE PROBLEM

The Problem. The study, therefore, will attempt to answer the question as to how the socio-economic and political factors of a society influence the emergence and development of the various types of governing boards of state universities in the United States.

Purpose of the Study. Specifically the study proposes: 1) To examine the historical development of governing boards of a representative group of state universities; 2) To delineate the nature, structure, functions and role of governing boards of a representative group of state universities; 3) To describe the influences of socio-economic and political factors prevailing in American society on these governing boards as to their nature, structure, functions and role; and 4) To generate speculations and suggest recommendations concerning the nature, structure, functions and role of governing boards of state universities in the United States.

Importance of the Study. Many scholars of higher education administration have observed that the American concept of lay governing boards is under attack. While much of this criticism was more pronounced during the campus unrest of the late 1960's, there are still indications that there is a need for governing boards to help to win back public confidence and support basic to the future of American higher education, both public and private.

Hopefully, this study will provide an orderly setting for a better understanding of the nature, structure, functions and role of governing boards of state universities in the United States and how these boards evolved to their present form. This information should establish an important backdrop against which to view the questions of the day concerning the future of governing boards.

In addition, it is hoped that the study will provide some indication as to how the influences of socio-economic and political factors in a society affect the development of governing boards both as to their structure and functions.

Lastly, the study should produce generalizations as to the future of the American concept of lay governing boards and, hopefully, help in the development of an overall philosophy for governing boards of state universities. Observers see a pressing need for such a philosophy at this time and place in American higher education.

Definitions of Terms Used. The study will utilize the following definitions:

1. Governing board- A body legally charged with the direct control and operation of a single institution of higher education.
2. Multi-campus governing board- A body legally charged with the direct control and operation of a university with more than one campus.
3. Single, statewide governing board- A body legally charged with the responsibility for both the governance and coordination of either or all state universities and colleges within a state or a portion of such institutions.
4. Super Board- A body with legal authority for statewide coordination and planning of higher education within a state with the body superimposed over existing institutional governing boards.
5. State university- A state supported educational unit offering, in addition to undergraduate programs, courses leading to various graduate and professional degrees.

METHODOLOGY AND PLAN FOR THE STUDY

This study of the historical development of governing boards of state universities in the United States relies heavily on the methods of historical research--primarily documentary and analytical techniques. The use of historical research methods in studies of this type has

long been acceptable as a means of better understanding various social institutions and structures. The historical method has gained respectability in the fields of social science and education. The current research literature clearly indicates that the historical approach is a reliable and effective tool in the researcher's toolbox.*

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

As discussed earlier, the documentary and analytical techniques of historical research is being relied upon in this study. The functions, structure and role of governing boards of state universities in the United States become more apparent through the analysis of institutional documents such as bylaws and policy manuals. With the additional information obtained from the questionnaire, these three elements of governing boards should become even more clear regarding the representative boards being studied.

Governing boards in American higher education have been the subject of a number of examinations and a somewhat smaller number of empirical studies. Like other topics in higher education, lay governing boards may be studied from many viewpoints and angles.

One of the early studies concerned with governing boards was

*For detailed description of the historical methods of research see: Louis Gottschalk, Understanding History: A Primer of the Historical Method, (New York: Knopf, 1950); Fred N. Kerlinger, Foundations of Behavioral Research, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964), Appendix II; Claire Selltiz, Research Methods in Social Relations, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964).

conducted by Veblen in 1918. He observed that while American institutions of higher education were still referred to as "seminaries of higher learning boards had been replaced by businessmen and politicians. He felt that discretionary control in matters of institutional policy rested too much in the hands of businessmen."¹⁶

In a statement which indicates Veblen's disappointment in governing boards, he writes: "The governing boards--trustees, regents, curators, fellows, whatever their style or title--are an aimless survival from the days of clerical rule, when they were presumable of some effect in enforcing conformity to orthodox opinions and observances, among the academic staff."¹⁷ Although this observation was made in 1918, it sounds very similar to the criticism of governing boards made by Galbraith in the September, 1967 issue of College Management. Woodring has observed that Veblen saw no need for administrators in higher education and that he felt the abolition of administrators and governing boards was the answer to the structural problems faced by institutions of higher learning.¹⁸

Veblen is generally credited as the first scholar to sound an alarm concerning the membership domination of businessmen and politicians on governing boards. His fears that too many "non-educationalists" were

¹⁶Thorstein Veblen, Higher Learning in America, (New York: Sagamore Press, 1957).

¹⁷Ibid., p.66.

¹⁸Paul Woodring, The Higher Learning in America: A Reassessment, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1968), p.144.

making critical decisions regarding institutional policies were echoed by Sinclair in 1923.¹⁹

Empirical studies of governing boards are less plentiful and they have generally concerned themselves with biographical data. The early studies of McGrath in 1936²⁰ and Beck in 1947²¹ updated some of Veblen's findings and tended to support his views regarding the heavy proportion of businessmen and bankers on governing boards of American colleges and universities. They also noted the decline of clergymen and farmers on boards with a high proportion of older white males with high incomes serving on governing boards.

The Hartnett studies in 1969²² and 1970²³ surveyed governing board membership composition as well as board members attitudes on a wide range of issues facing higher education. In his book, The New College Trustees: Some Predictions for the 1970's, Hartnett presents a strong case for changes in the structure of university governance and in the membership composition of most governing boards. He points out: "It seems likely that the recent trend toward broader representation on governing boards is more than a passing fancy. In the long run, in fact,

¹⁹ James Paltridge, Julie Hurst and Anthony Morgan, Significant Relationships Between Types of Trustee Boards and Their Decision Patterns in Public Four-Year Colleges and Universities, (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Center for Research and Development in Higher Education, 1973), p.2.

²⁰McGath, op.cit. ²¹Beck, op.cit.

²²Rodney T. Hartnett, College and University Trustees: Their Backgrounds, Roles and Educational Attitudes, (Princeton, J.J.: Educational Testing Service, 1969).

²³_____, The New College Trustees: Some Predictions for the 1970's, (Princeton, J.J. Educational Testing Service, 1970), pp.15-23.

the whole idea of hierarchical structure in American colleges and universities, with the board of trustees at the top, may give way to a more egalitarian form of governance."²⁴

Providing more information as to how modern governing boards should operate in American higher education, Herron conducted a study in 1968 dedicated to the idea that governing boards needed assistance if they were to perform their multifaceted functions. Herron argues: "The board of trustees is the single most important agency of an institution to state its case and to guide opinion. Few men in American history have ever had such magnificent opportunities or such weighing responsibilities as college trustees have today."²⁵

Also writing in 1968, Woodring argues with criticisms regarding membership composition of lay governing boards of colleges and universities. He observes: "Today's boards of regents represent many facets of American life: politics, the professions, and even organized labor as well as the business community. And most men and women on today's boards are themselves well educated. Frequently their view of higher education is far more comprehensive than that of many academic men whose concern is only a single discipline. It is the exceptional board member who has an ax to grind or who is narrow, bigoted, ignorant, or cantankerous who provides the basis for the stereotype held by many professors. Most boards are neither as ignorant or as powerful as professors.

²⁴Ibid., p.47.

²⁵Orley R. Herron, Jr., The Role of the Trustees, Scranton, Pa.: International Textbook Company, 1969), p.15.

believe."²⁶

Woodring also takes issue with Veblen regarding the unimportance of governing boards in American higher education. He argues that the primary responsibility of a governing board is to serve as a buffer between the institution of higher learning and the community-at-large. A good governing board, he points out, helps to interpret the world to the campus and represents the academic community to the outside world. Woodring observes that without this buffer, the faculty would be much more vulnerable to attack than it now is--"most board members spend far more time defending the institution, its faculty and its students, than the faculty is ever aware."²⁷

A number of prominent writers have also discussed the importance of lay governing board concepts. Henderson in 1967²⁸ and Rauh in 1969²⁹ developed the list of general functions of governing boards mentioned earlier in this study. Another study on governing boards was conducted by Hughes in 1943. As president emeritus of Iowa State College, now Iowa State University, he presented some insight into the governance of state universities, especially the operational aspects of governing boards. His Manual for Trustees has for many years been heavily relied upon as in-service reading for governing board members.³⁰

²⁶Woodring, op. cit., p.146. ²⁷Ibid., p.145.

²⁸Algo D. Henderson, "The Role of the Governing Board", AGB Reports, 10:3-7, October, 1967.

²⁹Morton A. Rauh, The Trusteeship of Colleges and Universities, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1969), pp.58-67.

³⁰Raymond Hughes, A Manual for Trustees, (Ames, Iowa: The Iowa State College Press, 1943), pp.30-60.

More recently, a nationwide survey was conducted by a faculty member of Indiana University. This research effort looked at the policy-making function of governing boards of both state and private institutions of higher learning. The study also resulted in some 10 theses covering a wide range of topics concerning lay governing boards and with special attention to the addition of students and young people as members on boards.³¹

In 1972 the Higher Education Panel of the American Council on Education (ACE) conducted a study of student participation on governing boards in American colleges and universities. The research indicated that as American campuses cooled down from the student unrest of the late 1960's, so had the trend toward adding students to governing boards.³² During the same year, the Office of Institutional Studies at the University of Southern California made a similar national research effort. In this study both faculty and student participation on governing boards was the central concern. The results demonstrates that the current trend is for faculty and students to serve on boards in advisory capacities rather than as voting members. The study also found that student and faculty representation on governing boards, whether as advisory or

³¹August W. Eberle, Policy Boards and Policy-Making in Institutions of Higher Learning in the United States, (Bloomington, Ind.: Department of Higher Education, Indiana University, 1968), pp. 1-30.

³²The Higher Education Panel of the ACE, Student Participation on Institutional Governing Boards, (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education(ACE), Education Survey 11, 1972), pp. 1-5.

voting members, were more likely to occur at private rather than at state institutions of higher learning.³³

In another look at the membership composition of governing boards, Godfrey developed an in-depth profile of women who serve on boards. She also presented comparisons of perceptions of female trustees with those of male trustees. She concludes that equal representation of women on the governing boards of state universities had not been recognized and/or achieved. She argues that the data she collected from a national sample proves women board members to be more service-oriented than their more business-minded male counterparts. She observes that women should be "viewed as a valuable source of diverse thought in areas of academic policy-making, direction for the social and cultural environment of the campus, public relations and communications with constituents outside of the university, and vocational preparation."³⁴

The Center for Research and Development in Higher Education located at the University of California at Berkeley, conducted research in 1973 concerned with the role of governing boards in higher education, especially in terms of decision patterns. Included in the research were the various structures of governing boards mentioned earlier in this study. While still not completed in terms of data analysis, the study

³³University of Southern California, Student and Faculty Participation on College and University Boards of Trustees, (Los Angeles, Calif.: Office of Institutional Studies, University of Southern California, 1972), pp. 1-7.

³⁴Helen Ruth Godfrey, A Profile of Female Trustees of Four-Year Public Colleges and Universities and a Comparison of Female and Male Trustee Perceptions of Selected Trustees Functions and University Issues (East Lansing, Mich.: A thesis for the Ph.D. Degree, Michigan State University, 1971), p.6 of abstract.

shows that there appears to be little consistency in decision-patterns of single-campus governing boards, multi-campus governing boards and state-wide governing boards.³⁵

Nabrit and Scott conducted one of the few studies of governing boards of predominately black institutions of higher learning in the United States. They expressed a special concern for the communications function of governing boards, in general, and of the 50 predominantly black institutions in the study, specifically, and observed: "A board of trustees is effective in direct proportion to the extent to which it can communicate its policies and decisions clearly and quickly to students and faculty. The communications structure should provide for open-ended and informal conversations with students and faculty."³⁶

As an important part of the research which resulted from the campus unrest of the late 1960's, the American Council on Education (ACE) conducted a thorough study of governing board procedures relating to campus governance. ACE recommends that every institution should have carefully framed bylaws, subject to periodic re-examination that set forth the board's essential authority and responsibility as well as define its procedures. The study also found that students and faculty need to be better informed as to how decisions are made within their institutions of higher learning. ACE maintains that delegation of responsibility and accountability does not absolve the governing board members of the need to be well informed about their institutions' programs and to be serious

³⁵Paltridge, op. cit., p.15.

³⁶Samuel M. Nabrit and Julius S. Scott, Jr., An Inventory of Academic Leadership: An Analysis of Boards of Trustees of Fifty Predominately Negro Institutions, (Atlanta, Ga.: The Southern Fellowship Fund, 1969), p.11

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students of higher education in general. Presidents and others who exercise authority over board meeting agendas, the study pointed out, should focus agendas more on educational issues and less on fiscal and house-keeping chores."³⁷

Another study resulting from research into the campus tensions of the late 1960's is The Report of the President's Commission on Campus Unrest, referred to as the Scranton Report. This study contains some important recommendations to governing boards. The President's Commission observes that board members have a particular responsibility to interpret and explain their institution to the larger society. The study maintains that trustees should attempt to inform the public about the institution's values, goals, complexities and changes. The Commission also points out that governing board members have an equally important responsibility to assure that their institution maintains its central commitment to teaching, research and the preservation of academic freedom against internal and external erosion.³⁸

In 1973, the Carnegie Commission on Education issued a report on higher education governance which included some interesting observations about governing boards. The Carnegie Commission argues that the role of the lay governing board in American higher education is due for a renaissance. The report supports the idea that to perform its functions well,

³⁷Robert H. Murray, Dublin University and the New World(London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1921) p.11.

³⁸The President's Commission on Campus Unrest, The Report of the President's Commission on Campus Unrest, (Washington, D.C.: Printing Office, 1970).

the governing board must be independent, free of conflict of interest, competent, devoted and sensitive to the interests of various groups involved in the life of the campus. The Commission opposed faculty members and students serving as voting members of their own institution's governing board because such membership might well constitute a conflict of interest and also because of difficulty in assuring that such faculty and student members are truly "representative". The study maintains: "We favor some impartial screening device for nomination of members of public boards, or legislative confirmation of appointment, or some combination of both. We also favor providing an opportunity for faculty members, students and alumni to assist in the nomination of at least some board members in both public and private institutions-all for the sake of securing devoted and competent members. We favor broad inclusion of persons interested in the welfare of the institution drawn from different age, sex, and racial groups in order to represent concerns of the different groups that hold attachment to the campus, so that a greater variety of perspectives is brought to board deliberations. And we specially favor the consideration of faculty members from other institutions and of young alumni as board members."³⁹

A recent contribution to the study of higher education administration, also resulting from the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, is a book entitled, The University as an Organization, edited by James A. Perkins. In a chapter specially dealing with governing boards,

³⁹ Carnegie Commission on Higher Education: Governance of Higher Education: Six Priority Problems, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1973), p.35.

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Perkins makes the following observation: "The board must still represent lay authority or the general public interest or specific interest of the religious state authority that created the board in the first instance. It must still act as a bridge and buffer between the University and society. If it does not continue to perform these functions, then the university will have lost its greatest shield and defender."⁴⁰ Taking a look at campus communication problems faced by governing boards, Gould points out in his chapter, that boards are clothed in a kind of mystery with an "alien" quality because they come from the world outside the campus. He adds, that governing boards function with a sort of absolute authority that can be disquieting to students and threatening to faculty. He maintains that like all problems involving human relationships, those of lay governing boards and their campus communities can be resolved only with painstaking, never-ending care and planning.⁴¹ Gould concludes: "The basis for a sound relationship between trustees and the rest of the university community are a common understanding of educational purposes, a common dedication to these purposes, a deep loyalty to the institution, a realization of what role is appropriate for each constituency, a sensitively fashioned system of sharing ideas when decisions are being reached, and above all, a full commitment to the protection of the independence of the university and its preservation in the face of impending erosions of whatever sort. The concept of trusteeship is sound. What remains to

⁴⁰ James A. Perkins, The University as an Organization, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1973), p.213.

⁴¹ Ibid., pp.215-228.

be done is to refine the functions of trusteeship until they more nearly match the concept."⁴²

In a recent study of governing boards and the law, Hull and Shapiro trace the evolution of lay boards, their place in American law and their current functions. Shapiro argues that a prime and immediate function of present governing boards of state universities should be renewed attempts at establishing new and diverse ways of encouraging general reviews and coordination of the various separate entities that make up the present state university. He points out that such efforts can not be limited, as is often the case, to the initiatives of colleges and programs by periodic "self-studies" usually brought about by the urging of some outside accrediting agency. Governing board members, Shapiro maintains, should rightly view the university with more discernible skepticism and make a more noticeable push to force the campus community to coordinate its efforts.⁴³ As Anderson rightfully observes:

"The ideal university serves society by being only a custodian and transmitter of its culture but also a creator and critic for the culture.

This is the meaning of the university. To disturb this relationship is to change the culture."⁴⁴

As a recent development in higher education governance, which while not occurring in the United States may still have some influence on

⁴²Ibid., p.228.

⁴³W. Frank Hull, IV and Allen H. Shapiro, The University Trustee in Law and in Practice, (Toledo, Ohio: The Center for the Study of Higher Education, University of Toledo, 1973), pp.21-39.

⁴⁴G. Lester Anderson, The Journal of Higher Education, 8: 465, June 1961.

future models of governing bodies in higher learning, the Commission on the Government of the University of Toronto made a far-reaching report in 1972. The Commission recommended that the University of Toronto establish a sole governing authority with total control over fiscal and academic matters to be known as the Governing Council and that this new body combine the duties and powers of the institution's governing board and academic senate. The membership on the Governing Council would consist of 76 members with 20 lay members, 20 elected student members consisting of 5 graduate students and 15 undergraduate students, 20 elected members from the academic staff, 6 ex-officio members and 10 members elected by the graduates of the University of Toronto. In July, 1972, the University put these recommendations into action by creating the Governing Council. While it is still early to determine if this approach at making governing bodies more representative will function effectively, it is clear that at the present time it serves as a possible model for the future of the governance of colleges and universities in the United States.⁴⁵

OVERVIEW

As pointed out earlier in this study, research concerning the concept of lay governing boards in American higher education have been concerned with many different aspects of boards. However, there still appears to be a need for focusing attention on the historical

⁴⁵The Commission on the Government of the University of Toronto, Toward Community in University Government, (Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto, 1970).

development of governing boards of state universities in the United States and thereby attempting to pull together the many views of lay governing boards in a definitive study as to how these boards got where they are and where they may be going. It is hoped that this study will contribute to this research effort.

ORGANIZATION OF THE REMAINDER OF THE STUDY

The remainder of this study is organized in the following manner:

Chapter II contains an in-depth study of the European antecedents of governing boards of state universities in the United States with an attempt to showing how these antecedents had consequences which resulted in the emergence of the American model of lay governing boards in the governance of colleges and universities.

Chapter III presents the transition of the European antecedents and their American consequences in light of social, political and organizational factors; war; campus unrest; the politicizing of universities; the quest for excellence; the shifting away from some of the original land-grant ideals; and the financial constraints.

Chapter IV describes the current situation of floundering in the governance of higher education in the United States with particular concern for the nature, functions, structure and role of governing boards of state universities. A review of historical and current data will be presented concerning a representative group of state universities.

Chapter V consists of the summary, conclusions, implications, speculations, discussion of portents and recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER II

THE EUROPEAN ANTECEDENTS OF THE AMERICAN GOVERNING BOARDS FOR STATE UNIVERSITIES: A HISTORICAL PROFILE.

INTRODUCTION

In order to better understand the governing boards of state universities in the United States, it is important that an examination be made in greater depth concerning the European antecedents of these boards. It is the purpose of this chapter to present a historical profile of the early development of the lay governing board concept and how this development had influence not only on the early American institutions of higher learning but also on the present governing boards of state universities in the United States.

THE EUROPEAN ANTECEDENTS

The Greek Antecedents. It is generally regarded that the beginnings of what is referred to today as higher education came from ancient Greece. There is strong evidence that Athens stood as the center of philosophical learning in ancient Greece. To the Greeks of Athens there was general agreement that they had been the original settlers of the area. However, historians indicate that there had been others living in the region before the Greeks came who were eventually assimilated into the population. The Athenians were inventive rather than imitative and were considered a daring people with a strong curiosity.

Even in 65 A.D., St. Paul found the Athenians were interested only "in hearing and telling some new idea". Indeed, it was this interest in ideas as well as in the communicating of them which lead to the beginnings of higher education. Since the days of Nestor and Odysseus, the art of persuasive speech was held in honor by the Greeks. With the rise of the democratic commonwealths or city-states, oratory became more important as a basic ingredient for the workings of government.¹

An example of the great amount of attention and interest directed toward oratory can be found in the fact that the Greeks introduced a new class of proper names referring to excellence in addressing public assemblies. The power of clearly expressing ideas in such a way as to persuade an audience was an art to be learned and taught. This interest in oratory among the ancient Greeks, and especially among the Athenians, was one of the factors for a demand for higher education. Bury observes: "It was in an atmosphere of critical inquiry and skepticism that Greece had to provide for the higher education of her youth, which the practical conditions of the democracy demanded."²

Most historians, observe that it was about the middle of 500 B.C. that the philosophers of Greece, especially those in the western region, had produced enough teachable knowledge to be utilized in the schools. Education up to that time had primarily been designed to teach military skills. Soon, experts---known as "sophists"---began to visit other

¹Harry G. Good and James D. Teller, A History of Western Education (London: The MacMillan Company, Collier-MacMillan, Ltd., 1969), pp.21-27

²J. B. Bury, A History of Greece to the Death of Alexander the Great (New York: The Modern Library, 1913), p.369.

cities where they earned a living by teaching grammar, semantics and style in expression. The results were that their students learned the art of effective public speaking so important to the Athenian culture. With skill in oratory, a young man could easily move to positions of leadership in Greek political life.³

Atkinson and Maleska point out: "The Sophists in due time faced caustic charges of being 'quacks', shallow sellers of 'tricks of the trade', rather than seekers after truth. However, the Sophists did give a powerful impetus to advancing education of an intellectual type; they contributed a great deal to the world by started to organize large bodies of knowledge in teachable form."⁴

In regards to the charges by the "elders" of the Greek city-states that the studies of the "Sophists" were "subversive", historians report that the new generation did sometimes show itself unscrupulous. However, in the fourth century, as the shock of the new learning passed, more academic schools of philosophy were established. These new institutions were conducted much like seminars. Although they did not require competitive examinations or award degrees, these institutions of philosophy have generally been regarded as the equivalent of our universities. Although these schools were operated for the wealthy, for it required money and leisure to be trained in these advanced doctrines, some of this "higher" education seeped down to the poorer classes.⁵

³R.M. Cook, The Greeks Until Alexander (New York: Frederick A. Praeger Publishers, 1962).

⁴Carroll Atkinson and Eugene T. Maleska, The Story of Education (New York: Chilton Company, Book Division, 1962).

⁵Cook, loc. cit., p.128.

Atkinson and Maleska offer a basis for considering the "Sophist's" institutions as antecedents of American state universities. They observe: "It was in the realm of higher education that the Greek influence was most greatly felt. Long after Athens ceased to be a political power, its various philosophical and rhetorical schools (known collectively as the University of Athens) served as a mecca for students from other parts of the civilized world, and the Greek tongue became the universal language of culture."⁶

A further reading of history shows that the conquests of Alexander the Great helped to spread the knowledge and mores of the Athenians throughout the world. Wherever Greek armies went, there soon followed Greek teachers, philosophers and other thinkers. It was not long until Greek universities were flourishing on the Island of Rhodes, at Tarsus and at Pergamum in Asia Minor as well as at Alexandria in Egypt.⁷

Dobson supports the importance of Athens, in this observation: "The establishment of the philosophical schools of Athens, each having definite provision for the succession to the headship and a fixed place for meetings of teachers and pupils, has been regarded as marking the beginning of university life in Greece."⁸

As pointed out earlier, the importance of the development of higher education in ancient Greece is the fact that it may be viewed as an antecedent of the American state university in that they both resulted from community needs and concerns. In the case of ancient Greece, these

⁶ Atkinson and Maleska, op.cit., p. 24.

⁷ Ibid..

⁸ J.F. Dobson, Ancient Education and Its Meaning to Us, (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, Inc., 1963), p. 55.

concerns were the oratory skills required for governmental service as well as the development of philosophical thinking. In American state universities, the interest on the part of American citizens in education for all rather than just the elite can be seen as the basis for the development of these institutions. In their time, the early higher education of ancient Greece was a direct response to the concerns, needs and interests of the city-states. This concept of responding to the wish of the public, remains as an important aspect of higher learning.

The Italian Antecedent. The next historical profile is found in the Middle Ages in Italy where it is generally regarded that the antecedent of lay governing boards developed. The universities of the Middle Ages, not unlike the private universities of today, were incorporated higher schools, equipped with a charter, seal, by-laws and officers. Other schools were directly controlled by a church, city, guild, founder or private owner. Universities were legal "persons" and were generally free from external control. However, it is important to remember that being in the same world as other agencies, universities were not completely free from outside influences. Both the church and empire, as well as kings, bishops and the Dominican and Franciscan Orders, found ways of shaping university policies and of using institutions of higher learning for purposes other than the pursuit and promulgation of knowledge and truth.

Much like the "Sophists" of ancient Greece, the teachers of the 12th and 13th centuries were entrepreneurs who lived entirely on lecture fees paid by students. In the universities of medieval Italy, students soon gained control over the operation of the institutions and, therefore, completely controlled the faculty.

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As professors began to experience harsh rule by students they turned to their local communities for aid. The natural alternative was to have municipalities provide salaries for faculty rather than leaving them to entirely depend upon student fees for their livelihood. Universities in the Middle Ages experienced a wide range of administration models having at various times been controlled by students, faculty and finally, external authorities.

As mentioned earlier, when municipalities decided to grant the requests of faculty to be placed on salary, they required that there be some supervision of the universities to insure that the funds were being utilized properly. This, of course, led to the creation of lay governing boards.⁹

It is generally agreed that the first of the Italian municipalities to establish a lay governing board occurred in Florence in 1348. Historians report that since Florence was rightly regarded as the center of Italian culture, one would expect that her university would be a leader in at least southern Europe. As Hyett points out, this was never to be true. Florence was even ahead of the rest of Italy in the establishment of state-aided education. But her university, which had been established as early as 1321, had no reputation beyond the city walls.¹⁰

When the Black Death or plague hit Florence in the mid-1340's, the educational institutions such as the University of Florence were greatly demoralized. In 1348, a Papal Bull was issued establishing all

⁹Cowley, *op. cit.*.. pp.5-25.

¹⁰ Francis A. Hyett, Florence: Her History and Art to the Fall of the Republic (London: Methuen & Company, 1903).

faculties at the University. A place for its buildings was assigned between Duomo and the Palazzo Pubblico, on the site of what was known as the Collegium Eugeanum.¹¹

Symonds argues that the Black Death was the major factor in the re-establishment of the University as a consequence of the depopulation inflicted by the plague. He points out: "By drawing residents to Florence from other states, they (city officials) hoped to increase the number of inhabitants, and to restore the decayed fame and splendor of the Commonwealth."¹²

One could rightly argue that it was, in fact, the matching up of two forces---the desire of faculty to get out from under the sometimes harsh rule of students and receive a regular salary as well as the desire of city officials to bring inhabitants to the area-- which were the setting for the establishment of the first lay governing board in history. As a means of monitoring the activities of the University of Florence, the city council appointed eight burghers to manage and govern the institution. An annual sum was set apart from city finances for the maintenance of the University. As well as establishing the first governing board, Florence may also have been the first in history to set aside annual appropriations for higher education. As a matter of fact, state universities in the United States had generally not reached the point of receiving regular appropriations from state legislatures as late as the 1890's.

¹¹ John Addington Symonds, Renaissance in Italy: The Revival of Learning (New York: Henry Hold and Company, 1888)

¹² Ibid., p.119.

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In spite of the efforts by the Roman Catholic Church and municipal authorities to keep the institution going, the University of Florence closed its doors in 1472. Some students of Renaissance argue that there were two major reasons for the University's difficulties: 1) Florence had a scarcity of lodgings for students and, therefore, never really was able to accommodate students from outside the region; 2) The University was too near the University of Pisa which was much more prosperous and which eventually absorbed the Florentine institution.

Rashdall observes: "The University of Florence never attained the position among the universities of Europe which the rank of Florence among Italian cities might have been expected to secure for it."¹³

Although the University of Florence was never to be looked upon by other universities as an educational model and, as indicated earlier, it disappeared all together with its merger with the University of Pisa in 1472, it did set an example for institutional governance. Soon after the University was reestablished in 1348 with a lay governing board, other Italian universities such as Genoa, Padua and Pisa followed suit.

The Swiss Antecedents. The next movement of the lay governing board concept was northward. The University of Basel in what is now Switzerland, became the first university outside of Italy to establish a lay governing board. The University, which still exists, is the oldest institution of higher learning in Switzerland.

The establishment of the University is directly related to the Great Church Council of Basel held in the early 1400's. Hottinger

¹³ Rashdall, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 51.

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makes the following comments about the Council which had been called to deal with abuses in Church and State: "By 1448, the Council was dissolved, having achieved little. But if it had not accomplished all that was expected of it, it had brought unforgettable days to Basel and bequeathed to the city the great idea which was to be realized ten years later---the foundation of the University."¹⁴

Aeneas Sylvius, who resided in Basel and served as scribe to the Great Council during its sessions, was impressed by the educational zeal of the burgomaster and city council of Basel who strongly supported masters of grammar, logic and music in the city. When Aeneas mounted the Papal throne as Pope Pius II, the Basel City Council took the opportunity of petitioning their old friend for university privileges. The result was the granting of a Papal Bull in 1459 establishing the University of Basel in all faculties. The Bishop of Basel was made Chancellor of the University and the "studium" was actually opened in 1460.

Again, as in the case of the University of Florence, the City Council agreed to provide monies for the operation of the University of Basel on the condition that a lay governing board be established to watch over the use of municipal funds. The University was placed under the control of a Board of Deputies or "deputati" appointed by the magistrates of Basel. The Board was responsible for the governing of the institution and the dispersing of funds obtained from taxes and land production.¹⁵

¹⁴ M.D. Hottinger, The Stories of Basel, Berne and Zurich (Nendeln/Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1970), p. 55.

¹⁵ Rashdall, op. cit., p.275.

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It is interesting to note that the spreading of the lay governing board concept can be traced to the movement of students who came to Basel from other parts of Europe, north of Italy. As we will see, the idea was to appear in the Netherlands and, again, in Switzerland, but this time in Geneva. In both cases, there appeared to be a more direct influence from the University of Basel rather than from Italian universities which had lay governing boards.

In looking at the University of Basel model it is clear that the importance of municipal pride and determination was key in the establishment of a university and in the demand that a governing board appointed by the local government be responsible for its operation.

As we have seen, the first institution of higher learning outside of Italy to have a lay governing board was at Basel in what is now Switzerland. It was in the same country that the second such board was established in Geneva. While Basel is located at the northern tip of Switzerland near the German border, Geneva, in the westernmost part of the country, is quite near to France. It is very natural, therefore, that it would be a frenchman who would exercise a great deal of influence over the city in the 1500's and eventually gain worldwide notice.

The early people of Geneva had a zeal for religion, a vigorous energy in government, a passion for freedom and a devotion to the development of ingenious industries. In 1536, the people of Geneva established a school and made provision for free compulsory education. This was also the year that a frenchman who was already beginning to develop a new movement in the Protestant revolution entered the city to become pastor. The man--Jean or John Calvin. Geneva had thrown off obedience to Rome before Calvin came but the revolt was largely political against

the Duke of Savoy. Calvin immediately sought to bring "the enlightenment of divine knowledge" to the people of Geneva.¹⁶

Calvin drew his philosophy of education from his theology. Man's only hope, he stated, lies in an environment that policies him from birth until death. Calvin sought to make Geneva into an environment in which parents, friends, associates, government and the church were of one mind. In Calvin's thinking, church, state, school and family were one institution devoted to disciplining, instructing and training the citizenry according to the will of God. The government was molded by the church so that all its laws and procedures supported the puritanical ideas of the pastors.¹⁷

In 1537, Calvin was invited to submit a plan for the educational and religious reorganization of Geneva. By 1541, Calvin had been entrusted with the task of organizing Geneva into a little religious city-state. For this purpose, he combined the church and city government into such a close relationship that church and state appeared to be even more closely connected than had been the case in Roman Catholic countries. During the 23 years that Calvin dominated Geneva, the city became a kind of "Rome of Protestantism".¹⁸

In 1559, Calvin established his Academy as a natural extension of religious teachings. Since he preached the importance of the laity

¹⁶Charles Franklin Thwing, Universities of the World (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1911) pp.89-90.

¹⁷S.E. Frost, Jr., Historical and Philosophical Foundations of Western Education (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Books, Inc., 1966).

¹⁸Ellwood P. Cubberley, The History of Education (Cambridge, Mass.: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1948) p.298.

becoming involved in affairs of both the church and state, it was quite natural that Calvin would establish a governing board of laymen over his school. The Academy was not, strictly speaking, a university, since it enjoyed no corporate privileges and conferred no degrees, but it did offer better instruction in the arts, theology and law than many universities of the period. For Protestant youths, Geneva was the most stimulating educational center in Europe.¹⁹

The Academy, which was later to become the University of Geneva, became famous throughout the western world. Students came from all over Europe, and from it young men trained to spread Calvinism in other lands. The graduates of the Academy were also to have influence in the establishment of other institutions of higher learning along the model of Calvin's ideas. As we will see, both the University of Leyden and the University of Edinburgh were heavily influenced by Calvin's

²⁰ Academy. Frost observes: "Calvin made Geneva into a school of Protestantism and an environment every phase of which was dedicated to acculturating the child to Christianity. His school was but one institution of a social complex ruled by the church. There a city was remade into a religious community along Calvinistic lines, and from its borders went men to make Calvinism the religion of much of western culture for many generations."²¹

¹⁹ Samuel Eliot Morison, The Founding of Harvard College (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1935) pp. 132-133.

²⁰Frost, op. cit., p.208. ²¹Ibid.

The principles upon which Calvin founded his Academy were logically and pedagogically sound and its methods of administration were efficient. Though there was a need of preparing men for the ministry---a need which was also to be found in the early Americal colleges--- Calvin was also governed by a profound sense of the need for an educated Protestant laity. Broadly educated himself, he attracted learned scholars to the Academy and was able to place it on a plane which created a high reputation. In 1873, more than three centuries after the founding of the Academy by Calvin, the University of Geneva was finally and formally established.²² Thwing writes of Calvin: "It is to the disadvantage of Calvin that the greatness of his fame as a theologian has obscured his merits as an educator and administrator."²³

The Dutch Antecedent. At the time of Calvin's great work in Geneva, The Netherlands was divided with Catholicism in the south and the Protestant Dutch Republic in the north. Calvinism was an undeniable force. In the middle 1570's, the first private Dutch Synod assembled at Hoorn. Calvinist congregations sprang up everywhere, so that there grew a demand for more ministers than could be found. This, then, created the need which was to bring about the establishment of another educational institution much like the Academy in Geneva.²⁴

Two men may be viewed as the major influences which created the

²² Georgia Harkness, John Calvin, The Man and His Ethics (New York: Abingdon Press, 1958).

²³ Thwing, op. cit., p.90.

²⁴ Petrus Johannes Blok, History of the People of the Netherlands, Part III (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1900).

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University of Leyden (sic) or Leiden. The first was Prince William of Orange, also known as William the Silent. The second was Jan van der Does, who preferred the Latinized name of Janus Dousa. In 1574, the city of Leiden provided desperate and triumphant resistance against the Spanish under the leadership of Janus Dousa. Following the defeat of the Spanish, the great "stadtholder", William of Orange, wanted to recognize the mighty courage and "nobility" of Leiden. He offered to relieve the city from taxation for a term of years or to found for it a university. In choosing between the two offers, there seemed to be little questioning by the citizens as to which to select. They chose the offer to establish a university. The history of the University of Leiden as well as the history of scholarship throughout the world proves the wisdom of their choice.²⁵

When Prince William decided to grant Leiden its choice, Janus Dousa was foremost of the city's citizens in helping to lay the foundations for the new institution and he became the first appointed to the lay governing board established to govern the University---the Board of Governors or Curators, as they were known.²⁶

Barnouw points out that in Article 22 of the Statutes of 1575, the year in which the University of Leiden was founded, there was provision appointing of two or three "patrons, curators or supervisors", whose task would be to administer and look after everything that they, in conjunc-

²⁵ Thwing, op. cit., p. 49.

²⁶ Adriaan J. Barnouw, The Pageant of The Netherlands History (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1952).

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tion with the "Rector" and his "Assessors", considered necessary and useful for the welfare and prosperity of the University. Such patrons were known also at Pisa, Florence, Basel, Cologne, but nowhere except in Leiden was it ruled that the "College of Curators", as the Board of Governors was and is called, should have no competence whatsoever by itself, but together with either the City Burgomasters or with the Rector and his Assessors they had more power than any similar body at other universities. In conjunction with the Burgomasters they appointed and dismissed professors, fixed their salaries and administered the University's finances.²⁷

This constant collaboration between the city government and the University's governing board led to their fusion into one permanent body, officially recognized in the revised Statutes of 1631. Barnouw observes: "The College of Curators looked after details that no board of trustees would meddle with today, such as the choice of texts to be read in class, the subject matter to be discussed and the academic timetable. Since they held the purse strings, appointed and dismissed teaching staff and made decisions in all important matters, the Curators were the absolute rules of the University."²⁸

The founding of the University of Leiden, which today stands as the oldest institution of higher learning in The Netherlands, marked the large emergence of the Protestant religion in western history. Just as Geneva had influence on the Protestant movements in Holland and in

²⁷ Ibid., p. 215.

²⁸ Ibid., p.216.

Scotland, the Dutch Calvinists were to have great influence on the leaders of the American colonists.

Edmundson writes of the University of Leiden: "The act of William the Silent in founding the University of Leyden (sic) as a memorial of the great deliverance of 1574, was prophetic of the future that was about to dawn upon the land, which at the moment was at its lowest fortunes, the successful defence of Leyden (sic) had done so much to save from utter disaster. Scholars of renown driven by intolerance from their own countries found in the new founded academy in Holland a home where they could pursue their literary work undisturbed, and gave to it a fame and celebrity which speedily attracted thousands of students not only from The Netherlands, but also from foreign lands."²⁹

Well endowed with ecclesiastical revenues and supported by government grants, the University of Leiden was indeed successful in attracting to her four faculties the most distinguished group of scholars in northern Europe.

The University of Leiden in many ways appears to be an antecedent of the American state universities of the present time. Historians observe that Leiden's organizational structure curiously resembled that of the American state universities. A lay governing board appointed by the government had say in most academic matters, including the appointments of professors.³⁰

²⁹ George Edmundson, History of Holland (London: Cambridge University Press, 1922) p. 187.

³⁰ Samuel Eliot Morison, The Founding of Harvard College (Cambridge, Mass.: The Harvard University Press, 1935) p.144.

Morison points out: There were frequent conflicts between the Trustees and the Senate, the internal, academic governing group, the latter repeatedly petitioning the 'Estates of Holland' (the Dutch federal government) to permit no academic promotions or appointments to be made by the Trustees, except after consultation with the Senate."³¹ Morison's observation that the University of Leiden, through its relationship with the government, its attempt at the reflecting concerns and interest of the society and the power of its governing board, in many ways was similar to the state universities of the United States appears to support the idea that indeed the University may be the first state university. In addition to being an antecedent of the lay governing board concept, the University of Leiden was the antecedent of the land-grant and public universities.

It is interesting to note that at the present time the institution still stands but, reflecting Morison's observations, it is now the State University of Leiden. This institution which drew much of its inspiration from the hard times of war and came forth as a memorial to a people, was to have peaceful influence on the Protestant movements in Scotland and in the American colonies as well as on their institutions of higher education.

The Scottish Antecedents. As indicated in the presentation on the University of Geneva, Calvinism began in Geneva as a theocratic state. However, the religion of John Calvin was not allied to any government or reigning monarch. It was carried to Switzerland, France, England,

³¹ Ibid., p. 145.

Scotland, The Netherlands, Germany and, finally, the American colonies. Calvin's doctrine gave birth to the Reformed Church that recognized no geographic boundaries. Wherever it went, men turned to an educational system steeped in religion and morals and to an intellectual leadership that could be nourished only in the finest schools.

John Knox was a Scottish priest, historian and by 1547, leader of a well defined Protestantism at Saint Andrews. When Saint Andrews fell into the hands of the French fleet, Knox was captured and later released. Then followed many years of preaching and travel. During this time he spent time in Geneva and was completely converted to Calvinism. In 1560, long-standing disagreements between England and Scotland were settled, Knox, who had by that time returned and was the leading Protestant in all Scotland, led Parliament to a decree abolishing the Roman Catholic Church and making Calvinism, as expressed in the Presbyterian Church, the religion of the land.³²

In his plan for the development of a Calvinist Scotland, Knox called for an autonomous church and government similar to that in Geneva. To insure the obedience of the Scots to the standards of the church, he proposed a graded system of education with an elementary school in every church, a secondary school in every town and a university in every city. He was eager to reproduce in Scotland the educational system he had seen in Geneva. However, the lords of Scotland did not agree. The Presbyterian Church did become the established religion of Scotland but the educational pattern so dear to the heart of Knox and

³²Frost, op. cit., p. 208.

his followers was not to take form until many years later.

After years of sending their young men to England for higher education, Scotland, with hostility toward England and leaning toward France, established its own institutions of higher learning: St. Andrews in 1411 and before the end of the 1500's, three others-Glasgow, Aberdeen and Edinburgh. The Scots were to have heavy influence on the lay governing board concept taken to America. The Puritans from the American colonies, who were excluded from Oxford and Cambridge, would come to Scotland for advanced studies.³³

Of interest in the study of the lay governing board concept is the founding of the University of Edinburgh. There is much discussion among scholars of Scottish history as to whether the original idea of the founders was to establish a university or create a "college" or school without all the faculties and programs of a university. This argument is not generic to this study but as eventually occurred in Geneva, the institution founded in Edinburgh eventually did become a university. What is of most interest is the fact that as had been accomplished in Geneva, the new institution in Edinburgh was established by the local governing body and was to be controlled by a board consisting of laymen. Grant states regarding the founding of the University of Edinburgh: "The precedent and the model in this manner was Geneva---Geneva, to which the Scottish Kirk (sic) or church looked as the fountain-head of its doctrine and discipline---Geneva, which had been the political asylum for Scottish Reformers from 1554 until 1560.

In the republic of Geneva the Municipal Council was of course supreme; and in 1559, while the place was still full of Scotchmen, the Council had, by the advice of Calvin, opened their Academy. King James VI put the Town Council of Edinburgh in the same position as the Municipal Council of Geneva, with the advice of the venerable company of pastors, had established their Academy. The magistrates and clergy who accepted this arrangement may have been secretly pleased with its democratic aspect; but they forgot that the Municipal Council of Geneva were the rulers of the entire republic, and therefore, had powers for carrying out what was best, which were wanting to the Town Council of Edinburgh."³⁴

Not until the Universities Act of 1858, was the University of Edinburgh established as an independent institution free from the control of city government.³⁵ Until then, the Town Council governed the institutions as a lay governing board tending to specific details of operation as did the Board of Curators at the University of Leiden and the Municipal Council of Geneva. These three institutions were early examples of publically-controlled universities. The Town Council of Edinburgh organized and controlled the University as the result of the initiative and endowments of the city's own citizens. The Council

³⁴Sir Alexander Grant, The Story of Edinburgh During Its First Three Hundred Years, Vol. I (London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1884) pp.126-127.

³⁵Janet R. Glover, The Story of Scotland (New York: Roy Publishers, 1958) p.152.

retained considerable authority, even to the appointment of professors.³⁶

Other Antecedents. Some scholars of the lay governing board concept argue that in addition to the antecedents already mentioned, there were at least two others which had some influence on the development of governing boards in the United States.

The first of these was the founding of Trinity College in Dublin, Ireland, an institution which was later to be known as Dublin University. Originally, the powers of the "provost" or chief administrator and the "fellows" or faculty were limited as those of Harvard College, to be founded in the American colonies later, were limited by an external governing board. The board at Dublin was known as the Board of Visitors and as a lay governing board held the same powers, generally, as the Board of Overseers at Harvard. The fellows at Dublin, unlike those at Harvard, were never able to take control of the operation of their institution in the form of an internal governing body or senate.³⁷

Murray reports the following regarding the institution at Dublin: "Trinity College was founded in 1591 and established in 1593, largely through the efforts of Oxford and Cambridge graduates living in Ireland, with the double purpose of providing a university education for their sons and of civilizing the "wild Irish". A royal charter was obtained from Queen Elizabeth I, a site from the Dublin Corporation and funds by public subscription. The University of Dublin, much like the University

³⁶S. Leslie Hunter, The Scottish Educational System (New York: Pergamon Press, Inc., 1968) p.210.

³⁷Robert H. Murray, Dublin University and the New World (London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1921) p.11.

of New York many years later, had no legal existence apart from the college but was simply the degree granting aspect of the college."³⁸

The second institution of higher learning which may be considered as an antecedent of lay governing boards but not mentioned earlier is the University of Franeker in The Netherlands. Ten years younger than the University of Leiden, Franeker was heavily influenced by the first Dutch institution of higher learning. Founded in 1585, Franeker, like Leiden, was governed by a Board of Curators or trustees appointed by the local government.

The supporting reasons for considering Franeker as an antecedent is based on the fact that some of the founders of Harvard College in the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1636 were graduates of the University and attempted to shape America's first college as a model like the Dutch institution.³⁹ Morison writes: "At Franeker the trustees kept careful watch on the professors' personal habits, noting down any evidence of failings and even attended their lectures to see that they followed the prescribed books."⁴⁰

As with the institutions of higher learning at Edinburgh, Leiden and Geneva, the governing board of the University of Franeker exercised complete control over the institution even to the point of paying great attention to exact details. This attitude on the part of governing boards was to be seen again in the early colleges of colonial America and many, as some might argue, be seen even today in the actions of some governing boards.

At this point, a question might well be raised as to whether this

³⁸Ibid...

³⁹Morison, op. cit., p.144.

⁴⁰Ibid., p.145..

presentation has placed too much emphasis upon religion in discussing the European antecedents of governing boards of American state universities. While other factors such as political, economic and social influences might also be included, it is the view of this study that religion in Europe during the Middle Ages permeated all aspects of society including the political, economic and social as well as its institutions of higher learning. In the preceeding examination of the European antecedents, it has been demonstrated that the teachings of religious leaders such as John Calvin did indeed have great influence on the development of higher education and the concept of lay governing boards.

The importance of the various European antecedents can be summarized in the following manner: 1) From the Greek antecedents came the concept of higher education being reflective of community desires and needs; the idea of higher learning as an "open forum" for the discussion of ideas; and the emphasis on preparing young people to be able to demonstrate certain skills. 2) The Italian antecedent brought about the establishment of the lay governing board as a means of "protecting" the public "trust". 3) The Swiss antecedents provided further refinement of the concept with an interest toward higher learning as a more active instrument of the social order. 4) The Dutch antecedents was an example of the spreading of ideas tested at Basel and Geneva to other parts of Europe with some adaptations being made to the local invironments. 5) In the Scottish antecedent can be seen further development of the governing board concept in a cultural atmosphere which prepared it for importation to the American colonies.

The following section will examine in more detail how the concept which had been developed and tested in Europe was transported to the United States where it was to eventually spring forth in the present

structure of governing boards of state universities. First there had to be adaptations and refinements of the lay governing board idea to a growing and developing nation.

THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE EUROPEAN ANTECEDENTS

It is the central proposition of this study that the antecedents previously discussed did in fact have a direct consequence on the development of lay governing boards in the United States and on the establishment of state universities. As has been pointed out, there are various aspects of the different antecedents which are visible both in the development of higher education in the United States and, to some degree, in the present practice of institutional governance. The following section will treat in more detail the consequences of the European antecedents.

Church and State. One obvious consequence of the European antecedents was the religious mission of the early colonial colleges. For almost a hundred years after the founding of Harvard College, the training of ministers and missionaries would be the major motivating factor in the founding of American institutions of higher learning. While one might argue that the early colonial colleges did graduate students who took positions of leadership in government and commerce, it can not be denied that the basic mission of their alma maters was religious.

As we have seen with the development of the institutions of higher learning in Geneva, Leiden and Edinburgh, education was necessary to the Calvinist scheme, for Bible reading and for the maintenance of church and state. The Puritans who came to the New World brought with them from Holland and Scotland an overwhelming drive that education was not

only a necessity it demanded immediate attention.

The first American colleges were small, conservative and widely scattered and isolated. Six of the first nine institutions of higher learning were less than thirty years old when the colonial period ended. In America, higher education was the daughter of the church. The early colleges, however, also had to appeal to the state for legal rights and powers, such as the right to receive and hold property and the power to grant degrees.⁴¹

Although it was not until the late 1700's and the early 1800's that the idea of a state university free from church control and religious mission was to take place, historians argue that the colleges such as William and Mary, Yale and Princeton did play a major role in the preparation of young men for roles of leadership other than religious. In fact, it was Thomas Jefferson who tried, unsuccessfully, to completely free the College of William and Mary from its religious mission and have the institution train engineers and governmental officials needed so badly for the western expansion. His ideas were to be realized some-time later in the founding of the University of Virginia.

In 1789, when the North Carolina Legislature chartered what was to be the first state university in America to open its doors, there was a church-state relationship behind the founding of the University of North Carolina. The churches founded no college or university of their own in North Carolina until near the beginning of the second quarter of the nineteenth century. There is strong evidence that the churches, particularly the Knox Presbyterians, played an important part in the founding

⁴¹ Good and Teller, op. cit., p. 55.

and in the formative years of the University of North Carolina. In the North Carolina Constitutional Convention itself, the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians were prominent.⁴²

The Presbyterian Standard, looking back 128 years, gave expression to the feeling that but for the high educational spirit and great influence of the Presbyterians there would not have been a University of North Carolina.⁴³

Finally, as late as 1889, a movement was undertaken by a religious leader to stop the development of state universities and return higher education to the churches. Bishop Warren A. Candler led an attack against the University of Georgia resulting in a slow-down in state finances for many years. Candler's main contentions were: 1) It was not part of state government to undertake higher education and that the higher phase of the educational process had historically always been a church function; 2) The church colleges asked no money from state government and only desired good government in general with no hostile legislation; 3) The true function of the state should be to support a system of public common schools and all money appropriated to the University of Georgia should go to the schools; 4) The policy of the University of Georgia had been hostile to church schools, which of course depended largely on tuition fees for their support and; 5) The University of Georgia was controlled by Presbyterians, in fact, most of the chancellors of the

⁴²Luther L. Gobbel, Church-State Relationships in Education Since 1776 (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1938) p.8

⁴³Presbyterian Standard, Feb. 5, 1908, p.2.

University had been Presbyterians. ⁴⁴

Brooks observes that all animosity between the University and those who supported demoninational institutions had disappeared. The events of the past are important only because the enmity between the two interests seriously impeded the increase in state appropriations to the University. Furthermore, it is clear that the feeling was so bitter that it no doubt had a very serious effect on student enrollment. In fact, it may well be questioned whether, even if economic conditions and other factors had been more favorable, the popularity of the University of Georgia would have continued when the churches were violently opposed to it. ⁴⁵

As has been discussed concerning the two preceeding examples--the University of North Carolina and the University of Georgia--the mingling of the idea of church and state in higher education prevailed long after the colonial period of American history. The church and state period of American time may well be viewed as retarding the development of higher education completely financed by public support.

Hofstadter and Hardy point out: "There are several major themes that command the attention of the historian of American higher education, but among these the oldest and longest sustained is the drift toward secularism. But there can be no doubt that while the early American college was founded in an ultimate union with the church, modern higher education is predominantly secular. One can hardly touch the history of American colleges and universities at any point from the closing decades of the seventeenth century to the opening decades

⁴⁴ Robert Preston Brooks, The University of Georgia Under Sixteen Administrations 1785-1955 (Athens, Ga.: The University of George Press, 1956), pp. 80-82

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 86.

of the twentieth without finding some major development which is closely related to the process of secularization. In this respect, as in many others, education has responded to the climate of the society that it serves." ⁴⁶

Many historians argue that the growing feeling of nationalism in the United States of the early 1800's may have been a contributing factor to the decrease of the church and state relationship. Americans were beginning to develop their own institutions rather than continuing with European models. As will be discussed in more detail later in this study, the early 1800's saw the development of state universities. The much reviewed U.S. Supreme Court case concerning Dartmouth College and an attempt to turn it into a state university took part at this time and, as will be studied more closely later, was the opening of the door toward the establishment of public institutions of higher learning. Soon, clergy began to fade from their domination of governing boards and increased representation came from the business and industrial world. These new members of governing boards tended to place greater emphasis on the practical considerations of life and foster the practical in the programs of their institutions. Students of American history point out that this change in emphasis contributed to the erosion of religious and sectarian influences on American higher learning. ⁴⁷

Harvard College. On Thursday, September 8, 1636, the General Court of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay assembled under the governorship of

⁴⁶Richard Hofstadter and C. DeWitt Hardy, The Development and Scope of Higher Education in the United States (New York; Columbia University Press, 1952) p.3.

⁴⁷Hofstadter and Hardy, op. cit., pp.32-33.

Henry Vane. This was only six years after the earliest settlement in Boston and while the surrounding country was still a wilderness. At its adjournment meeting on October 28, the Court passed the following resolution: "The Court agreed to give 400L towards a schoale (sic) or colledge (sic) wheaof 200L to bee (sic) paid the next yeare (sic) & 200L when the work is furnished, & the next Court to appoint wheare & wy building." On November 15, 1637, the Court passed another resolution: "The colledge (sic) is ordered to bee at Newetowne." The amount of the Court's first appropriation of 400L, which it is estimated was equal to a year's income of the colonial government, and the selection of its most important leaders to oversee the establishment of a college, clearly show the high regard the colony had for founding an institution of learning in America.⁴⁸

One may clearly view the actions taken by the General Court as not only the first step in establishing Harvard College--America's first institution of higher learning--but also as the first appropriation of government funds toward the support of a college or university in the United States. Indeed, it is this action on the part of the Court which supports the earlier contention of the church and state consequence which followed the European antecedents.

In 1636, the name Newetowne was changed to "Cambrige" (sic) in memory of the English town at whose university many of the colonists had been educated. At this same time, the Reverend John Harvard, a

⁴⁸ John Hays Gardiner, Harvard (New York: Oxford University Press American Branch, 1914).

young dissenting minister who had received his degree at Emmanuel College in Cambridge in 1636, emigrated to the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1637 and died within a year of his arrival, bequeathed one half of his property and his entire library to the new institution of higher learning.⁴⁹

Richardson and Clark observe: "Created by a legislature, the new college was almost inevitably a state institution; established in a community where church-members alone were freemen and voters, it was also a sectarian institution; and being a reproduction in its essential features of an English university, its curriculum was made up almost exclusively of the studies pursued by candidates for the clerical profession, that is to say, the learned languages and divinity. In a word, Harvard College was at its foundation and for many years afterwards a government school, established for the education of candidates for the ministry, and with the avowed purpose of maintaining and propagating a religious creed."⁵⁰

In a letter to England, one of the Puritans writes: "One of the things we longed for and looked after was to advance learning and perpetuate it to posterity; dreading to leave an illiterate ministry to the churches, when our present ministers shall lie in the dust."⁵¹

In 1638 or 1639, and there is some argument as to the exact date, the General Court ordered that the colleges be built at Cambridge and

⁴⁹Ibid., p.2.

⁵⁰ Charles F. Richardson and Henry A. Clark, The College Book (Boston: Houghton, Osgood and Company, 1878), p. 1.

⁵¹Ibid..

named it Harvard Colledge. In 1642, the College held its first commencement with a graduating class of nine. By this time, Harvard had experienced enough growth as to require a formal method of governance. On September 8, 1642, the General Court of the Massachusetts Bay Colony passed an act creating a Board of Overseers to have general management of the College.⁵²

In taking this important step, the Court interestingly did not rely on the English system of internal institutional governance but turned to the examples of Florence and Geneva. The new board was a body consisting of governmental officials, as in Geneva and Leiden, but also laymen, as in Edinburgh and Florence. Since it was the General Court which provided the original funds for the founding of the College and generally viewed the institution as a state institution, it is not surprising to find that the Board of Overseers was established in such a way as to give control to local government.

The board consisted of the governor and deputy-governor and all the magistrates of the jurisdiction, together with the teaching elders of the next adjoining towns, such as Cambridge, Watertown, Charlestown, Boston, Roxbury and Dorchester, and the president of the college. The state, therefore, had controlling influence in the administration of the college.⁵³

The Board of Overseers remained unchanged for nearly two centuries. There was a nominal change in 1780, whereby the new Massachusetts Constitution provided that the governor's council and the state senate

⁵² John Hays Gardiner, op. cit., p.2.

⁵³ Richardson and Clark, op. cit., p.2.

would be substituted for the local magistrates as members of the board. Again, in 1810, a change was made, this time by the Massachusetts Legislature, in which the permanent membership of the Harvard College Board of Overseers was set to be the governor, lieutenant governor, councilors, president and the Senate, Speaker of the House of Representatives, the president of Harvard, 15 ministers of the Congregational churches and 15 laymen, all residents of Massachusetts.⁵⁴

A change in the clerical part of membership on the Board of Overseers came in 1843 when clergymen of all denominations became eligible for membership and not just those of the Congregational church. In 1851, the State of Massachusetts renounced any claim of control over Harvard College and expanded the board membership to 30 members elected by the General Court other than the state governmental members. In 1865, this final right was abandoned and the Board of Overseers was changed to its present status of 30 members elected by the alumni of Harvard of five years' standing.⁵⁵

As indicated earlier, Harvard also had and still has an internal governing system known as The Corporation. Harvard President Henry Dunster was able in 1650 to obtain for the College the charter from the General Court under which Harvard University operates today. The president, treasurer and five "fellows", usually members of the faculty or clergy, were established as The Corporation and given perpetual succession. Although for a period of time, The Corporation actually

⁵⁴Ibid., pp.2-3.

⁵⁵Ibid.

ran the College with the Board of Overseers serving as a kind of "super" board. For a brief period of time the powers of the Overseers were suspended and The Corporation was totally in charge of the institution.

Gardiner makes an important observation about the dual system of governance at Harvard which clearly established the lay governing board concept in America. "The purpose of retaining the Overseers along with the Corporation was to make sure that there should always be somebody to represent the general public opinion of the community, to whom the Corporation could give account of their stewardship."⁵⁶

The College of William and Mary. Much like the settlers of Boston, the English settlers of the Virginia colony felt the need for establishing an educational institution a very important part of building their community and insuring permanence. Jamestown was settled in 1607 and 12 years later the English friends of the Virginia settlers began to call for the founding of a college by the Crown. Through the influence of Sir Edward Sandys, president of the Virginia Company, 15,000 acres of land at Henrico, now known as Richmond, was set aside for the establishment of a university. At about the same time, contributions were collected in England through the bishops of the Anglican church "to endow a college in Virginia for the Indians". George Thorpe, a man of the Royal chamber, came to the Virginia colony to become superintendent of the new university at Henrico but the Indian massacre of 1622, in which he and 340 other colonists were killed, defeated the attempt. Nothing further was done about establishing an

⁵⁶ John Hay Gardiner, op. cit., p. 300.

institution in the Virginia colony until 1660.⁵⁷

In 1660, a petition to King Charles II was made by the Grand Assembly of James City calling for the founding of a college. Like Harvard and Yale, the new institution was originally designed to be a deeder for the ministry. In Virginia, the need for trained men of the ministry was even more urgent than in the other locations in the New World due to the settlers concern for the Church of England belief in the necessity of the Episcopal ordination. English clergymen were scarce and the colonist could not expect to ordain from their own without the proper educational facilities.

For the next thirty years, the Virginian colonists continued to talk about founding a college. One of a trio of men who played a major role in the founding of the College of William and Mary was the Reverend James Blair. A Scotsman who in 1673 received the degree of Master of Arts from the University of Edinburgh, Blair as an individual became the means by which the College became a consequence of one of the antecedents of the lay governing board concept--the University of Edinburgh. Having taken his religious training in the Anglican church and finding his situation in Scotland uncongenial, Blair migrated to Virginia somewhere around 1682.⁵⁸

Dr. Henry Compton, who in 1685 induced Blair to become a missionary in Virginia after Blair's absense from religious duties for some years,

⁵⁷Richardson and Clark, op. cit., pp.54-55.

⁵⁸Henry Hartwell, James Blair and Edward Chilton, The Present State of Virginia and The College (Charlottesville, Va.: The University Press of Birginia, 1940.), pp. 10-15.

was in charge of religious affairs for the overseas colonies. He felt the need for "providing a more able and Godly clergy and reforming the church generally".⁵⁹

Hunter Dickinson Farish in his introduction to the 1964 publication of the 1697 work, The Present State of Virginia and The College, observes: "Blair began the custom of calling the clergy together occasionally in convocations, and soon plans were under way for founding an institution of higher learning with the purpose of providing the colony a Godly and suitably trained clergy for the church."⁶⁰

In 1691, Blair returned to England in search of the necessary support for founding the institution. He was successful in gaining the support of the Bishop of London, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Edward Stillingfleet, the Bishop of Worcester and other dignitaries of English church and state. On February 8, 1693, Blair obtained a charter from King William and Queen Mary establishing the royal College of William and Mary in Virginia. He also was successful in securing considerable funds toward the endowment of the new institution of higher learning which for many years had great difficulties in obtaining enough funds to operate their enterprises.

Farish observes of Blair: "In accord with the expressed desire of the Virginia Assembly, the charter named Blair the first president of the institution 'during his natural life'. It also designated him rector of the Board of Visitors for the first year. Backed by the

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. xxiii.

⁶⁰ Ibid., pp. xxiii-xxiv.

enormous influence of the Anglican establishment, it seemed that Blair might now command from royal officials in the colony all the assistance⁶¹ necessary for the success of his plans."

When the actual plans for an institution of higher learning in the Virginia colony were revealed in 1691, the government of the new College through a lay governing board was clearly to be in the University of Edinburgh model which Blair as a masters student had been familiar.

It is reported in The Present State of Virginia and The College:

"For the government and visitation of this college, they appointed a College-Senate, which should consist of 18, or any other number not exceeding 20, who were then the lieutenant-governor, four gentlemen of the Council (the local governing unit), four of the clergy and the rest named out of the House of Burgesses, with power to continue themselves by election of successors. They petitioned the King that he would make these men Trustees for founding and building this college, and governing it by such rules and statutes, as they or the major portion of them, should from time to time appoint. Accordingly, the King passed his charter under the Great Seal of England for such a college, and contributed very bountifully, both to the building and endowment of it."⁶²

With its charter from the King and Queen and its finances in good shape, the College of William and Mary entered into a career of usefulness and prosperity. During this period the royalty of England and local leaders of the Virginia colony appeared to vie with each other in regards to benefactions for the College. The royal charter gave the College large grants of money and land, the duty of a penny a pound on all tobacco exported from the colonies of Virginia and Maryland. Up to the Revolutionary War, the College of William and Mary was clearly

⁶¹ Ibid., p. xxiv.

⁶² Ibid., p. 69.

the richest college in America.

After the Revolution, the General Assembly of Virginia gave to the College "the Palace lands" and the houses upon them, a tract of land near Williamsburg known as "the Vineyard", and a few acres not far from Jamestown.⁶³

As pointed out in earlier discussions, the College of William and Mary did experience various attempts at expanding its educational mission from training ministers to that of also preparing young men for careers in government. The College also went through a period of time in which an internal form of government, much like that of Harvard, exercised great control over the institution. However, there was always a return to the lay governing board concept of prime concern in this study.

In the establishment of the College of William and Mary, we see the consequence of two antecedents--the church and state and the lay governance ideas of the University of Edinburgh and the University of Leiden. As pointed out earlier, it is of interest to note that James Blair, a Scot, was also a graduate of the Edinburgh institution.

This Virginian college became the alma mater of four signers of the United States Constitution: Jefferson, Monroe, Tyler and Marshall. George Washington wrote of the College of William and Mary: "The seat of leterature at Williamsburgh has ever, in my view, been an object of veneration. As an institution important for its communication of

⁶³Richardson and Clark, op. cit., p. 58.

useful learning and conducive to the true principles of national liberty, you may be assured that it shall receive every encouragement and benefaction in my power toward its re-establishment."⁶⁴

Yale University. It was the idea of the Rev. John Davenport concerning the establishment of an independent Christian state in the American wilderness, which lay behind the arrival of settlers from England in 1638 in the village of New Haven. According to Mr. Davenport not only were schools to be provided in the new state, where the whole body of children of each successive generation should be taught the rudiments of education, but there were to be all those other institutions which distinguish a community of "the highest culture"--a classical school, a public library and a college.⁶⁵

When the last of these three institutions--the idea of a college--was finally founded in 1701, its establishment was as an institution "wherein youth may be instructed in the arts and sciences, who through the blessing of Almighty God may be fitted for publick employment, both in church and state."⁶⁶

Both the idea of Davenport and those expressed in the founding of Yale in 1701, are clearly representative of an antecedent of American higher education and the governing board concept--the John Calvin Academy in Geneva. True to Calvin's principles that laymen should be active the affairs of both church and state was the founding of a college dedicated to training young men for this important role. It

⁶⁵Ibid., p. 61.

⁶⁶Franklin B. Dexter, Documentary History of Yale History (New Haven, Conn.: The Yale University Press, 1916), p. 21.

must be added, however, that the leaders of Yale did not always see their primary mission as including civil life. As late as 1754, the president of Yale stated that "the great design of founding this school was to educate ministers in our own way."⁶⁷

The actual founding of Yale College grew from the Collegiate School of Connecticut established in May, 1701 in Saybrook by the General Assembly of the Colony of Connecticut. The charter for the new college was passed by the Assembly on October 16, 1701. Included in the charter was the important concept that all governing prerogatives were given to the ten clerical trustees who originally organized the college. The presiding officer, called the rector, was not a member of the board of trustees of Yale until 1723, when he was made an ex officio member by statute. The new charter of 1745 made the president of the College the presiding officer of the trustees. However, the trustees retained the right to do all the business of the institution and to choose or⁶⁸ dismiss the president.

In its power to control and operate the Yale institution, the board clearly was related to the governing boards of the Academy in Geneva and the University of Leiden. Since Yale started as a collegiate school, it also was a consequence of the Geneva Academy which, as we have seen, started out as higher school and not quite a university.

⁶⁷ Hofstadter and Hardy, op. cit., p. 4.

⁶⁸ Franklin Bowditch Dexter, Documentary History of Yale University (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1916), pp. 3-4.

By 1720, the institution had been moved, after quite a bit of battling in the General Assembly, to New Haven and was given the name Yale in honor of Elihu Yale, Governor of the Connecticut Colony. Yale had long been a supporter of the idea of establishing an institution of higher learning in Connecticut and had in 1718 disposed of a valuable cargo of goods to be sold for the benefit of the College. Due to the many arguments that arose about the College in the General Assembly and the strong competition between New Haven and Hartford as the permanent location of the institution, no monies were appropriated from the public treasury and the College was dependent upon the churches and such private benefactors as Elihu Yale.⁶⁹

In May, 1792, a committee of the Connecticut Legislature met with Yale officials. The result was a plan whereby Yale would be assured of state funds if it would change the membership on its board of trustees to reflect the increased role of the state.

"According to this plan, the balances of certain taxes, not yet collected, which were not needed for the original object they were imposed, were to be paid into the hands of commissioners and applied to the improvement of the college; and the trustees of the college in compensation for what was done by the state, were to receive into the corporation, the governor, lieutenant governor and 'six senior assistants in the council of the state for the time being', who were to constitute, with the president and fellows and their successors, one corporation."⁷⁰

69

_____, *Biographical Sketches of the Graduates of Yale College with Annuals of the College History*, October 1701-May, 1745 (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1885).

70

Richardson and Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

Therefore, by the late 1700's Yale College's governance system evolved from being completely composed of clergy to one with an equal mix of clerical and nonclerical members. The Yale form of governance had also developed into a church-state relationship. The antecedent found in both Geneva and Leiden and based on the Calvinistic belief that laymen should be involved in the operation of social institutions was clearly shown in the consequence of the governing board and church-state relationship found at Yale.

Hofstadter and Hardy observe: "It is quite possible that the Protestant emphasis on the role of laymen and the supremacy of the congregation in the Congregational Church provided the founders of Harvard (and Yale) with a practical model for lay government of colleges. The self-governing universities of England had evolved from medieval universities in which the principle of hierarchy was accepted; the American college was founded in communities permeated with the Protestant tendency toward lay supremacy."⁷¹

State Universities. Following the Revolutionary War, there were several attempts at turning the private, colonial colleges into public institutions of higher learning. Such efforts were made in the cases of Yale, William and Mary, Pennsylvania, Columbia and Dartmouth. America following the Revolution increasingly reflected growing democratic sentiments which also were being applied to its institutions of higher learning. Rank and social status were of decreasing importance and strict religious requirements were gradually abolished. The curricula of

⁷¹ Hofstadter and Hardy, op. cit , p. 127 (footnote).

colleges were becoming broader than before, while newer and more scientific subjects were being added.

Slosson points out: "The idea of a state university is older than the states themselves, though the institution was slow in developing and in differentiating itself as a distinct type. The germ of the state university came from France, but it grew up under German influences. The Revolution that severed the political bonds connecting America with the mother country also broke the thread of educational traditions, and American educators turned from their English enemies to their French friends."⁷²

Writing in the introduction to Hoopes' State Universities and Colleges, John A. Hannah observes: "The public interest in higher education as opposed to church interest was staked out early in our history. It was a Congress meeting under the Articles of Confederation in 1787 that passed the famous Ordinance for the Northwest Passage which set aside public lands for the support of education and justified it with the famous phrase: 'Religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged'."⁷³

As an early attempt of at least expressing its desire for a public institution of higher learning, the framers of North Carolina Constitution, who had been repeatedly defeated in their attempt to obtain a

⁷² Edwin E. Slosson, The American Spirit in Education (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1921), pp. 168-169.

⁷³ Roy Hoopes, State Universities and Colleges (Washington, D.C.: Luce Publishers, 1962), p. vii.

charter from the Crown for a college, put into the fundamental law of the state in 1776 a clause providing: "That a school or schools be established by the Legislature, for the convenient instruction of youth, with such salaries to the masters, paid by the public as may enable them to instruct at low prices; and all useful learning shall be duly encouraged and promoted in one or more universities."⁷⁴

This appears to be the earliest mention of the term university rather than colleges in an American book of laws. However, finances and difficulties immediately following the Revolutionary War delayed the carrying out of the Constitutional provision until 1789 when the charter for the University of North Carolina was passed by the Legislature.

The first official act of establishing a state university requires a look further south than North Carolina to Georgia. While other southern states preceded Georgia in planning public universities, Georgia was the first state to actually charter a state university. This charter was granted by the General Assembly on January 27, 1785.⁷⁵

Brooks writes: "The Act is titled 'An Act for the more full and complete establishment of a public seat of learning in this state.' The reason for this wording is that in the preceding year, 1784, the General Assembly had by its Act of February 25, created lands recently acquired from the Indians two new counties, Franklin and Washington, and set aside lands in the new counties for the endowment of a state institution of higher learning. This Act of 1784 really created the

⁷⁴Luther Gobbel, op.cit., p.3.

⁷⁵Robert Preston Brooks, op. cit., p. 5.

University. It provided for such an institution, named a Board of Trustees, and endowed the college with land."⁷⁶

Of special interest in terms of this study, is the system of governance provided by the charter--a combination of political control and management by a self-perpetuating Board of Trustees. The political organization was accomplished by the creation of an ex officio Board of Visitors, a term obviously borrowed from earlier colonial colleges such as the College of William and Mary. The Board of Visitors consisted of the governor and his executive council. In the Constitution of 1789, the Governor's Council was eliminated and the membership on the Board of Visitors was changed to be all the members in the Georgia State Senate.⁷⁷

The Board of Visitors and the Board of Trustees combined constituted the Senatus Academicus which was given supreme authority for governing the University of Georgia. As we will see later, the University was finally opened in 1801.

Good and Teller comment about the University of Georgia's governing board: "The trustees were the active policy-making and governing body, and the visitors had power to examine the students and to review and even veto trustee action. The early Americans, possessed of a dread of irremediable tyranny, resorted to such checks and balances."⁷⁸

In South Carolina and North Carolina, the movement to create a state university antedates the charter of the University of Georgia.

⁷⁶ Ibid., pp. 5-6. ⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 6.

⁷⁸ Good and Teller, op.cit., p. 95.

As early as 1723, plans for a state college had been advanced in South Carolina with no success as far as support from the General Assembly was concerned. In 1770, the governor recommended a system of free schools including a provision for a state college. The Revolutionary War ended all efforts to establish a state college in South Carolina and it was not until 1801, the year the University of Georgia opened its doors, that a bill passed the General Assembly creating the University of South Carolina. The University opened in 1805.⁷⁹

As indicated earlier, the efforts for establishing a state institution of higher learning in North Carolina were strong. Although Georgia has the distinction of being the first state to charter a public institution of higher education, it is North Carolina which is credited with first opening a state university--a prototype of America's state universities. In 1789, the General Assembly of North Carolina chartered the University of North Carolina. The charter called for the governing board to be self-perpetuating and to consist of a representative of each judicial district in the state. It is interesting to note that this may well have been the first time that a lay governing board was established with the specific concern for geographical representation. It is much later that with the governing boards of the University of Minnesota and Oklahoma statewide coordinating boards came the provision for representation from certain districts, be they judicial or congressional. As Good and Teller point out: "Each

⁷⁹D. W. Hollis, History of the University of South Carolina (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1951), p. 9.

judicial district was to have one representative on the board, but distances and travel difficulties made this an unwise provision."⁸⁰

The first governing board of the University consisted of forty prominent men. The trustees held their first meeting, an informal and unofficial one, in Fayetteville on December 18, 1789. Plans were made at that time to seek contributions and it was announced that Benjamin Smith had given some 20,000 acres of land to the University of North Carolina. On November 15, 1790, the trustees met again in Fayetteville to hold their first official meeting at which they elected a president. "With proper legal authorization, a hope for financial support and an enthusiastic Board of Trustees, the University was launched."⁸¹

With its charter granted in 1789 and students entering for instruction in 1795, the University of North Carolina, although not chartered earlier than the University of Georgia, became the first state university in the United States. Rather than converting an institution of higher learning from private to public, the people of North Carolina decided to establish a new institution--a state university.

An example of an attempt at changing an existing institution from private to public control took place in New Hampshire and was to have far-reaching effect on the question of state control of higher education. Although chartered by the state of New Hampshire, Dartmouth College operated as a church college since its founding in 1769. By the 1800's,

⁸¹William S. Powell, The First State University: A Pictorial History of the University of North Carolina (Chapel Hill, N. C.: The University of North Carolina Press, 1972), p. 5.

the president of Dartmouth was John Wheelock, the son of the institution's first president.

Richardson and Clark set the scene: "An unfriendly feeling had gradually grown up between the president and some of the officers and trustees. The president had naturally come to exert a controlling influence, not only on the faculty, but among the trustees. He was more acquainted with the condition of the institution than could any body of men living at a distance and visiting the college but seldom. He had come, in fact, to consider the college sort of a family affair. But the condition of things had changed. Its reputation and its numbers had increased, and most of the trustees lived near Hanover. There was a growing demand that the immediate government of the students should be representative and not autocratic. A quarrel in the local church added fuel to the flame. The breach between the president and the board gradually widened until 1815, when the trustees relieved him from a part of his duties. Wheelock retorted by charging the trustees with an attempt to subvert the charter. He also asked the legislature to appoint a committee to investigate the affairs of the college."⁸²

The political fires in the state had risen to such heights that in 1816 the Governor of New Hampshire sent a message to the legislature in which he argued that the Dartmouth charter of 1769 contained "monarchical" principles, especially the cooptation principle by which members of the governing board had the power to fill their own vacancies--the principle of self-perpetuation found on most private college governing boards. The governor argued that this principle was "hostile to the spirit and genius of a free government". He advised a change in the mode of selection of board members.⁸³

It is interesting to note that the structure of a governing board, an important element in this study, was involved in the famous Dartmouth case. Eventually, the Legislature established a state university to

⁸²Richardson and Clark, op. cit., p. 145.

⁸³Good and Teller, op. cit., p. 94.

replace Dartmouth College. Finally the case was appealed to the U. S. Supreme Court. The decision in 1819 reached far beyond the immediate issue to declare that a charter is a contract that a state legislature is not competent to annul. The New Hampshire State Legislature was compelled to return Dartmouth College with all its former rights and property to its old board, and the college has continued as a private institution.⁸⁴

Many historians argue that the result of the decision was to encourage the development of private, especially church-related colleges, and discourage the development of state universities. There does not appear to be any strong evidence that state universities were discouraged in the 1800's but there does appear to be some support for the idea that state universities did not really expand until the last half of the 1800's as the result of many factors.

Good and Teller observe: "The decision may have stimulated the founding of private colleges by assuring their continued private status: and it has been asserted that it convinced the public authorities that they would have to establish their own state colleges and universities in order to complete the public school systems. This they proceeded to do."⁸⁵

The Dartmouth case brought to an end attempts on the part of states to transform independent colleges into state institutions. It also gave

⁸⁴ Good and Teller, op. cit.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

assurances to those donating funds that their wealth would remain in control of the institution designated. The State of New Hampshire was not to have its own public institution of higher learning until 1868 when the University of New Hampshire was established as a land-grant institution with no connections to Dartmouth College.

While the Universities of North Carolina and Georgia are generally considered the first state universities, a review must be taken of two other early developments in order to better understand the consequences of both the antecedents of the lay governing board concept and of state universities.

The third example of a state university took place in Virginia where there developed an institution often referred to as the "child of Thomas Jefferson"--the University of Virginia. The establishment of Virginia's first state institution of higher learning can be traced to the founding of the Albemarle Academy in Charlottesville in 1803. The institution was to go through three major changes--the Academy, Central College and finally the University of Virginia.

The Academy was established with a lay governing board and in many ways appeared to be a direct consequence of the Geneva Academy founded by Calvin. On March 25, 1814, the trustees of the Academy met to fill a vacancy on the board caused by a death. They appointed Thomas Jefferson to fill the vacancy. It was Jefferson who proposed to the trustees that they "convert their paltry Academy into a College and procure for it an endowment by subscription."⁸⁶

⁸⁶Paul Brandon Barringer, James Mercer Gannett and Rosewell Page, University of Virginia (New York: Lewis Publishing Company, 1904), p.18.

On April 5th of the same year, the 18 trustees of the Albemarle Academy, including Jefferson, met and named a president--Peter Carr. On September 7, 1814, Jefferson sent a letter to Carr which more clearly outlined his expectations of the Academy as only the start toward the final outcome--a university. "I have long had under contemplation, and been collecting materials for the plan of a university in Virginia which should comprehend all the sciences useful to us, and none others."⁸⁷

On February 14, 1816, the Virginia Legislature passed an act creating the Central College to replace Albemarle Academy. The action, resulting from the urging of Jefferson, was taken in response to a petition by the trustees of the Academy. The act made the Governor of Virginia "Patron" of the College giving him power to appoint six members to the Board of Visitors, a lay governing board for the new institution.

By 1818, before Central College could actually be established, the legislature passed another act replacing the College with an institution to be known as the University of Virginia and appropriating \$15,000.00 a year for its endowment and toward its support. The lay governing board was to be a nine-member Board of Visitors to be annually appointed by the Governor of Virginia. As with the University of North Carolina, the University of Virginia was to be governed by a board structured in such a way as to better represent the different sections of the state. The act of the legislature required that members of the Board of

⁸⁷Ibid., p. 21.

Visitors "represent the different geographical divisions of the state".⁸⁸

As pointed out earlier, the act establishing the University provided for an annual appropriation from the legislature of \$15,000.00. In 1875, the amount was increased to \$30,000.00 in consideration for the establishment by the University of 18 free scholarships for Virginia youth. This appears to be the first time that an American institution of higher learning was provided with annual state appropriations and it certainly was to be a forerunner of the future direction of chief means of support for state universities--annual appropriations from legislatures.⁸⁹

As has been presented in this section, the concept of lay governing boards found in the various European antecedents continued to have a consequence on the development of higher education in the United States. The model of lay governance continued to appear as an important part of the state university. In addition, the University of Virginia appears to have been an American extension of the Ancient Greek institutions of higher learning by reflecting the needs and concerns of its society.

The next example of the development of both the lay governing board concept and the institution known as the state university move westward, as much of the country was doing in the early 1800's. As has been mentioned earlier, the Ordinance of 1787 organizing the Northwest Territory contained a clause which declared that "schools

⁸⁸ Richardson and Clark, op. cit., p. 277.

⁸⁹ Ibid., p.281.

and the means of education shall be forever encouraged." It was while this spirit still prevailed, that an institution to be known as the University of Michigan had its beginning.

Richardson and Clark note: "In the year 1826 two townships of land were appropriated by Congress for the founding and support of a university in Michigan; and, best of all, the governor and judges of the Territory were authorized to locate these lands, even in small tracts, wherever they might desire. It was owing to the judicious exercise of this privilege that in Michigan the university fund, arising from the sale of these lands, was somewhat greater than the fund accumulated in any other of the Northwestern states. It was also the good fortune of the university early in its history to fall into the hands of men of culture and wisdom."⁹⁰

The first step toward establishing a university in Michigan had been taken in 1817, when the Territorial government had passed an act creating the "University of Michigania" and providing for 13 professorships. In 1821 this preliminary organization was repealed and a board of trustees, a lay governing body of 21 trustees, was established by the Territorial Legislature. In an arrangement at least augury of religious toleration, the Scotch parson and Roman Catholic bishop of the Territory were included as members of the Board of Trustees.⁹¹

⁹⁰Ibid., p. 342.

⁹¹Herbert B. Adams, "The Study of History in American Colleges and Universities", in Bureau of Education, Circular of Information, No.2, 1887. p. 88.

As had been the case with other states which wanted to open universities, Michigan needed funds to carry out the idea of a state university. The sale of the federal lands in 1826 presented the opportunity of providing the needed financial support. However, due to the great work required in setting up a new state, no action toward opening a university was taken until 1837. On March 18th of that year, the Michigan Legislature established the University of Michigan with a lay governing board--the Board of Regents--to be appointed by the Governor of Michigan with the approval of the State Senate.

Adams observes some of the difficulties in carrying out the wishes of the legislature. Before the university was formally opened in 1841, an attempt was made to emancipate it from political control. It was recommended by a legislative committee in 1840 that the entire management be entrusted to a board of regents. The committee stated: A board of experienced regents can manage the funds of the university better than any legislature; and the faculty can manage the business of education--the interior of the college--than can any regents."⁹²

We see here a strong verbal defense of the concept of lay governance in higher education in the United States. Coming from a legislature, it is even more impressive. However, as Adams points out; "It took the State of Michigan 12 years to discover, experimentally, the truth of this proposition (the one advanced by the legislative committee)."⁹³

⁹²Ibid., p. 89.

⁹³Ibid..

As originally established in 1837, the Board of Regents of the University of Michigan consisted of 12 members appointed by the governor. However, increasingly, through the appointment procedure of the governor, the Board of Regents became dominated by politicians. The situation soon developed in which the University was caught between political factions in state government and on the Board of Regents. The result was that public concern over the situation brought about a change in the 1851 Michigan Constitution calling for elected rather than appointed regents.

The new constitution, besides providing for election of the regents by the people, conferred upon them largely increased powers. This change was of the greatest importance to the institution. The authority vested in the regents from that time forward was so great that they were no longer subject to the interference of the legislature. They might be impeached, but they could not be controlled. Under the shelter of this constitutional protection, the regents did not hesitate to disregard even the commands of the legislature whenever the welfare of the university was threatened; and in this course they have been sustained by the supreme court of the State.⁹⁴

The Constitution reduced the number of regents from 12 to 8 in an effort to make the body more workable. When the new Board of Regents took office in 1852, public sentiment in Michigan was undivided in its loyalty to the new university. The institution began to rise, not only in name, but now in fact, as the head of the state's educational

⁹⁴ Richardson and Clark, op. cit., p. 345.

system. The institution, while clearly a state university and sometimes referred to as "the Mother of State Universities", was heavily influenced by the universities of Germany and in some respect its academic atmosphere was more like that of a private institution.

In 1868, Michigan's first superintendent of public instruction who was very influential in the beginnings of the University, the Rev. John D. Pierce, stated: It was reserved to Michigan to rear up, within thirty years from its inception and the location of its site, an institution rivaling, not only Yale and Harvard, but outstripping them both. This is now universally acknowledged. Men from the oldest institutions in the United States concede the great fact. The best authorities say that the University of Michigan is a marvel. You will find in all the history of the past nothing to compare with it in the rapidity of its development and growth."⁹⁵

This glowing tribute to the University of Michigan appears to be somewhat representative of the feeling the Michigan citizens had toward the institution during its early development. To many it was symbolic of culture and education coming to the wilderness.

Historians observe that between the time of founding of the University of Michigan and 1850, the new institution served the people of the state in nearly every field with the exception of one--the scientific teaching of agriculture in Michigan. The state had nearly 90 per cent of its population engaged in agriculture by 1850.

⁹⁵Charles Lanman, The Red Book of Michigan: A Civil, Military and Biographical History (Detroit, Mich.:E.B. Smith & Company, 1871)p. 92.

Developments were taking place in soil chemistry, horticulture, husbandry and technology which seemed to have implications for American agriculture. At the time agriculture could still be described as basically crude and exploitative farming. Voices were beginning to rise in America for a type of higher education which would be more of a practical nature and would apply some of the new ideas to American farming.

In Michigan, the stage now appeared to be set for an early movement in the direction of an institution of higher learning in the field of scientific agriculture. Blair and Kuhn report: "By the year 1849, public opinion, as well as governmental opinion, was more than ever aware of the crying necessity of serving the inhabitants of the state in such a manner, and in that year, the State Agricultural Society was formed. This society was made up of a remarkable body of people. Whilst their primary duty was to promote agriculture they had a vision which allowed them to realize the importance of education to agriculture. In 1850,--they took the initiative and petitioned the State Legislature of Michigan for an agricultural college. The State Legislature could not see its way to finance such a plan at that time."⁹⁶

In 1855, the Society again pushed for an agricultural college. After much discussion as to whether the teaching of agriculture should be instituted as a department in an existing institution of higher learning or as an independent college, the Agricultural Society was successful in the passage of an act creating the Agriculture College

⁹⁶
 Lyle Blair and Madison Kuhn, A Short History of Michigan State
 (East Lansing, Mich.: Michigan State College Press, 1955.) p. 6.

of Michigan to be located in East Lansing.⁹⁷ On February 12, 1855, Gov. Kinsley S. Bingham signed the bill into law. For its early days, the institution was not to be governed by its own lay governing board but by the State Board of Education. In later years, its government was turned over to the State Board of Agriculture until the approval of the current Michigan Constitution creating the Board of Trustees of Michigan State University. It is important to point out that the three boards which have had governance responsibility for this forerunner of the land-grant college were elected by the people of Michigan in statewide elections. On May 13, 1857, the Michigan Agricultural College was formally opened with 63 students, an almost unprecedented enrollment for the opening day of a new college in the United States.⁹⁸

Historians generally credit Michigan State College and the institution that later became Pennsylvania State College, also founded in 1855, as being the "pioneer" land-grant institutions. Both of these colleges, with their emphasis on scientific agriculture as well as liberal arts education, were clearly the "peoples" institutions and general models for the land-grant colleges and future state universities. It must also be added that Iowa and Massachusetts chartered agricultural schools in the mid-1800's but did not begin instruction until after the Morrill Act had been passed by the U.S. Congress and signed into law.

Wahlquist and Thornton observe: Breaches appeared here and there in the traditional framework of American higher education throughout the first half of the nineteenth century. Unceasing pressures

⁹⁷ Ibid., p.8.

⁹⁸ Ibid., p.10.

continued to mount. The nation's boundaries pushed all the way to the Pacific. Immense areas were opened for settlement. The rich agricultural lands of the Midwest were drawn closer to metropolitan markets through a network of railroads and waterways. Dramatic changes in the nation's economic fabric grew out of the industrial revolution. The demand for the greater democratization of higher education, first voiced decades earlier by Thomas Jefferson and others, now reached clamorous proportions. Thus the interaction of a wide variety of powerful economic, social and political forces led to the creation in 1862 of the land-grant college system. So began the era of modern development in American higher education."⁹⁹

As indicated earlier, these new institutions dedicated to educating the sons of farmers and factory workers also included the lay governing board concept. The governing boards of these institutions were naturally more representative of the people they served. This meant that for the first time, governing boards were becoming less dominated by the clergy and political leaders and there was somewhat of a limited attempt at giving other segments of the American population a voice in operating these "people" universities.

It would not be honest to paint a picture that the American people, especially the farmer, embraced the agricultural colleges with open arms. Good and Teller present a view of some of the feelings at the time. "The much advertised demand for the colleges did not come from working farmers. This is shown by the epithets they used and the scorn they heaped upon the schools. After all the clamor about the urgent need for agricultural education, it was found that the men who followed the plow and fed the cattle had little respect for the 'book farming'

⁹⁹ John T. Wahlquist and James W. Thornton, Jr., State Colleges and Universities (Washington, D.C.: The Center for Applied Research in Education, Inc., 1964), p. 6.

taught in the 'cow colleges'. And what was worse, there was little scientific agriculture to be taught because the science was in its infancy. Partly for this reason the long exploited manual labor scheme was tried and rejected again. Manual labor, after it was given up in the arts colleges and theological seminaries, was revived in the colleges of agriculture and in time again discarded."¹⁰⁰

In time, the American farmer would come around to trying new techniques and ideas of farming developed by the agricultural colleges but this would only come as the result of farmer institutes, the experiment station movement of the federal government and agricultural cooperative extension.

For the purposes of this study, it is important to see in the land-grant movement the carrying out in many ways the antecedent found in the ancient Greek institutions of higher learning, which attempted to reflect their society's needs, and the preachings of John Calvin regarding the goodness of hard work and the importance of lay involvement in their society.

OVERVIEW

Morrill sums it up very well. "American higher education was shaped primarily by the milieu of the expanding frontier, of productive agricultural pioneering, of the discovery and exploitation of rich natural resources, of inventive industry and business, a buoyant sense of individual and 'classless' opportunity. Paralleling these phenomena

were the rise and spread in all parts of the country of schools, colleges and universities, with an understandable emphasis upon the 'usefulness' of knowledge, and with a reliance upon widely responsive private and public interest and support. Thus lay, not academic, control of American higher education, and exercise of lay authority through administrative delegation, became the characteristic of American university government which have endured to the present day."¹⁰¹

The statement by Morrill provides a kind of overview as to the antecedents of the lay governing board concept and the state university ideal as well as the consequences that have developed in the United States. For it is against this heritage of European antecedents and American consequences which one must view the governing boards of state universities today. It is hoped that this chapter provides some background for understanding how our concept of lay governing boards and the institution of state universities have reached the present status in their development. As indicated in the introduction of the study, it is through knowledge of the past that we can better understand the present and, possibly, be in a good position for outlining future directions.

¹⁰¹ James Lewis Morrill, The Ongoing State University (Minneapolis, Minn.: The University of Minnesota Press, 1960) p. 45.

CHAPTER III

THE AMERICANIZATION OF THE EUROPEAN ANTECEDENTS

INTRODUCTION

If a better understanding of governing boards of state universities in the United States is to be gained, it is important not only to look at their antecedents but also at the import of social, political and organizational factors on the nature, function and role of governing boards. As discussed earlier, the present day governing boards share a rich heritage that dates back to the Middle Ages. A look at recent history is desirable in order to view the impact of various forces of change on American higher education. It is hoped that a better appreciation of how governing boards have been touched by these forces will emerge and thereby will help make predictions concerning the concept of lay governance in the future.

The factors focussed upon in this study are: 1) Social Pressures-the various aspects of society which have in recent years had great influence both on state universities and the concept of lay governing boards. 2) Political Pressures-the fact that institutions of higher learning must operate in the arena of political pressures. 3) Organizational Factors-the various organizational changes which have influence both within and without American higher education.

SOCIAL PRESSURES

The establishment of Harvard and the College of William and Mary in Colonial America can be viewed as the coming to bloom of seeds sown in Florence, Geneva and Edinburgh. The early colonial colleges, as has been discussed earlier, reflected the concern of the ancient Greeks that institutions of higher learning play a major role in the continuation of cultural aspects of society. Brody observes: "The early development of American institutions was influenced by two closely related social factors, namely, Puritanism, and its politico-religious source Calvinistic Congregationalism. The ideas of Puritanism and Congregationalism were transmitted into three fundamental aspects of American political and civil life, namely, church state relationship, the theory of corporations and the doctrine of limited sovereignty."¹ He continues: "The public support of higher education is now generally justified on the grounds of social necessity. The conviction is that the state itself in its organized capacity should provide the facilities for higher education. To establish the fact that higher education is socially desirable is not, however, tantamount to proof that it should be maintained at public expense. Governmental support of higher education must pass also the tests of constitutionality."²

As we have seen, the early establishment of state universities and the passage of the Land Grant Act were responses to demands that higher education be more related to the concerns and problems of its society. Morrill points out: "Each of the land-grant state universities is committed to the belief that its true campus covers the entire state it serves. Further than this, each has recognized that knowledge transcends both state and national boundaries, and that a state university

¹ Alexander Brody, The American State and Higher Education (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1935), p.13.

² Ibid. p. 49.

dedicated only to the narrow needs of its own state would prove too limited in its vision to meet even those needs adequately. The modern state university serves its own state best through its work in the wider world of science and scholarship with students, teachers and researchers from every state and nation."³

An example of some of the early responses made by state universities to their larger communities can be seen in the development of Farmers' Institutes by Michigan State University in 1876. The action, which predated federal legislation creating the agricultural experiment stations and the cooperative extension service, originally served six Michigan communities. At a two-day meeting, three or four professors would share the platform with a dozen local farmers and their wives, discussing their problems in open forum and offering solutions to local problems, based on research conducted at Michigan State. In turn, the professors received useful feedback from the farmers as to the experiences which they were having.⁴

Logan Wilson writes of the state university: It is conceived as a kind of service station for the general public. He views the following as examples of society related activities: Medical and legal aid clinics provided for the indigent; short courses held for parents, policemen and football coaches; research bureaus to show farmers how to increase egg production and businessmen how to improve sales volume;

³James L. Morrill, The Ongoing State University (Minneapolis, Minn.: The University of Minnesota Press, 1960). p.24.

⁴Lyle Blair and Madison Kuhn, A Short History of Michigan State (East Lansing, Mich.: Michigan State College Press, 1956), p.14.

radio stations and sports stadia to enlighten and entertain the masses; and faculty members on call for luncheon clubs, study groups, and popular forums.⁵

It is clear that a potential benefit of higher education, especially that provided by state universities, is its contribution to both the individual and society in developing new ways of living that avert or minimize unwanted side effects. Since the Morrill Act, higher education has increasingly been expected to serve the public through projects which change practices or reconstitute occupations and institutions of society.⁶

As has been pointed out earlier, the overall purpose of having laymen govern institutions of higher learning, starting with the University of Florence in the middle ages, was to represent the public interest. As we take this view into account, we see that the activities of a state university in response to demands and concerns of society is also a response to the historical concept of the lay governing board. In the United States, since the individual states charter colleges and universities whether they be private or public, it has long been a part of our cultural heritage that governing boards represent the general public in helping institutions of higher learning to chart their missions and in seeing that they fulfill these missions.

⁵ Richard Hofstadter and C. DeWitt Hardy, The Development and Scope of Higher Education in the United States (New York: Columbia University Press, 1952), p.115.

⁶ Morris Keeton, Shared Authority on Campus (Washington, D.C.: American Association for Higher Education, 1971), pp.26-27.

Perlman observes: "Historically, because governing boards were supposed to represent the general public, trustees appointed to these boards were 'men conversant with the currents of the outer world'. It was thought that such men would be in a better position to guide and shepherd the destiny of the institution than would the cloistered academic types who constituted the faculty."⁷

It can also be argued that today the governing board concept has been expanded so that the lay board serves as a bridge between the institution of higher learning and society. While this function has always existed in American higher education to some extent, it certainly took on greater meaning in the late 1800's and early 1900's as the concept of multi-purpose, research-teaching universities, both public and private, came into being.

Perkins provides strong support for the concept of governing boards as a bridge between higher education and society. With the development of both the land-grant college and the university models in American higher education, came a promotion of public policies which would be supportive of higher learning. As this trend has grown, governing boards of state universities have been placed in the position of a "bridge"--representing the universities' interests to society as well as interpreting society back to their institutions. Given external attacks upon universities, governing boards can be called upon to change

⁷Daniel H. Perlman, College and University Governing Boards in the United States (Chicago, Ill.: Roosevelt University, 1972), p.10.

from the role as "bridge" and to serve as a "barrier" to protect the institution. This was very true during the anticommunist hearings of the late Joseph McCarthy. Governing boards during the time served as "barrier" against attacks on the university and the faculty.⁸

Some scholars pose an interesting question regarding this relationship: Can a governing board effectively function as both a bridge and a barrier? Their observations are that maintaining both positions at the same time is quite difficult. When the board serves as a "bridge" it is functioning in a neutral position. However, when it becomes a "barrier" to protect the institution from external forces, it becomes an agent of the institution.⁹

Deeply enmeshed in the concept of a university is its claim as critic of society. Criticism is generally regarded by educators as a proper role of a university. But the claims of neutrality necessary for the role of critic conflict with the aspirations of campus activists. This paradox has produced in the university an internal conflict between those who would guard the characteristics of neutrality, scholarship and disassociation from activist roles and those who would have the university play aggressive change-agent roles and, perhaps, in the extreme, be the vanguard of revolution. "Our success in convincing people that universities can make impact upon social problems has helped create a demand for the solutions promised or implied. Unfortunately, there are problems in our society too vast to be within the tradition or the capability of the university. While the university has a change-agent role, it is important to keep the role within the realm of possibility. If we follow the most militant philosophies, we may so impinge upon the university's

⁸James A. Perkins, The University as an Organization (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1973), p.208.

⁹Ibid.

teaching and research activities that we undermine fundamental roles--and, perhaps, ultimately lose the support necessary for carrying out even minimal functions."¹⁰

As part of a recent study conducted by Heilbron, more enlightenment is offered as to societal pressures on governing boards and state universities. He points out: "The greatest reason for misunderstanding between the campus and community is that the latter thinks the university is not giving it a fair break. The community does not ask that it be shielded against criticism, but it is tired of what it considers to be a one-sided presentation of facts. In other words, the public believes that the university has forsaken its obligation to seek the truth, that it gives a clinical diagnosis of society without giving a complete examination of the patient; that faculty are the intellectual instigators of student disruption, cynicism, or, at best, indifference to the social order. To repair this misconception, to the extent it is one, the faculty should participate more in the life of the marketplace, and the community leaders should become, from time to time, part of the campus."¹¹

Another serious view of the future regarding higher education and society is presented by Perkins. He argues that public service activities of institutions of higher learning have an uncertain future.

¹⁰ Clyde J. Wingfield, The American University: A Public Administration Perspective (Dallas, Tex.: Southern Methodist University Press, 1970), p.15.

¹¹ Louis H. Heilbron, The College and University Trustee (San Francisco, Calif.: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1973), p.205.

He points out that to the extent that university research is moved from the university to outside organizations off-campus, public service programs will decrease. He adds, however, that he sees no signs of such a decrease in public service activities among professional schools in the fields of medicine, agriculture, veterinary medicine and engineering. Further, he states that professional schools in state universities will probably either stay within the institution or leave in toto. "The best guess is that they will stay within the university for the indefinite future. It may be that those public service activities that are benign in terms of new social priorities, such as environmental protection and urban redevelopment, will remain. Those that support more security-oriented aspects of the national interest may be curtailed."¹²

The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education in 1969 predicted that the power of the public to influence the campuses will continue. The Commission states that by 1976 federal governmental support for the nation's colleges and universities will grow to \$13 billion a year. The Commission appears to be clearly for quality and equality in American higher education. How far higher education will go in meeting these needs will depend on the public and how it, through the government, influences colleges and universities from without.¹³

Keeton also presents some important views on future directions in

¹²James A. Perkins, op. cit., pp.257-258.

¹³Editorial Projects for Education, Who's in Charge? (Washington, D.C.: Editorial Projects for Education, Inc., 1969), p.16.

the area of social pressures. "The importance of knowledge to future society will consist less and less in its utility for implementing chosen social values, institutions and practices. Because of the complexity of possibilities and problems of society, campuses will be increasingly needed to participate in reshaping institutions, politics and programs. The campuses will be less and less able to shield themselves by attributing the critiques of society to individual professors and students, for the department or institute or task force of campus people will be doing their social experiments as agents of the university or college. The sheer size and complexity of problems for research and experiment will require team effort on an institutional scale."¹⁴

As one views the social pressures on the evolution of the lay governing board concept in American higher education, it becomes clear that much of the response of institutions to these pressures will be determined by the boards. The board must protect the university from those who would weaken it from without. There is much to be done by trustees who take their assignment seriously.

POLITICAL PRESSURES

As discussed earlier in tracing the European antecedents of the concept of lay governing boards, political influences have also been behind the utilization of citizen input in the operation of institutions of higher learning. This continued to be true with the establishment of

¹⁴ Morris Keeton, Shared Authority on Campus (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1971), p.30.

the early colonial colleges in America when attempts were made through the composition of the boards of Harvard and the College of William and Mary to represent local political units..

The development of the various structures of governing boards of state universities in the United States came about within the arena of political pressures. The appointive method of selecting governing board members has increasingly involved the chief executive of each state and, therefore, has often been criticized as being "too political". On the other hand, the elective approach, which usually involves the use of political conventions, has also received its share of criticism for too much emphasis on the political process. Governing boards, therefore, have long been enmeshed in the American political system as has been the concept of American state universities.

A growing number of college presidents and board members view alternatives available in any given situation as diminishing due to marked increase in the influence of off-campus political forces on decisions in American higher education. Presidents often feel that they are criticized by faculty and students for making decisions which were heavily influenced by outside forces and for which the institutions had little choice.

In this context then, the following question that can be raised concerning state universities is: How should influence and power be distributed among the many agencies and groups who are eager to take part in directing the affairs of universities? Some of these groups are external to the institution and some are internal. The university becomes caught in a kind of crunch between two sets of forces. Among the external groups are federal and state legislative bodies, federal

federal grant awarding agencies, state administrative officials, state coordinating boards, accrediting bodies and foundations and other private donors. The influence of the external groups affects the autonomy or independence of the university. On the other hand, the internal groups affects the decision-making process for matters within the discretion of the institution.¹⁵

Hofstadter and Hardy present a strong view that state universities by their very nature are heavily subject to political influences. They point out: "The state universities, which are more vulnerable to changes in the political climate, must also deal with some of the poorest equipped men in American public life, since university affairs are within the reach of the state legislature."¹⁶

Millett contributes to the understanding of the relationship between legislatures and state universities exists as a basic part of American democracy. He argues that there is an important political tradition in the United States which has seldom been given the careful attention it deserves. This tradition recognizes education as a unique governmental enterprise. For state universities, a governing board might be appointed by a governor, but they seldom allow themselves to be ordered around by a governor. State administrative machinery for higher education is in effect an effort to reassert executive and legislative leadership over educational policies and direction. This effort

¹⁵Howard R. Bowen, "Governance and Educational Reform", in The Agony and Promise: Current Issues in Higher Education, 1969, ed. G. Kerry Smith (San Francisco, Calif.: Jossey-Bass Inc., 1969), pp.173-186.

¹⁶Hofstadter and Hardy, op. cit., pp.131-132.

must necessarily overcome political traditions and bureaucratic hostility if it is to be truly and completely effective.¹⁷

It must be pointed out that the use of special interest groups as political forces to help in the development of higher education, has long been an effective means of growth for state universities. Farmers and agricultural societies who brought about the political support for land-grant colleges, are good examples of how this approach works. Professional organizations in medicine, law, architecture, engineering, nursing and other fields have concern with the professional education of their particular field. One clear disadvantage of the use of special interest groups on behalf of specific programs within universities comes when in later years there is a decision for change in programs which goes against the wishes of the external group.

Under the sponsorship of The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, Eulau and Quinley conducted an important study in 1970 which probed into the opinions of and relationship between state officials and higher education. The study reported that the legislator's role in making higher educational policy is basically tied around voting or not voting for appropriations to state universities. Surprisingly few respondents in the study indicated that "politics" might prevent state legislators from being informed and from effectively reviewing the needs of colleges and universities. Results also showed

¹⁷ John D. Millett, "State Administration of Higher Education", in The American University: A Public Administration Perspective, ed. Clyde J. Wingfield (Dallas, Tex.: Southern Methodist University Press, 1970), p.45.

that legislators received very little demands from the public for information regarding higher education. Indeed, communication between constituents and legislators in regard to higher education appeared to be almost nonexistent in many cases. Such exchanges as occurred tended to be sporadic and unorganized, the study indicated.¹⁸

"On the whole, however, higher education has low political salience for state legislators because articulated demands from a broad section of the population are missing. As a result, policies and appropriations are less likely to be sacrificed in the kind of bargaining that occurs in policy areas where the stakes are seen as politically significant for survival. Therefore, the legislator as an individual and the legislature as a whole can more readily play the role of 'trustee' in matters of higher education than might otherwise be possible. Lack of interest on the part of ordinary citizens, alumni and special groups gives the legislature much freedom of action."¹⁹

In regards to the comment in the study concerning a general lack of public concern or communications about higher education, it is important to remember that the Eulau and Quinley research was conducted before campus unrest became strong and public concerns for accountability became visible. Their research does provide some useful information regarding the fact that when there is no specific crisis on campuses, the public generally allows the legislature a free hand in its dealings with state universities.

The other question raised in light of political pressures and one which has been often left to the courts to decide, centers around institutional autonomy. Scholars of American higher education argue

¹⁸ Heinz Eulau and Harold Quinley, State Officials and Higher Education (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1970), pp.40-41.

¹⁹ Ibid., p.50.

that what is generally meant by autonomy is the freedom to make decisions about academic programs and express intellectual independence. Morrill points out: "The state university's yardsticks are not the same as those of business or other institutions. We are creatures of the legal and political commonwealth, held strictly accountable to policies' and regulations designed in a context sometimes constrictive to our peculiar needs and purposes. Some state universities have been granted constitutional autonomy, but this is far from the freedom from governmental interference and control conceded to the British universities, for example."²⁰

As will be discussed later in this chapter, the current trend appears to be in the direction of greater statewide planning of higher education. This move has strong implications on the institutional autonomy of state universities and, more specially, on the concept of institutional lay governing boards.

For Morrill, there appears to be two types of institutional autonomy: 1) Intellectual autonomy which is the foundation of academic freedom and is cherished. 2) Fiscal or political autonomy which for a state university is impossible and for the welfare of the public is probably unwise.²¹

For those who wish to have state universities free from political pressures, there appear to be no clear answers. The state university has developed as a part of state government and must, in that context,

²⁰ Morrill, op. cit., p.85.

²¹ Ibid., p.49.

operate in the political arena like any other state agency. There are strong indications that universities' relationships to government will strengthen in the future, not lessen.

As former University of Michigan President Harlan Hatcher observes: "We should guard our freedoms, have faith in them and recognize that the sum total of all our individual efforts adds up to an operation no less effective than those of the rigidly planned societies. The trustees of our public institutions are part of this democratic operation, and they merit and receive our deep gratitude, warm encouragement and vigorous support."²²

Thus, it has been shown that governing boards of state university share a common heritage with other social institutions in the American democracy which includes functioning within the political arena. Indeed, it seems clear that state universities will continue to have many political pressures placed on them. The important thing is how governing boards will operate in the midst of such factors.

ORGANIZATION

In addition to social and political pressures, the concept of lay governing boards has also been heavily influenced in its operation by the organization of higher education both internally and externally.

As discussed earlier, American higher education remained tied to the college model up until the late 1800's. It was at this time that

²²Harlan Hatcher, "The Importance of the Trustee in American Higher Education", in Proceedings of the Association of Governing Boards, 1962 (Washington, D.C.: Association of Governing Boards, 1962), p.64.

two important developments took place. The first was the coming of the university structure to American higher education--a structure which borrowed from both German and French concepts. The second development which was tied closely to the growth in size of American institutions of higher learning--the delegation of responsibilities of administration to an institution's president.

Hofstadter and Hardy argue that the coming of the university to American higher education was closely allied to the rapid development of American industry, the settlement of the American continent and the emergence of great fortunes--the beginning of the "American dream". The industrial revolution in the United States was a dynamic thing which facilitated growth and helped greatly in the expansion of science as well as in the general acquisition of knowledge. Industry created an almost insatiable demand for technicians which the older college form of higher learning could simply not produce. What was needed was not only the preservation and transmission of knowledge but also research which could enlarge it. The answer was the university.²³

Characteristically, the American college before the Civil War had been financed on a relatively modest scale and by means of very small or moderate endowments. The high cost of operating a true university tied the growth of the American university to the emergence of men with great fortunes. After the Civil War the new universities were endowed, quite often in a single action by one millionaire, with sums which ranged from Ezra Cornell's \$500,000 to Johns Hopkins'

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Hofstadter and Hardy, op. cit., p.31.

\$3,500,000 and the \$30,000,000 from John Rockefeller for the University of Chicago.²⁴

Also due to the cost of establishing universities with an emphasis on research as well as on teaching, the development of this type of organization in American higher education remained primarily limited to private institutions throughout the late 1800's. During this period of time the public institutions, especially the land-grant institutions, remained basically in the college model. This was not to mean that research efforts were not underway at state colleges. However, until the early 1900's the broader representation of the scientific disciplines was to be found at the private universities.

Nevins maintains that the developed of the university type of organization at public institutions of higher learning was directly related to the efforts of these institutions to respond to public demand, which brought about a heavy emphasis on professional schools. He points out that between 1890-1930, many state universities became primarily "congeries" of professional schools.²⁵

Nevins comments that the pattern of action followed in most instances was simple and natural. He points out that a new vocation or new purpose would arise; its adherents would say to themselves, "Why should we not have a school of our own at the university?"; they would bring appropriate pressures to bear; and as a result of external rather

²⁴Ibid., p.32.

²⁵Allan Nevins, The State University and Democracy (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1962), p.85.

than internal initiative, the school would spring into being. Thus in 1882 a new regent of the University of California, Arthur Rodgers, used a commencement address to call attention to the vast commerce with the Orient that California, emulating the Portuguese, Dutch and British, might develop. The result was the opening at Berkeley in 1898 of the first university college of commerce in the country.²⁶

This is an example of the political pressures bringing about changes in the organization of public higher education--moving the institutions from basically agricultural or teacher colleges to the more complex structure of a university with various schools and colleges under one roof. The use of political and social pressures continues to be one of the chief elements which bring about change in the internal organization of state universities.

The second factor in the development of state universities and also in the Americanization of the lay governing board concept is that of the role of the president. When colleges were small and most governing board members lived around the corner from the campus, the president's duties were rather simple--keep the institution running day-to-day and possibly teach a course or two. Major decisions as well as the rather mundane were generally made by the governing board.

However, as the institutions of higher learning began to grow in the late 1800's and as lay governing boards began to be expanded in membership with members often living some distance from campuses, more powers were delegated to the president. In the early 1900's, men such

²⁶Ibid.

as Charles R. VanHise of the University of Wisconsin, James B. Angell at the University of Michigan and Benjamin Ide Wheeler of the University of California came forth as strong leaders in higher education and developed models for future administrative practices in the future. These were the days of growth for the state universities and the times required strong leadership and careful direction.

With the delegation of duties from the governing board to the president, came also the development of administrative structures to handle these duties--the bureaucratic model.

As the structure has developed in current times, the president, as the executive officer of the governing board and as head of the faculty, is the spokesman and interpreter of both groups. He is expected to mobilize, coordinate and integrate faculty participation, trustee influence and support as well as to bring about public and private responses to the need of the institution.²⁷

Lunsford sees administrators as the conduits of newly felt demands to the academic practitioner and he argues that they must find ways of transmitting them in a form appropriate to the flexible and informal traditions of academic work. He points out that these changes have helped to advance the division of labor within the administration of state universities.²⁸

²⁷James L. Morrill, op. cit., p.47.

²⁸Terry F. Lunsford, "Authority and Ideology in the Administered University", in The State of the University: Authority and Change, eds. Carlos E. Krutbosch and Sheldon L. Messinger (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1968), p.91.

In viewing the organization factors of higher education, it is important to remember that the status of a state university, under the law, is determined by the fact that it is a corporation. The special character of a state university as a corporation, therefore, is heavily involved in the organizational structure. Brody observes:

"Theoretically, it is unnecessary for the state to carry on its educational activities through the medium of a corporation. The state can assume direct control without the interposition of a corporate entity. Actually, however, because of administrative efficiency and for reasons of historical development, most states have adopted the policy of delegating immediate responsibility to a special corporation, but have reserved to themselves the ultimate power of direction and control. From the standpoint of the internal administration of the university and its accountability to the state government, the corporate plan of organization is an expedient device. (By corporate organization is meant the use of directing and subordinate personnel)"²⁹

As has been discussed earlier, one of the problems facing the lay governing board concept when applied to state universities is the question of institutional autonomy versus statewide planning. Both the single, statewide governing board and "super" board coordinating models, there has developed in recent years a trend toward greater control over individual institutions and their governing boards by state government. This becomes an example of external organization which has definite influence upon the internal structure of state universities and also upon the operation of governing boards.

Nevins indicates the pitfalls of complete state control of public higher education. He states that a state-wide system of coordinated universities and colleges offers dangers as well as advantages; and

²⁹Alexander Brody, op. cit., pp.112-113.

while its adoption in the states of largest area and population seems inescapable, it should be created without surrender to special pressures. He points out that new programs should not be provided at the expense of the normal evolution of the educational resources we now have. The principal idea, among many which entered into the founding of the land-grant colleges, was the democratic idea; the principle that the rising generation in America should have free opportunity, including free access to all major occupations on a professional level, and thus be able to maintain an open and mobile society. The Morrill Act embodied this principle.³⁰

Berdahl in his review of the different mechanisms for statewide planning and coordination of public higher education makes the following observation: "After 13 months of dealing with many state boards around the country, I am convinced that their powers cannot be set forth in a neat classification scheme. It is safe to say that the consolidated statewide boards (statewide governing boards) have by definition the most powers, for they literally govern the institutions under their jurisdiction as well as coordinate them. The next powerful agencies tend to be coordinating boards composed totally or in greater part, of public members. Boards such as those in Connecticut, Illinois, Ohio and Oklahoma seem to have the most substantial powers in budgeting and program approval."³¹

In Michigan there is currently much concern over the studies of the

³⁰ Nevins, op. cit., pp.137-138.

³¹ Robert O. Berdahl, Statewide Coordination of Higher Education (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1971), p.59.

Governor's Commission on Higher Education in the areas of the goals and functions of higher education in Michigan, governance of higher education and statewide coordination and financing. Governing boards of state universities in Michigan are especially concerned about the loss of autonomy, which is provided for by the Michigan Constitution. The possibility of the establishment of a new agency for statewide coordination or turning over such duties to the State Board of Education is a particular concern of institutional governing boards. The emphasis among institutions in the state has been toward some form of voluntary coordination. The track record of such an approach in Michigan, however, has not been very good. Governing boards in the state are now saying that they feel that much more can be done on a voluntary basis without the use of force through an agency for statewide planning and coordination.

For example, Heimberger warns that statewide coordination of public higher education through the "super" board method can threaten institutional development and programs if the coordinating agency becomes too ambitious. He concludes: "What is needed now during the formation period of these relative new 'super' boards is an earnest and sincere effort, joined in by all parties concerned, to sharpen the definition of their responsibilities and to depict the roles which can properly and usefully play to the advantage of all."³²

It has been argued that the organizational changes which bring

³²Frederick Heimberger, "The State Universities", in The Contemporary University: U.S.A. (Boston, Mass.: Houghton-Mifflin Company, 1966), p.72.

about pressures from both within and without the state universities and can have influence on the operation of lay governing boards, are still at work in American higher education. As public concern grows for greater accountability on the part of institutions of higher learning for their actions, these institutions will be subject to greater outside controls. State government's concerns about dropping enrollments at state universities seem assured of creating a demand for greater state involvement in institutional affairs through various forms of statewide planning and coordination.

The nature of future organization of state universities is difficult to project. How governing boards of state universities in the United States will adjust to organizational changes is another unanswered question. However, this study will try to chart some possible future directions which governing boards may move toward in a later chapter.

For the present, it does seem important to examine the social and political pressures on governing boards as a function of internal and external organizational structures. With the coming of the university concept to American higher education in the late 1800's, also came a change in a way of life for lay governing boards. As university presidents acquired greater powers in the operation of state universities the loss of power for lay boards ensued. As state governments have become more concerned with mechanisms for statewide planning and coordination of public higher education, governing boards have felt increased limitations as to their powers and alternatives.

WAR, CAMPUS UNREST AND THE POLITICIZING OF
THE UNIVERSITY

Observers of campus conflict in the United States during the 1960's, assert that it is important to realize that student discontent in America did not begin at the University of California at Berkeley in 1964. Nor did such activities start with the civil rights protests of the early 1960's. The history of American higher education clearly shows incidents of disorder, turmoil and riot on campuses as far back as the early 1800's. These disruptions were usually related to specific campus conditions such as poor food, bad housing and harsh regulations.

The President's Commission on Campus Unrest reports that even today such traditional complaints still spark many more campus protests than is generally realized. It is also basic to the understanding of campus unrest of the 1960's that one consider the fact that in student protest activities of the 19th century the object of rebellion was the dominant Puritan religious ethics of the colleges at the time. Unlike the turbulence of the 1960's, student discontent on American campus had generally been apolitical.³³

The pattern of campus activism began to change in the early 1900's when the Intercollegiate Socialist Society--the first American college student political movement--emerged. When the Society was at its height it had more members, measured as a proportion of the total

³³ The President's Commission on Campus Unrest, Report of the President's Commission on Campus Unrest (Washington, D.C.: The President's Commission on Campus Unrest, 1970), pp.6-7.

student population, than the more widely known Students for Democratic Action (SDS) had in the late 1960's. There were campus protests against the Reserved Officers Training Corps (ROTC), denunciations of the curriculum for its support of the existing political system and attacks on the "imperialistic" foreign policy of America at that time. During the 1930's, public opinion polls indicated that a quarter of the college students surveyed were in support of socialistic ideals and almost 40 percent stated that they would refuse to fight in a war.³⁴

From the early 1940's to the early 1960's, the American college campus was generally a scene of calmness with radical student movements almost non-existent. Campus disruptions were rare.

In the early phases of recent campus unrest, student activism generally took the form of being reformist in nature and relying generally to non-violent techniques and tactics. The American civil rights movement became the first political rallying point for postwar students to gather around. During the late 1950's and early 1960's, Black students from both predominately Black and white American colleges and universities, played a central role in the civil rights movement. After four Black students from North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College staged a sit-in at a segregated lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina in 1960, the use of non-violent techniques spread throughout the south and paved the way for later use by white students protesting the Vietnam War.

The abhorrence toward nuclear weapons became another element of

³⁴
Ibid.

student concern on campus preceeding the unrest of the 1960's The Students for a Democratic Society, reorganized in Port Huron, Michigan in 1962, attacked slum conditions in America's cities and then adopted the peace movement as its major concern.

When the University of California began to enforce old rules regarding political activities on the Berkeley campus, student protest developed in the fall of 1964. Spontaneous sit-ins took place and the Free Speech Movement (SFM) was launched. Police were finally called in and hundreds of young people were arrested.³⁵

To better understand the social dynamics of campus unrest it is important to consider three developments in American higher education which influenced the campus protest movements: 1) For some time there had been public concern over the changes on many campuses from the "in loco parentis" emphasis which had existed for many years to a permissiveness which allowed great freedom for students on campus than they usually experienced at home. 2) There existed on campus a kind of psychological suspension in which students were free from parental pressures and the demands of the "outside world" to develop a set of ideals for society. 3) Up until quite recently, college students had few fears for employments and for many students the cost of higher education was bourne by parents, leading to feelings of economic freedom.³⁶

It is important to observe at this point that for disadvantaged

³⁵Ibid.

³⁶Edward J. Bloustein, The University and the Counterculture (New Brunswick, N.J.: The Rutgers University Press, 1972). pp.31-65.

students who were recruited to state universities from rural and urban poverty, participation in campus unrest might in fact endanger future advancement activities. For this reason, it was not unusual to see Black students staying out of protest activities unless they were directly related to the civil rights movement or to the university's lack of involvement in the problems of urban America. As Black students pointed out, for white middle and upper class students the closing of a university just meant returning home for a while with little financial problems. For Black students, the closing of a university meant returning to "the streets".

Following the 1964 free speech movement at Berkeley, the techniques of protest, which had been tried and tested there, became models for student activism on campuses throughout the nation. Surveys of campuses in 1968 indicated that nearly 40,000 American students were participating in 221 demonstrations on 101 campuses. Black power issues were involved in 44 percent of these demonstrations, student demands for a greater voice in running their institutions of higher learning accounted for another 23 percent and anti-war concerns made up 18 percent of protest activities.

By 1969 and 1970, most campuses were to experience a reverse in these percentages with demonstrations against the Vietnam War as the leading single issue on campuses throughout the United States. The President's Commission on Campus Unrest, which in 1970 was established by the president of the United States to report what were major causes of campus unrest and to suggest possible solutions, presented some important observations about the late 1960's on many university campuses.

The President's Commission observes: "The escalating war in Vietnam and the unresolved problem of racism helped push radicals toward an increasing political view of the university. By 1968, radicals were almost unanimous in viewing the university not as a center of teaching and scholarship but rather as an institution guilty of complicity with a system charged with being immoral, unresponsive and repressive. In an attempt to undermine the war effort, more students began to demand that the university eliminate ROTC and end defense research."³⁷

The stated purpose of radical demands was the transformation of the university into a political weapon for ending America's involvement in the Vietnam War, racism and the political system that they felt was responsible for both.

Governing boards of state universities became directly involved as the institutions of higher learning were forced to make hard decisions under great pressure and with very little time. Off-campus police and, eventually, the National Guard were called in to bring order to many campuses. Governing boards were summoned to many special meetings to discuss the campus situation with the administration of their institutions.

In defence of the use of the campus for political purposes, DeJouvenel states: "There is no more natural place for the exercise of democratic self-government than in a university, with a citizen body limited in number, of the same order as that of ancient Greek cities, and higher in intellectual development than any ever before seen. Moreover, these citizens can, if they wish, turn for advice to professors standing on the sidelines. These are ideal conditions for democratic self-government. If we do not trust it under such conditions,

³⁷

The President's Commission on Campus Unrest, op. cit., p.28.

this must mean that we do not believe in it at all."³⁸

As American higher education came under fire from students in the late 1960's as part of protests against the Vietnam War and against various regulations of colleges and universities, the question of greater student involvement in the governance process became of increased importance to young people. Increasingly, students were in a collision course with governing boards who they generally regarded as "meddling outsiders". Students were calling for an alliance between faculty and students in running the institutions. Noted scholars such as John Kenneth Galbraith were pointing out that the lay governing board concept in American higher education was truly a hindrance to progress in the ability of colleges and universities to adjust to changing times. At the other end of the continuum, many public groups off-campus were highly critical for what they felt was the inability of governing boards to take strong actions against faculty and students involved in campus protest activities. Legislatures throughout the United States were adding language to appropriations for state universities requiring that penalties be taken against the institutions if state funds were supporting faculty involved in campus unrest.

Bowen presents a strong defence for the importance of leadership by lay governing boards in the student unrest situation. "The function of the governing board is to be a guardian of the public interest while insulating the university from undue pressures of outside groups. The

³⁸Bertrand DeJouvenel, "Academic Youth and Social Revolution", in The Future Academic Community: Continuity and Change, ed. John Caffrey (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1969), p.166.

governing board must so clearly represent the public interest that it can protect the autonomy of the university from improper encroachments of legislative bodies, government agencies, donors and other outsiders."³⁹

The President's Commission on Campus Unrest views the role of governing boards as very critical to the future of American higher education. The Commission argues that the primary role is that of interpreting and explaining their institution to the larger society--a society which during the late 1960's and even today expresses a great deal of anxiety about American higher education. "They should help the public to understand the underlying causes of student unrest and to prevent punitive or counterproductive public policies toward higher education."⁴⁰

One measure of campus unrest and its effect on changing higher education structure is to view the move by governing boards to include students as members. In 1969, McGrath conducted a study concerned with student representation on governing boards. He found that among responding 875 two-year and four-year, public and private institutions, 20 percent had students attending board meetings with only 2.7 percent giving students voting privileges. It should be noted that this study

³⁹Howard R. Bowen, "Governance and Educational Reform" in Agony and Promise, ed. G. Kerry Smith (Washington, D.C.: American Association For Higher Education, 1969), p.177.

⁴⁰The President's Commission on Campus Unrest, op. cit., p.39.

was conducted at the apex of unrest.⁴¹ In a 1972 study conducted by the American Council on Education, it was found that 14 percent of all institutions of higher learning in the United States had students as members of their governing boards. Of the public four-year colleges and universities, one in four included students on boards in either non-voting or voting capacities. The study also indicated that of the institutions which currently have students on their boards, one-fourth began the practice in 1970, after the issues of campus unrest had come to full bloom.⁴²

The results of research on student participation on governing boards seems to clearly show that although institutions are now including students on their boards to a greater extent than in the past, such arrangements are still in the minority. The great majority of American colleges and universities appear to be utilizing alternative means of involving students in decision making on the board level such as periodic presentations by student groups in special meetings with boards. Recent studies indicate that as student unrest has generally ended on campuses so has the pressure to place students on boards.

Some campus observers say that higher education in the 1970's appears to be kin to the campus days of the 1950's. They defend this position by pointing out that student activism has left the campus and in some respects the "good ole days" of panty raids and parties have

⁴¹See Earl J. McGrath, Should Students Share the Power? (Philadelphia, Pa.: Temple University Press, 1970).

⁴²Barbara A. Blandford, Student Participation on Institutional Governing Boards (Washington, D.C.:American Council on Education, 1972) pp.2-4.

returned. Such observations do not seem to be supported by any in-depth look at American higher education and the current scene. In fact, it is the opinion of this writer that there have been some lessons learned from the late 1960's and while great numbers of students are not being added to governing boards, it would be a mistake to assume that institutions of higher learning are not responding to student demands for greater participation. At state universities it is clear that the turbulent 1960's did bring changes. Internal committees at these institutions usually carry strong student representation and there are efforts at some campuses to restructure the internal governance system in order to bring greater student voice into play.

Stern presents a strong argument why this look into the war, campus unrest and the politicizing of the university is important in better understanding some of the current conditions facing both the lay governing board concept and state universities. "To disregard the student revolt, to dismiss it as the work of a tiny fringe of agitators manipulating issues that are entirely beyond the control of the educational enterprise, is to risk politicization of the university--to lose the ideal of an independent intellectual community, not regain it. A university kept open at bayonet point is neither a 'university' nor 'open'. The continuance of the university as a citadel of understanding depends on the capacity of all its members to find, and respond to, those internal contradictions that are sources of misunderstanding and conflict."⁴³

The message seems clear. Either American higher education learns from the experiences of the late 1960's and makes attempts at keeping communication channels open with students as well as with the public or

⁴³George C. Stern, "Campus Environments and Student Unrest", in Agony and Promise: Current Issues in Higher Education in 1969, ed. G. Kerry Smith (Washington, D.C.: American Association for Higher Education, 1969), p.135.

history may well repeat itself. The tragedy might be that given the present financial problems facing many colleges and universities, some institutions of higher learning might not survive the turmoil this time.

THE QUEST FOR EXCELLENCE

Another factor which must be considered as having an influence on the Americanization of the European antecedents of the lay governing board concept is a development which occurred in much the same time frame as did the campus unrest activities--the quest for excellence on campuses. While this concern for improving academic programs, quite often in specific areas such as science and technology, took many forms, it was especially important in the development of state universities.

It is important to realize that the quest for excellence can generate a kind of elitism which is not unknown in the history of American higher education. As has been shown earlier, the first colonial colleges were heavily aimed toward training young men in an elitist tradition imported from the English universities. Although institutional governance took the more popular Scottish form of lay governing boards, the emphasis of the early institutions was toward the sons of the rich and powerful.

The coming of the land-grant colleges in the mid-1800's did much to create an alternative to the elitist schools in the form of institutions dedicated to the sons of farmers and factory workers. The development of American universities, generally built on the German model with a heavy emphasis on the sciences, brought back the elitist concept to higher education in the United States.

With the successful Russian launching of the Sputnik satellite,

American's became concerned that there was not the important corps of technicians needed to keep the United States ahead as the most scientific and technological nation in the world. The result was heavy federal funding aimed at improving higher education, especially in the areas of the sciences, technology and foreign languages.

Galbraith views this period of recent history as bringing about the new elite of American society--the technocrat. "Technology--the development and application of scientific or systematic knowledge to practical tasks--is a central feature of modern economic development. The changing character of the universities has also been a factor. They have increased greatly in size and complexity in recent decades in response to industrial needs. Paralleling the explicit instruction of neoclassical economics are the implicit assumptions of the modern educational system. These, broadly speaking, make income and consumption coordinate with achievement."⁴⁴

Clearly, Galbraith sees the new elitism of the late 1960's and the present time as being tied to an economic model based on the productivity of technology. The heavy emphasis on professionalization began during the 1960's as part of the new elites. Businessmen, bankers and labor leaders, who had been powerful during the 1950's, were no longer the leaders of the 1960's. With the so-called space race came a strong concern on the part of the American people toward technology and the training of professionals to operate the machines of society.

⁴⁴ John Kenneth Galbraith, Economics and the Public Purpose (Boston, Mass.: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1973), pp.9, 38-39, 227.

This, in turn, brought the need for the expansion of colleges and universities. With the help of federal funding from such agencies as the National Science Foundation, American higher education was in a great period of physical growth. This also became the perfect time for state colleges to become state universities in the full sense of the word.

A concern of students and faculty centered around the very fact that state universities experienced phenomenal growth during the 1960's. University bigness can be viewed in many ways. It can be seen in terms of the size of a budget or numbers of students and staff and buildings. The chief concern, however, must be in terms of the product it produces. By the 1960's, the United States had clearly become a country where bigness in production was a national asset and the total productive process in producing trained minds was paramount. "Bigness of the state university is but one reflection of the vitality and the richness of these resources."⁴⁵

Soon a general questioning was taking place on many campuses centered around the issue of bigness in state universities and quality in education. With the concerns over the Russian space accomplishments had come great expansion of science and technology as well as language resources at state universities. This in turn had led to larger class sizes and a general impersonalization of instruction. However, the larger state universities were not willing to accept the argument that largeness and quality could not take place on the same campus. Former University of Illinois President David Henry contends:

⁴⁵James Lewis Morrill, op. cit., pp.126-127.

"The institution that is large can also have quality. The institution that is small may not have quality. Quality is a matter of resources and purpose, not of size. It is a matter of standards, not numbers. It derives from people, not statistics."⁴⁶

Yet in spite of such strong statements, many state universities sought the recruitment of Merit Scholars and the development of small semi-autonomous, experimental residential colleges within the university as an alternative to largeness.

With the growing concern for excellence on college campuses and the special interest in improving science and engineering programs, came an increased role for the federal government. There is no doubt that federal support of science and science education was beneficial to state universities, their states and the nation. What became a question, and in many ways is still of present concern, was centered around the fear by state government that federal funds encouraged activities and programs in individual institutions which did not coincide with the traditional roles of these institutions. Many state officials viewed federal support as an alternative to state support, which in the case of state universities became a question of institutional control. Who ran these institutions--the state government or the federal government?⁴⁷

With this concern for academic excellence within state universities

⁴⁶Ibid.

⁴⁷Paul L. Dressel and Donald R. Come, Impact of Federal Support of Science on the Publicly Supported Colleges in Michigan (East Lansing, Mi.: Michigan State University, 1969), pp.132-133.

and heavily increasing efforts toward winning federal support, many observers argue that land-grant institutions began to move away from the original ideals of their founding. Their turning inward seemed to make the external responses to the needs and concerns of their states more difficult. As will be discussed later in this study, much of the mood and attitudes toward excellence in state universities brought about a present floundering both at the institutional level and within the concept of lay governing boards.

The importance of the search for excellence as an influence on governing boards of state universities in the United States can be viewed in several ways. First, as academic programs in science and technology expanded and the overall size of state universities increased, the proper role of governing boards became more difficult. Boards found no other choice but to delegate more and more of their authority to the institutional president and his staff. The policy-making role of governing boards, rather than, the involvement in the actual operation of state universities, developed during the 1960's. Study of the actions of governing boards under pressures and challenges of the 1960's clearly indicates that much courage by board members was required during extremely difficult times.

Another element of the quest for excellence period was the role of the federal government. Federal interest in higher education dates back to 1787 with the start of federal land endowments to various states and territories for the purpose of establishing institutions of higher education. Kerr observes that during the 1960's the federal involvement brought about concern that yet another governmental unit was taking away more of the autonomy of governing boards of state universities.

Kerr argues that the academic programs sponsored by the federal government were not a direct threat. "The federal government has customarily put scientifically trained persons in charge of science programs and they have operated fully within academic traditions. The real problem is not one of federal control but of federal influence."⁴⁸

In his book The Uses of the University, Kerr advances the concept of the "federal grant" university. He explains this development as when, "the federal government and the leading universities entered into a common-law marriage unblessed by predetermined policies and self-surveys--but nonetheless they formed a very productive union."⁴⁹

One of the major problems of federal influence during the 1960's was the creation of a "pork barrelling" atmosphere in higher education. Not only colleges and universities became involved in seeking favor from the federal government but academic programs within institutions became enthralled by the possibility of federal funding to the point of seeking patronage from Washington. As academic departments and individual scholars received more federal funds they became involved in various power-plays within the institution.

Kerr reports: "Some faculty members come to use the pressure of their agency contacts against the university. They may try to force the establishment of a new administrative unit or the assignment of land for their own special building, in defiance of general university policy or priorities. Also, some faculty members tend to shift their identification and loyalty from their university to the agency in Washington. Their concern with the general welfare of the university is eroded."⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Clark Kerr, The Use of the University (Cambridge, Mass.: The Harvard University Press, 1964), p.57.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p.49.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p.59.

This change in loyalties and the involvement in political "games" by faculty created an internal situation which was divisive. Governing boards of state universities had to be very careful in supporting administrative efforts to solve these difficulties and yet in not becoming caught in the middle between faculty and the federal government.

The Americanization of the European antecedents had reached a point where concerns for excellence retarded concerns for the outside community; where the desires for increased federal funds had shaped institutional policies; and where governing boards of state universities began to question their proper role and duties. As state universities had grown so had the problem of governing board members keeping in close contact with their institutions. This problem continued into the present.

OVERVIEW

A basic element of any institution of society is its ability to continue to grow and develop, adapting to new situations and conditions. This certainly is true of American higher education, especially the state universities. It may be argued that the concept of lay governing boards, as the keystone of institutional governance in higher learning in the United States, must also have the ability to adapt to changing times.

In viewing the Americanization of the European antecedents of governing boards of state universities in the United State, it can be seen that the concept of governing boards has been clearly shaped by social pressures. The Greek antecedent of the state university can be

viewed as being adapted to the American concerns about higher education and its relationship to society. As has been argued in this study, the lay governing board was given an important role as a bridge between state universities and society.

Another important part of the Americanization process has been the influence of political factors on both the governing board concept and state universities. Like any other institution of society, higher education must operate within certain political pressures and influences. The way governing boards of state universities are structured often reflects local and/or state political pressures. The lay governing concept, therefore, has long been enmeshed in the American political system as has also the concept of state universities. As American government has grown in size and influence so has the challenges to the power of governing boards and the autonomy of state universities. The Americanization process has, through political pressures, greatly changed the governing board concept from its European antecedents. This is quite natural since to be effective both governing boards and institutions of higher learning must be reflective of the society in which they operate.

The organization of American higher education has also been an important aspect of the Americanization process. The move in higher education from the college model and to the university structure brought with it problems and challenges in organization. The response of early American state universities to many special interest groups through the establishment of professional schools was to create organizational difficulties for these institutions many years later. For governing boards, the delegation of powers to the institutional

president and his staff brought about major changes in their role and duties. The movement in recent years toward greater statewide planning and coordination of higher education, as an example of external organization, has also presented problems and challenges to governing boards of state universities.

To better understand present conditions, it has also been necessary to investigate the recent influence of war, campus unrest and the politicizing of the university. As students and faculty have sought to bring higher education into the political arena, the proper role of governing boards has been shaped and changed. Much which presently faces higher education and the concept of lay governing boards can be traced to this recent period of American history.

Another related influence which came to light during the 1960's was the quest for excellence in higher education, especially at state universities. This concern for quality in instruction was brought about by the success of the USSR in orbiting a satellite and a questioning of the growing size of state universities.

The growing role of the federal government in funding expanded programs in science and technology gave governing boards another concern for the autonomy of their institutions from governmental control. With the changing concern of state universities toward excellence, there appeared to be a change from original land-grant ideals. These adaptations to the quest for excellence have contributed to the floundering which many observers claim that governing boards are presently experiencing.

The often turbulent, recent past provides good foundation for better understanding the contemporary scene in the functioning of

governing boards of state universities in the United States. Much of the present concerns about governing boards and their lack of leadership in directing state universities can be traced to the 1960's. For it is this recent period of time which has had a great influence upon the concept of lay governing boards and has certainly played a major role in the Americanization process.

CHAPTER IV

THE CONTEMPORARY SCENE: GOVERNING BOARDS OF STATE UNIVERSITIES IN THE 1970'S

INTRODUCTION

Some scholars of American higher education have compared the campuses of the 1970's with those of the 1950's. The similarity seems to be the lack of campus protest activities, which so marked the late 1960's. However, the comparison seems to break down from that point on. The 1970's are proving to be a time of great challenge for American higher education. This chapter will study some of these important challenges as they relate to governing boards of state universities.

By taking a closer look at present developments in respect to governing boards, an important foundation can be established which, when blended with the past, becomes an essential basis for making projections concerning the future of governing boards of state universities in the United States.

A TIME OF FLOUNDERING

Elitism and Education. As has been discussed earlier, the colleges of the American colonies as well as those throughout the 1700's were basically elitist in their orientation. Although the early colleges often had lofty purposes such as the spread of Christianity to the

American Indians, their students tended to come from the wealthy and influential of their respective communities.

While American higher education was heavily influenced by the Scottish model in the form of governance by a lay board, the early colleges clearly reflected the more elitist concept of education found in the European antecedents of higher learning in America. The assumptions that support this system of education were: that education was for the noble since it was designed to create a common core of central knowledge that would make them a part of the community of the educated; a particular conception of knowledge was "tacitly or explicitly assumed as a certain more or less quantum of truth"; and that the object of education was to exercise a form of mental discipline.¹

Also, Kerr clearly relates the concept of education for the elite found in the early American institutions of higher learning with some aspects of modern universities which produce a modern elite--the education elite. He observes: "It was equality of opportunity, not equality per se, that animated the founding fathers and the progress of the American system. The battle between Jeffersonianism (elitism vs. populism) has never been finally settled." Then Kerr draws upon the past and expands on the elitism of the present time in higher education. "The great university is of necessity elitist--the elite of merit--but it operates in an environment dedicated to an egalitarian philosophy."²

¹Richard Hofstadter and C. Dewitt Hardy, The Development and Scope of Higher Education in the United States (New York: Columbia University Press, 1952), pp.11-15.

²Clark Kerr, The Use of the University (Cambridge, Mass.: The Harvard University Press, 1964), p.121.

Woodrow Wilson, like Thomas Jefferson, believed that a well-educated elite served the best interest of democracy. At his inaugural ceremony as President of Princeton University, he stated: "The college is not for the majority who carry forward the common labor of the world, nor even for those who work at skilled handicrafts, it is for the minority who plan, who conceive, who superintend, who mediate between group and group and must see the wide stage as a whole. Democratic nations must be served in this wise no less than those whose leaders are chosen by birth and privilege."³

It was this concept of elitism which was found in the early development of the governing board concept in America. The members of the governing boards of Harvard and the College of William and Mary clearly represented the elite of the times--religious and governmental leaders. This governance by an elite has remained, to a certain degree, at private colleges in the United States up to the present time.

The basic reason for this reliance on the elite in the governance process is clearly related to the fact that if the elitist view of education is to continue, those involved in decision-making must reflect this concern. While many of America's finest private colleges have in recent years made increased efforts at attracting disadvantaged students to their campuses, there is still an atmosphere of elitism in the total educational program presented.

In addition to the education elite mentioned by Kerr, Galbraith observes that the United States is presently involved in the age of the

³Woodrow Wilson, "Princeton for the Nation's Service", Science 16: 724, 1902.

"technocrat". He views technology--the development and application of scientific or systematic knowledge to practical tasks--as being a central feature of American society. He also argues that organization automatically goes with technical advance. "Little use can be made of technology from the knowledge available to any one man; all but invariably its employment requires the shared knowledge of several or numerous specialists--in short, of an organization."⁴

Galbraith clearly sees an economic relationship between the need for technology and the creation of a new elite--the "technocrat". In addition, he feels that within organizations as presently constituted, there exists a power of control he refers to as the "technostructure". Again the role of the "technocrat" in keeping this structure in operation is quite important. As society has become more technological, so has its dependency upon the "technocrat".

Fashing and Deutsch point out the important relationship between this need for "technocrats" and American higher education. "Technocratic demands have placed primary emphasis on the universities' role as supplier of trained manpower to buttress the research capacity of the country."⁵

Again, the type of governing board this kind of emphasis develops is somewhat elitist in nature. Instead of being of the banking and

⁴John Kenneth Galbraith, Economics and the Public Purpose (Boston, Mass: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1973), pp.38-39.

⁵Joseph Fashing and Steven E. Deutsch, Academics in Retreat: The Politics of Educational Innovation (Albuquerque, N.M.: The University of New Mexico Press, 1971), p.280.

business areas, as has been true with many of the private colleges, these new elite come from the scientific and technological fields. Among state universities which have become quite involved in the preparation of those who are to run American technology, there is a strong tendency to develop a governing board which is more reflective of this role. If one follows Galbraith's observations, it becomes quite natural that "technocrats" on governing boards are a natural evolution of a more technological society.

Glenny has sounded an alarm against increasing influence by technicians in the decision-making process of institutions of higher learning. At the present time, he argues, institutional presidents and governing boards often find themselves trying to make decisions which may have already been shaped in a certain direction. Glenny identifies these "anonymous leaders" as being both internal and external to colleges and universities. Basically, internal technicians conduct research and data gathering studies which often become the basis of policy-making for governing boards. In the case of the external forces, Glenny is quite concerned that technicians in legislatures and statewide planning and coordination agencies, are developing too much power in decision-making in higher education.⁶

Here is clearly seen the Galbraith concept of the "technocrat" coming back to haunt the institutions of higher learning, which have trained them. In some ways, governing boards have to deal with the "anonymous leaders" as a problem which their institutions may well have

⁶ Lyman A. Glenny, "The Anonymous Leaders of Higher Education", The Journal of Higher Education, 33:9-22, Jan., 1972.

brought upon themselves by supporting and, indeed, promoting technology. Glenny has called for state universities to resist the influence of the "anonomous leaders". This resistance clearly requires a more powerful role for lay governing boards in fighting for institutional autonomy and in making sure that decisions are being made by appropriate personnel within institutions.

The Revolt Against Elitism. As presented earlier in this study, the development of state universities in the United States in the early 1800's and the coming of the land-grant colleges can clearly be viewed as a revolt against the more elitist concept found in the colonial colleges. It would be quite unfair to indicate that the American colleges before the 1800's had no populist interest. There were early efforts, such as those of Thomas Jefferson concerning the College of William and Mary, in which attempts were made to turn curriculum more toward the practical side of American life. However, the prevailing forces, which were usually well represented on governing boards, tended to reject these ideas as not being appropriate to the more British oriented approach to higher learning.

In the early 1800's when Jefferson was President of the University of Virginia, it was only a lack of funds which kept him from opening schools of commerce, manufacturing and diplomacy. Clearly this great man had wide-ranging intellectual curiosity. He recognized the national need for training in applied subjects. Instruction in such areas as mathematics, natural philosophy and chemistry did expand at the University and under Jefferson's direction it was one of the first institutions of higher learning in the United States to confer no university degrees

but to have each of its five schools award their own diplomas.⁷

Historians generally support the suggestion that if the early American colleges had adopted a more liberal attitude toward a curriculum which taught science, technology and the practical arts, the university movement which developed in the late 1800's might have been greatly reduced. In fact, the demand for state universities was directly related to a growing recognition of a need for men trained in the practical application of knowledge. For this reason, the land-grant colleges became an expression of two ideas: 1) the need for education of a more practical nature. 2) the concern that educational opportunities be made available for the sons (and eventually the daughters) of farmers and factory workers and not just the children of the wealthy and influential.

The state universities, and eventually the land-grant colleges, clearly sprang from the Jacksonian concept of democracy with its populist view of all aspects of society and culture. The Jeffersonian concern for the teaching of practical arts still appeared enmeshed in a more elitist attitude toward higher education. As Kerr indicated earlier in this discussion, the tug-of-war between the Jefferson and the Jackson ideals was to continue for a long time after the death of both men.

As has been seen in the discussion of the historical development of governing boards of state universities in the United States, the land-grant colleges called for a new type of governing board. Membership on

⁷Frederick Rudolph, The American College and University-A History (New York: Vintage Books, 1962), pp.324-330.

these boards was directly influenced by the mission of these institutions. For the first time, a move away from the dominance of clergy and the leaders of commerce and government was made. Increasingly farmers and more middle-class representatives were brought to the governing boards of the state institutions of higher learning. This appears to be quite in line with the fact that the populist concepts of these institutions required leaders who agreed with these ideals to be in charge of the land-grant colleges.

As an example of this, the State of California established the University of California in 1868 with a Board of Regents. The University brought together a collection of various state colleges which had already been established as well as creating new programs. Brown observes:

"The charter established the University distinctly as an institution of the State, and made it possible for this institution to become one of the chief centers of civic interest and pride. It provided a system of administration which tended to prevent the University from becoming in any narrow sense a representative of the State as a whole. Full control was entrusted to a Board of Regents, twenty-three in number. The chief state officials are ex-officio members of this board, as are also the presidents of the State Agricultural Society and of the Mechanics' Institute. The remaining sixteen members are appointed by the governor, with the concurrence of the State Senate. Their terms are for sixteen years in length, and two are appointed every second year. These provisions are of the greatest practical importance; they bind the University firmly to the governmental system of the State, but at the same time guard it against abrupt changes with each change of party power. The arrangement is favorable to real freedom and responsibility."⁸

It should be noted that the Board of Regents included representation from the State Agricultural Society and the California Mechanics'

⁸ Elmer Ellsworth Brown, "The Past and Present of the University of California", in Portraits of the American University, 1890-1910 eds. James C. Stone and Donald P. DeNevi (San Francisco, Calif.: Jossey-Bass Inc., 1971), pp.108-110.

Institute since both of these organizations promoted the more practical nature of higher learning and research. The use of the appointive structure by State Government also appears to be related to the populist approach of making sure that the governing board was representative of the people of California.

As has been argued here, the populist approach to higher education brings about a governing board more in line with that viewpoint. The more the philosophy of an institution of higher learning is centered around the public and its needs, the greater the tendency to have included on its governing board members who represent some of the concerns of the public. This observation may well appear to be at odds with present charges of governing boards as being unrepresentative of the various groups and concerns of society. It is the viewpoint of this study that while some of these charges may be true, efforts are currently under way to make boards more representative.

There appears to be little doubt that the coming of the state university and land-grant college movements in American higher education did much to challenge the previously held elitist concept of higher learning and make governing boards more representative than in the past. What appears to be needed now is a greater recognition of the basic land-grant concept of populist education and attempt to make governing boards more reflective of that concept. As has been indicated earlier, many governing boards of state universities in the United States have become dominated by the new elites--both the scientific and technocratic. It must also be added that while a few years ago there were complaints, especially among faculty, there is a possibility that as educators and teachers become more involved in the governance process they may well

become the new elite on governing boards.

As one studies the beginnings of state universities in the United States it becomes quite clear that there is strong philosophical support for these institutions of the people. Dewey has argued that a democratic society where all members have equal participation requires an educational system where individuals are prepared for making contributions to the greater society. He called for the reconstruction of philosophy, education and social ideals into a close relationship so that they evolved into a chorus in support of the democracy.⁹

Turning philosophy more directly toward state universities, Foerster observes: "The modern state university might have been developed on the basis of Jefferson's political theory and educational plan. In fact, however, it mainly followed a different political theory and different educational plan. It was dominated by the spirit and purposes not of Thomas Jefferson but of Andrew Jackson. Responding to the egalitarian spirit of Jackson and the frontier, rather than the selective (elitist) spirit of Jefferson and the framers of the Constitution, the early state universities were inclined to offer, so far as they could afford it, all sorts of practical education to all sorts of people."¹⁰

James views the state university as a great civil service academy: This idea of training young men and women for civil service in state,

⁹John Dewey, Democracy and Education (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1916).

¹⁰Norman Foerster, The American State University (Chapel Hill, N.C.: The University of North Carolina Press, 1937), pp.20-21,27.

county, municipal and township government seems to permeate such institutions as the University of Wisconsin. "In fact, an approach to higher education known as the "Wisconsin Idea" developed in the late 1800's with the ideal that an entire state could be the campus of a public or land-grant university. This philosophy stressed that state universities should furnish expert advice of all kind to the people of a state."¹¹

Draper, in an obvious attack on the elitist concept of higher learning, maintains that "universities that would thrive must put away all exclusiveness and dedicate themselves to universal public service. They must not try to keep people out, they must help all who are worthy to get in. Neither rich nor poor, should be coddled."¹²

In view of the fact that Draper was writing in 1907, it is also interesting to note that he called for a "classless" education as basic to American democracy and as also serving as a "safety valve" for keeping the nation free of "radical discontent". He adds that defense for technical education in the late 1800's was often made on this ground. "Prejudice against it was equated with an undesirable haughtiness toward honest manual labor."¹³

One might argue that if state universities had been doing a better job of presenting a more "classless" education and of responding to the

¹¹E. J. James, "The Function of the State University", Science, 22:625, 1905.

¹²A.S. Draper, "The American Type of University", Science, 26: 37, 1907.

¹³Ibid., p.40.

needs of society the "safety valve" might have worked in the late 1960's. This view is hard to support, but it does present an interesting approach.

Education as an Idol. When studying a developing country, one question that would be raised is: How are the schools? This concern over education has become an important aspect of American society. This is not to suggest that other cultures have no interest in education, but in the United States there is clearly what might be referred to as a "fixation" over education. Daniel Lerner, in his book The Passing of Traditional Society in America, strongly supports this view by pointing out the importance of education to society.¹⁴ Wilbur Schramm argues that education has become adjunct to national development.¹⁵

This emphasis on the importance of education became quite strong among state universities during the 1960's. It was during this period that American society began to believe that higher education had the answers to any and all questions. The result? Higher education had "oversold" itself and with the campus unrest of the 1960's came a public questioning about the help to society that could be contributed by institutions which could not keep their own houses in order.

One of the strongest critics of this overemphasis on education in American society is Ivan Illich. He states: "Today education seems a first and universal necessity. About a third of all human beings now alive preach the need for education. They admit that some people can

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Daniel Lerner, The Passing of Traditional Society (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957).

¹⁵

Wilbur Schramm, Mass Media and National Development (Palo Alto, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1964).

survive without it, just as others survive without shelter; but they pity those who are deprived of either."¹⁶

What Illich seems to be concerned about is what might be viewed as an education for education's sake attitude. Indeed, Illich is calling for a more sensible reexamination of education. He is opting for more realistic expectations of education and for a general acknowledgment that education is only one part of human experience, not the only or most important part.

Illich also views present education as, in fact, elitist in nature. "Indeed, education serves the dominant minority as a justification for the privileges they claim and hold. In our age of waning enlightenment people put their trust in certificates stating that they possess something they call 'education'."¹⁷

On the other hand, economists like Galbraith view education as being closely allied to the economic system. The heavy development in technology which so marks society does not appear to be solely related to amassing capital. Galbraith argues that technology is the work of human beings and, increasingly, it is the result of a deliberate and purposeful investment in human beings.¹⁸

He states: "Education increases our productivity. It is also a

¹⁶Ivan Illich, "Education: A Consumer Commodity and a Pseudo-Religion", The Christian Century, 88: 1464, Dec. 15, 1971.

¹⁷Ibid., pp.1464-1468.

¹⁸John Kenneth Galbraith, "Social Balance: 1959", in 1945-1970: Twenty-Five Years, ed. G. Kerry Smith (San Francisco, Calif.: Jossey-Bass Inc., 1970), pp.91-93.

nourishing alternative to ignorance which, like food, has its own enjoyments and rewards. Education is agreeable and even worthy, but it is not a utilitarian or productive employment of resources." He further states that money spent on education may in fact get in the way of economist's higher claims of savings and capital investment.¹⁹

When searching for some philosophical support for an importance to education, there are many directions which can be investigated. Lieberman offers one of the best brief descriptions of the philosophy of learning in the United States. "I believe that the American people are in substantial agreement that the purposes of education are the development of critical thinking, effective communication, creative skills and social, civic and occupational competence."²⁰

For Dewey, a philosophy that denies absolutes does not exhibit any rigidity in the curriculum. Flexibility of subject matter, according to Dewey, leads to development of self-concept and self-discipline. The student becomes central in the educational process.²¹

These two philosophical supports for education would probably be generally agreed upon at the present time. Then, what, in fact, as happened to create the overemphasis on education which so concerns Illich and others?

¹⁹Ibid., pp.92-93.

²⁰Myron Lieberman, The Future of Public Education (Chicago, Ill.: The University of Chicago Press, 1960), p.17.

²¹Carlton H. Bowyer, Philosophical Perspectives for Education (Glenview, Ill.: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1970), p.87.

Veysey gives some clues. "Slowly at first, but then with increasing speed, education began to be identified with material success, bringing it into the notice of those whose financial backing was necessary for its widespread growth. University development in the United States before 1890 fed on a mere trickle from the nation's wealth, but that trickle was sufficient to register dramatic gains."²²

What resulted has been great financial commitments in support of higher education, especially during the quest of excellence period of the 1960's. There has also been a greater expectation of consequences for the good of society. As has been discussed earlier, when problems developed, the American public began to grow disenchanted with the output--students and the lack of responsibility on campuses.

Illich presents some interesting observations: "The American university has become the final stage of the most all-encompassing initiation rite the world has ever known. No society in history has been able to survive without ritual or myth, but ours is the first which has needed such a dull, protracted, destructive and expensive initiation into its myth. We cannot begin a reform of education unless we first understand that neither individual learning nor social equality can be enhanced by the ritual of schooling. Only a generation which grows up without obligatory schools will be able to recreate the university."²³

Most observers argue that an overemphasis on education brings about

²² Laurence R. Veysey, The Emergence of the American University (Chicago, Ill.: The University of Chicago Press, 1965), pp.3-4.

²³ Ivan Illich, Deschooling Society (New York: Harper and Row, 1970), p.38.

changes in governing boards of state universities which relate to their procedures. Generally, in this type of atmosphere where heavy expectations are made of education, there develops a tendency toward leaving most institutional decisions to those who know best--the "technocrats" of education. Governing boards were expected to "rubber-stamp" policy actions initiated by university administrators and faculties since there was no possible way that board members could have the knowledge required to make such decisions on their own. As boards began to delegate more of their duties to administrators on the basis that "technocrats" knew best, there was generated an apathetic atmosphere.

Buchanan and Devletoglou point out: "The institutional apathy of governing boards insured the continuity of things more or less as they were and have been for decades. All of this was drastically modified in the light of the student unrest of the mid-1960's. Boards which should have come into their own as a source of external control and ultimate community strength have seemed powerless to act--no doubt because of decades of inaction."²⁴

However, these authors observe that given the present conditions that face American higher education, many of them the result of indecision during campus unrest, governing boards are taking and will continue to take an increasingly active role in university control--whether this be reflected in day-to-day involvement or in changes in rules and regulations.²⁵

²⁴James M. Buchanan and Nicos E. Devletoglou, Academia in Anarchy (New York: Basic Books Inc., 1970), pp.76-77.

²⁵Ibid., p.163.

Perhaps, Illich sums up the needed action best when he states: "In the name of God, we must denounce the idolatry of progress and the polluting escalation of production. We must expose the pseudo-theology of education as preparation for a life of frustrating consumption."²⁶

The Politicizing of the Campus. One of the important characteristics of the 1960's in American higher education was the politicizing of the campuses. While the protests over the Vietnam War have disappeared and student demonstrations have dissipated, the issue of politization has still not been settled.

Bloland defines the politicization process as the general involvement of higher education in political controversies. He makes a clear distinction between politicization issues which have direct relationship to educational activities of the institution of higher learning and those which are much broader in scope and have **affect** on other institutions in society, including higher education.²⁷

The politicizing of the campus seemed to be a natural outcome of higher education's deep involvement with the problems of society. As indicated earlier, universities had developed a reputation as places where public problems could be solved. In the role of problem solver, higher education also opened the door to the politicization process. Few societal problems are without some political ramifications.

Kerr explains the relationship between higher learning and the world

²⁶Ivan Illich, "Education as an Idol", Religious Education, 66: 418, Nov.-Dec. 1971.

²⁷Harland Bloland, "Politicization of Higher Education Organizations", Agony and Promise: Current Issues in Higher Education, 1969, ed. G. Kerry Smith (San Francisco, Calif.: Jossey-Bass Inc., 1969), pp. 10-11.

outside the campus. Knowledge is now central to society. It is wanted, even demanded, by more people and more institutions than ever before. The university as producer, wholesaler and retailer of knowledge cannot escape service. Knowledge, today, is for everybody's sake. The campus and society are undergoing a somewhat reluctant and cautious merger, already well advanced."²⁸

There are a number of scholars who argue that the politicization of the campus is a natural and normal result of this merger between society and American higher education. Heilbron writes: "It is abundantly clear that knowledge can be power for good or evil; it can build or destroy, cure or inflict pain, make life comfortable or unbearable. Higher education must demand that knowledge is power to be used responsibly, that the end does not justify the means inside or outside of the academy."²⁹

This viewpoint seems to be a call for action on the part of governing boards of state universities in the United States. The demand seems to be that there is a moral purpose in education and trustees should not be hesitant to declare that such moral imperatives can be achieved in part through higher education's service to the community and through its assistance to the student's self-development.³⁰

The question of moral purpose and relationships with the problems of society have brought divisions on many governing boards contributing

²⁸Clark Kerr, op. cit., pp.114-115.

²⁹Louis H. Heilbron, The College and University Trustee (San Francisco, Calif.: Jossey-Bass Inc., 1973), p.61.

³⁰Ibid..

to the current floundering of boards. In personal in-depth conversations with members of the Michigan State University Board of Trustees argue that there is great advantage to maintaining some degree of organizational neutrality in relation to contemporary social crises. Other members point out that higher learning has a unique role to perform in a rapidly changing technological society through active participation in the politicization process.

There are many observers of American higher education who feel quite strongly that the politicizing of the university is very detrimental to the role of higher learning and its overall contributions to society.

Sidney Hook has become a vocal critic against politicization on campuses. He argues that such activities are counterproductive. He warns that politicization within universities will predictably bring about greater politicization from without resulting in lesser autonomy for institutions. He views the faculty member as key to the politicizing of campuses.³¹

Teachers, Hook points out, are guilty of being encouraged by prophets of the new educational and social order. "The task of the teacher is to educate students to their maximum growth as perceptive, informed and reflective persons so that they can decide intelligently for themselves what is to be changed, where and how. It is not the teacher's function to indoctrinate his students in behalf of any cause no matter how holy, to brainwash them into becoming partisans of revolution or counter-revolution, or even to prod them to take the stance of radicals or

³¹Sidney Hook, "Don't Politicize the University", Saturday Review World, 64, Jan. 12, 1974.

standpatters."³²

Hook is also critical of those who could support faculty involvement in the politicization process on campus based on the philosophy of John Dewey. He argues that there is nothing in Dewey's writings which support the claim that education and orderly, planned revolution go together. He states that Dewey would be the first to repudiate this "travesty" of the role of a teacher in a free society. Hook adds, that Dewey always supported the concept of a teacher's role as being that of educating students to their maximum abilities.³³

On the other hand, Wallerstein defends the teacher's right to take public stands on social issues both within and without the classroom. "The chief danger to academic freedom today comes not from student disruption but from the self-deceptions of the professoriate itself. It is reluctant to take moral risks, which results in mandarinism, discrimination and collegial pressure. The chief safeguard of academic freedom would be the transformation of the liberal university into the critical university. Only when the major universities of our country define themselves as critical institutions, will we be able to assert that academic freedom genuinely exists in our university system."³⁴

Wallerstein makes a strong case for the university as well as faculty in this role as society's critic. He argues that a critical university cannot enshrine orthodoxy since it must exist to question accepted truths. Instead of being anti-intellectual, the critical

³²Ibid.

³³Ibid..

³⁴Immanuel Wallerstein, "Academic Freedom and Collective Expressions of Opinion", in New Teaching, New Learning: Current Issues in Higher Education, 1971, ed. G. Kerry Smith (San Francisco, Calif.: Josey-Bass Inc., 1971), p. 194.

university will demonstrate that intellect and reason are important and effective weapons for social analysis and change.³⁵

Fashing and Deutsch point out that American higher education is clearly implicated in society's achievements as well as its atrocities, its creativity and its violence. They argue that although universities might wish to claim aloofness from society, they can never be truly divorced from the real world. "That universities have retained some real sense of autonomy and neutrality with regard to the larger political and economic structures of the society is a canard thoroughly discredited by recent events."³⁶

Of central concern to this study is what influence the politicization of the campus has had on governing boards of state universities in the United States. As discussed earlier, one change, at least for a while, was a move toward adding younger people to governing boards. This has included students and recent graduates. Much of this change in the composition of boards has come as the result of politicization.

Secondly, in line with Hook's observations, governing boards have received their greatest attacks from outside the campus as the result of the politicizing of the campus. The pressure for accountability, both on the part of legislatures and taxpayers, has largely resulted from the campus unrest of the late 1960's. Politicization could be considered as a major contributor to present inroads into the autonomy of many institutions of higher learning. The growth and development of statewide

³⁵Ibid.

³⁶Fashing and Deutsch, op. cit., pp.280-283.

coordinating and planning agencies, aided by decreasing availability of public funds, has been hastened by campus politicization.

Yet, Heilbron believes that governing boards can withstand these attacks which have resulted from politicization. Just how this might be done will be explored in the following chapter. Heilbron defends the lay governing board idea: "But when the sue and abuses of trustees are weighed, I suspect that the trustee boards' overall record in recent years shows a positive contribution to the cause of higher education, that trustees are not an anachronism (as charged by Galbraith) in college and university government and that, strengthened by a more carefully selected and diverse representation, they will see their institutions through the challenge of the remaining years of this changing century."³⁷

The Era of the Floundering. What has been discussed up to this point has been in support of the basic idea--that presently there is a floundering both in the lay governing board concept and in a sense of direction on the part of state universities.

Barzun laments: "The university is institution that nobody knows. It walks alone, has no party or press to stand up for it--and no news story of uproars or achievements makes it more intelligible. Words like 'prestigious', 'top-ranking', 'elite', coupled with 'the professor said', convey the feeling of being outside, in the warm company of plain folks. It is but fair to add that this uneasy attitude is also common among educated people who have been through a university; it is found even in university trustees."³⁸

³⁷Louis H. Heilbron, op. cit., pp.224-225.

³⁸Jacques Barzun, The American University: How it Runs, Where It Is Going (New York: Harper and Row, 1968), pp.162-163.

As the result of many of the activities discussed earlier, governing boards of state universities in the United States have become a target for those who question the role of higher learning in present society. As cries of public concern over the alleged lack of leadership on the part of those in charge of state universities, caught the ear of state government, movement became stronger toward legislation requiring tighter controls over the use of appropriated funds.

Heilbron states: "The trustees of public institutions know that the public is not happy with higher education. The popular feeling is that universities and colleges have let them down. The riots of the sixties have not been forgotten. Students, faculty, administrators and trustees are suspect. Why should so much of the shrinking tax dollar be devoted to their activities? Is higher education preparing students for society or to repudiate it?"³⁹

In this brief statement, Heilbron ties together the reaping forth of the seeds of an overemphasis on education as a problem solver for society's troubles with those of the politicization of the campus. He points out that the public is seriously questioning the preparation of students. In addition, governing boards have not appeared to the public to be very knowledgeable as to what is happening on campus.

As has been indicated earlier, governing boards have tended to delegate many of their previous duties and responsibilities to university administrators playing a "gatekeeper" role in the university's communication process both with the governing board and the general public. Boards

³⁹Louis H. Heilbron, op. cit., p.204.

have tended to receive information generally which requires immediate action but very little background communications. This is not to say that some institutions of higher learning don't do a good job of both communicating with their governing boards as well as providing them with good in-service education. However, the distresses of the late 1960's created an atmosphere which allowed little time for communication with governing boards other than when absolutely needed.

When campus disputes develop, governing board members are quite often too remote from the campus community to have a reliable sense of what the disputes are all about. Usually what is known is that which comes from the administration. All of this means that the traditional role of referee or court of last resort in campus disputes has become almost impossible as the result of the late 1960's. At the same time, the board's duty as protector of the public's trust has also become difficult as the result of the same communication problems.

As governing boards have been cut off from information concerning their institutions of higher learning, the sense of floundering has increased. Corson observes: "Ensuring that the institutions of higher learning are run in the public interest and with reasonable economy and efficiency requires strong and effective leadership by those who are thoroughly cognizant of the entire functioning of the institutions--their educational philosophies, educational methods, costs of instruction, needed facilities, interdisciplinary relationships, research and social

services of various types."⁴⁰

Clearly, Corson is calling for governing board members to find time to do their homework on their institutions and keep better informed as to the activities and problems on campus.

For state universities, there have been three additional contributors to the present floundering: 1) As an almost rebuke to the concept of education as a god, has been the difficulty that many recent college graduates have had in finding meaningful employment, causing a questioning on the part of many parents as to the economic value of a college education; 2) Steadily decreasing enrollments as many high school graduates seek alternatives to four-year institutions or take time out to "find themselves"; and 3) Land-grant institutions are presently caught up in a serious need for redefining the land-grant philosophy in light of an ever increasingly urbanized society.

There appear to be no easy answers to these problems. However, as has been stated in this study several times, there does appear to be a call for lay governing boards to take a stronger and more aggressive role as bridge between the campus and society. There appears to be a pressing need for leadership on the part of institutional presidents and governing boards.

⁴⁰ John J. Corson, "New Developments in Governance", in New Teaching, New Learning: Current in Higher Education, 1971, ed. G. Kerry Smith (San Francisco, Calif.: Jossey-Bass Inc., 1971), p. 183.

OVERVIEW

One of the primary objectives in examining the present floundering of governance in American higher education has been to demonstrate the relationship between the activities on campuses in the 1960's and current problems. This relationship has been viewed as a major element of the present lack of direction concerning the future of the lay governing board concept. However, it is the position of this study that at the present time the lay governing board does appear to be alive and functioning, albeit with some difficulty.

It has been argued in this presentation that one of the important contributors to the present floundering of the governing board concept has been the unsettled battle between the elitist and egalitarian approaches to education. It has been advanced that traces of elitism still exist in American higher education but that the present emphasis is toward the education elite or the elite of merit rather than toward the elite of the privileged class.

Another factor which has promoted the present atmosphere of floundering, has been the overemphasis placed on education by American society. The result of this treatment of education as an idol has brought about unrealistic expectations about higher education's ability to solve societal problems. As institutions of higher learning have not been able to meet the expectations, a feeling of disillusionment has grown among the American public that colleges and universities have failed them. What has been attacked in this presentation has been the education for education's sake concept which still exists on some campuses at the present time.

The politicizing of the campus, which so marked American higher education in the late 1960's, can be viewed as another contributor to the present floundering. There appears to be every indication that the walls have been torn down which, to some degree, protected higher learning from the political influences of the outside world. The position has been taken in this study that it is one thing for campuses to develop a relationship with society which contributes to the educational process and quite another thing to use the teacher-student relationship as a political mechanism. The question as to the proper stance of colleges and universities regarding the politicization process is largely unanswered and one which contributes to the lack of direction of governing boards at the present time.

As the result of these factors, governing boards of state universities in the United States have become a target for those who question the role of higher education in present society. With the growing public feeling that higher learning let them down during the 1960's and the shrinking public dollar, state universities are coming under very close scrutiny. Questions have been raised as to the preparation of students and the activities of faculty. The overall result has been a sense of restlessness as well as lack of direction on the part of governing boards.

In light of increasing governmental controls and growing public discontent with higher learning, the lay governing boards must demonstrate a concern for the public trust as well as provide leadership to both the institutions of higher education and the public during these testing times.

There appears to be many philosophical differences between the

land-grant and state university ideals of the 1800's and the pressing problems and concerns of the 1970's. Hopefully, governing boards can provide the much needed role as a "bridge" between society and higher education during this present time of many challenges. It will be the purpose of the following chapter to outline some possible future directions for governing boards of state universities in the United States.

It is important to mention that professional organizations such as the Association of Governing Boards (AGB) are also concerned about the future and are presently engaged in studies to determine the needs of boards during the 1970's. Such activities should prove quite helpful in the much needed area of role re-definition for governing boards.

CHAPTER V

GENERALIZATIONS AND PORTENTS

INTRODUCTION

In order that generalizations and portents can be made concerning governing boards of state universities in the United States, it has been necessary to present a step-by-step progression of the nature, structure, functions and role of governing boards from their European antecedents and consequences in the United States to their Americanization in the 1960's and current floundering. This study has focused on the necessity for understanding the broad heritage of governing boards of state universities and to better appreciate the influences of recent years on the concept of governance by a lay board.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The problem statement for the study centers around the question as to how socio-economic and political factors of a society influence the emergence and development of the various types of governing boards. The study has documented the workings of these factors on the types of boards which emerge.

The central proposition for the study was the relationship between the nature, structure, functions and role of governing boards of state universities in the United States, on the one hand, and the socio-economic and political factors affecting the governance process, on the other hand, are mutual, reciprocal and cumulative. The methodological

orientation for the study has been historiography with particular emphasis on documentary and analytic techniques. The proposition has been found supportable by the documentary and analytical data of historical research.

The study has established the need for historical data into the development of governing boards of state universities in the United States. Through this look back into the pages of history, a better understanding of the lay governing board concept was to be gained. By using historiography, a more in-depth look into the European antecedents of governing boards of state universities and their American consequences was presented. A strong argument has been advanced that in both the European antecedents and their American consequences on the governing board concept the religious variable was of prime importance. The emphasis on religion is related to the fact that the churches played a major part in the development of educational institutions. This emphasis is best represented in the activities and teaching of religious leaders such as John Calvin and John Knox. With the historical profile as a backdrop, the study moved naturally to the more recent influences on the lay governing board concept.

Furthermore, the study emphasized that a basic element of any institution of society is its ability to grow and develop, adapting to new situations and conditions. It is argued that governing boards of state universities have been faced with many problems in recent years related to their proper role in society. Also, they have been concerned with political influences from outside the campus, the quest for excellence and the impact of the Vietnam War, campus unrest and politicalization of universities.

It has been advanced that the political influences from outside the

campus have brought about changes in the structure of governing boards, their functions and role by making them more related to the political arena within which the state university has increasingly been forced to operate. The quest for excellence created internal rivalries between academic programs and a heavy dependency upon federal funds which shaped the structure, functions and role for governing boards even more toward the political world of the national as well as the state levels. The Vietnam War, campus unrest and politicization of universities brought about changes in the operation of governing boards whereby more power was delegated to institutional presidents. As state universities became more involved in the political arena, more concerned with excellence and ripped apart with problems relating to the war, campus unrest and politicization, governing boards found it more difficult to provide direction. This present period is referred to in the study as the era of floundering.

Of particular interest in the study has been the relationship between the activities on campuses during the 1960's and the present floundering in the governance process in higher education in the 1970's. Currently, the chief contributor to this floundering appear to be the raging battle between the elitists and the egalitarians as to the mission of universities, the overemphasis on education to the point of treating it as an idol and the politicizing of the campuses. The clarion call has been made for a redefinition of the role of governing boards of state universities in an effort to give fresh direction to American higher education.

GENERALIZATIONS

On the basis of the findings of the study the following generalizations are offered here:

A. While the concept of higher education governance by lay boards is generally regarded as an American idea, it clearly has evolved from European antecedents. When student governance became too harsh for faculty in the Italian universities of the Middle Ages, they turned to town councils for relief and the town councils appointed groups consisting of local citizens to govern the institutions--the concept of lay governing boards was born. From Italy the concept traveled to Basel and Geneva where it was refined as well as heavily influenced by John Calvin. From Switzerland, the idea traveled to The Netherlands and Scotland where it was to be passed on to the settlers of the American colonies. The concept has been shaped and developed through the years to its present state in American higher education. While it has been adapted to American culture, the idea of governance by a group of lay-citizens continues to reflect its rich heritage.

B. The chief role of governing boards of state universities in protecting the public trust is in serious question as public disillusionment toward American higher education has grown. As the result of the tumult found on many campuses during the 1960's, there has been a growing loss of confidence on the part of the public toward higher education. This discontentment toward institutions of higher learning has brought about a cry for accountability and a corresponding increase on the part of program budgeting operations in governor's offices, expansion of legislative fiscal agencies and a general tightness of public funds for

state universities. In light of the loss of public support for higher education, it is quite obvious that the traditional role of governing boards in protecting the public trust will be more difficult. Governing boards are clearly identified with higher education, thus creating a credibility crisis between them and the public.

C. Governing boards have increasingly felt that their importance and effectiveness has been curtailed by the growth of outside interference by governmental agencies for statewide coordination and planning. In recent years, the public demand for greater accountability on the part of higher education has also brought about a growth in state agencies for planning higher education within states and eliminating needless duplication of academic programs among state universities. The result of the activities of these agencies has left most governing boards with the perception that their decision-making capabilities have been reduced in any given situation since decisions are increasingly being made outside the institution. As statewide coordination agencies make decisions on academic programs, the basic concept of academic freedom appears to be threatened. Faculty as well as administration and trustees are having less and less to say about the direction that state universities are headed.

D. Increased faculty power in the internal governance of institutions of higher learning has brought about the committee structure which also has cut into the power of governing boards. The spread of collective bargaining and political awakening among faculty has created a demand for more voice in the operation of universities and colleges. This development of faculty power is reminiscent of the faculty power in the Middle Ages which brought about the creation of lay governing boards in

the first place. Currently, the use of faculty power is clearly cutting into the internal aspects of institutional policy-making which was once the domain of governing boards.

E. Efforts to make governing boards of state universities more representative has brought about greater participation from all segments of society in the governance process. Increasingly, there has been a response on the part of state universities to add young people, women and minorities to governing boards. While some of this response was the result of the campus unrest of the 1960's, there does appear to be a sincere concern on the part of most state universities that they include the views of a wide representation of society. If these boards are to remain truly lay groups and not become professional boards, they should have as wide an occupational and social representation as possible.

F. The length of terms of governing board members is being reduced as a means of bringing more freshness of ideas as well as wider representation on boards. There appears to be general agreement that long terms of office on governing boards of state universities tend to insulate board members from the problems of society as they relate to institutions of higher education. Efforts are underway to reduce the terms of board members in order to bring about more turnover in membership on governing boards. There is every indication that this trend will continue.

G. Use of the appointive system for selecting governing board members continues to be heavily relied upon. Although there has been

criticism in the past as to the political nature of the appointive procedure, there appears to be continued preference for this method. In recent years, state governors have tended to use this approach as a means of bringing about a better representation of society on governing boards. At the present time, the governor of Michigan has tended to place young, recent graduates on governing boards through the appointive system.

H. As governing boards have delegated responsibilities to the university president, there has been less feedback as to how policies are carried out. There are strong indications that the more governing boards give up power to institutional administration, the less they are informed concerning the actions of administrators. There appears to be a tendency toward keeping governing boards "in the dark" as much as possible.

I. There continues to be a need for regular in-service training for governing board members as an effective means of keeping boards informed as to the problems and concerns of state universities. Board members find that regular meetings with the administration on areas of concern to the institution will do much to provide the needed background for their decisions. Much needs to be done to establish this type of support service for board members.

J. Efforts by students to present their views to governing boards are increasing and should result in official relationships with boards. Since the campus unrest of the 1960's has disappeared, the move toward adding students to boards as full-fledged members shows signs of decreasing. However, there are strong indications that, as with faculty, students will increasingly be given opportunities to present their views

on various subjects to governing boards through formal as well as informal communication mechanisms.

K. Governing board members are organizing on state, regional and national bases as a means of protecting the concept of lay governance from governmental and external interference. As external forces have threatened the concept of lay governance, boards are finding that by joining together they can exert political pressure through governmental channels to avert these challenges. As faculty and students have found that organizing creates a force which can gain needed attention on certain issues, governing boards are also finding that all boards need to stand up and be counted on many issues which face American higher education. By banding together, boards are experiencing a power which allows them to resist growing governmental control. This tendency shows every sign of increasing in the future.

L. The influence of campus politicization on the internal workings of state universities is raising serious questions to governing boards regarding the use of the classroom as a political platform and whether universities should serve as agents for social change. The entire issue of the classroom as a political platform seems to hinge around the idea of higher education as an instrument for social change. There are those among faculties who argue that politics and social change must rightfully be part of the educational process and that the classroom is a proper place for the expression of these views. On the other hand, there are those in academic circles who say that such a stance may seriously damage the university as a neutral institution--a place where issue can be studied objectively, free from external influences. There are clearly no easy answers to these questions but how governing boards of state

universities deal with them will greatly determine the future direction of American higher education and the lay governing board concept.

M. Governing boards of state universities in the United States are presently under pressure to redefine the role of the public institution of education in the over-selling of education which so marked the 1960's.

Governing boards must supply the leadership in bringing about a redefinition of state universities in light of present societal problems and needs. Boards should find ways for education to demonstrate its capabilities within a realistic framework of public expectations.

N. Governing boards can serve a much needed function in American higher education by becoming a better communication bridge between state universities and taxpayers. If the basic concept of lay governing boards in higher learning is to continue, boards must do a better job of relating their institutions to the society as well as keeping the state universities informed as to the concerns of citizens. This will require greater investment of time on the part of board members to obtain much needed feedback from the public.

SOME PORTENTS

The following portents seem to be supported by this study:

A. Governing Boards of state universities will prove the concept of lay governance as still being an effective means of control in the coming years, if boards decide to be aggressive about their responsibilities and role. While it has become popular among some board members to lament the current pressures from both without and within institutions as undermining governing boards, this is the time for boards to take a strong stand. More needs to be done to show that the governing board is an

effective organism in American society.

B. Shared responsibilities between governing boards, students and faculty will mark the governance scene in future years. As attacks from outside sources and public questioning of higher education continues, governing boards, faculty and students will band together to protect their institutions.

C. The public will turn to governing boards for better interpretations as to the proper role of higher education in future years. By taking a more aggressive stand and being more knowledgeable about their institutions, governing boards will be in a position to respond to the questions of the public and thereby truly become a bridge between the two communities.

D. In order to keep their institutions in operation and to support the lay governing board concept, boards will re-define the land-grant, egalitarian approach to American higher learning. The concept of research, service and education designed to the needs of the public will continue as a workable approach to higher education but it will require some refining in the light of future societal concerns.

E. For some universities there may be internal pressures from faculty to bring back the elitist approach to higher education. Increasingly faculty, as well as the general public, are becoming concerned about the educational product produced by higher learning. Faculty may well respond to this by calling for more elitism in education.

F. As more and more private institutions of higher learning experience financial difficulties, state control will come in the form of governing boards half state appointed and half privately appointed. In many ways the University of Pittsburgh experience is an indicator of the

the future for American private higher education. It is quite clear that one alternative for private institutions of higher learning, especially large universities, will be state funding. Governing board composition will reflect this action by state governments' requiring that public members be included on private boards.

G. As state governments become more involved in higher education, both public and private, public policy makers will become more concerned about the relationship between state officials and governing boards. Although there has been much misunderstanding between state government and governing boards of state universities, the best interest of the public will be well served by the development of open communications between these two important elements of society. As public policy becomes more inclusive of higher education, the need for input by governing boards will increase. This can only be accomplished in an atmosphere of mutual trust.

H. Socio-economic, political and religious influences, which have so influenced the development of the lay governance concept in American higher education will continue to interact with the efforts of governing boards to re-define the nature, structure, functions and role of the lay governance concept. American higher learning is clearly open to the various influences of society as it seeks a re-definition of the lay governance concept in light of the future. As public concerns concerning the proper role of higher education in American society continues, so will the socio-economic and political factors which have so marked the development of the lay governing board concept. As boards seek to re-define the structure, functions and role of lay governance in light of the problems and concerns of society, the external forces will continue to play an important role in this shaping and redefinition process.

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